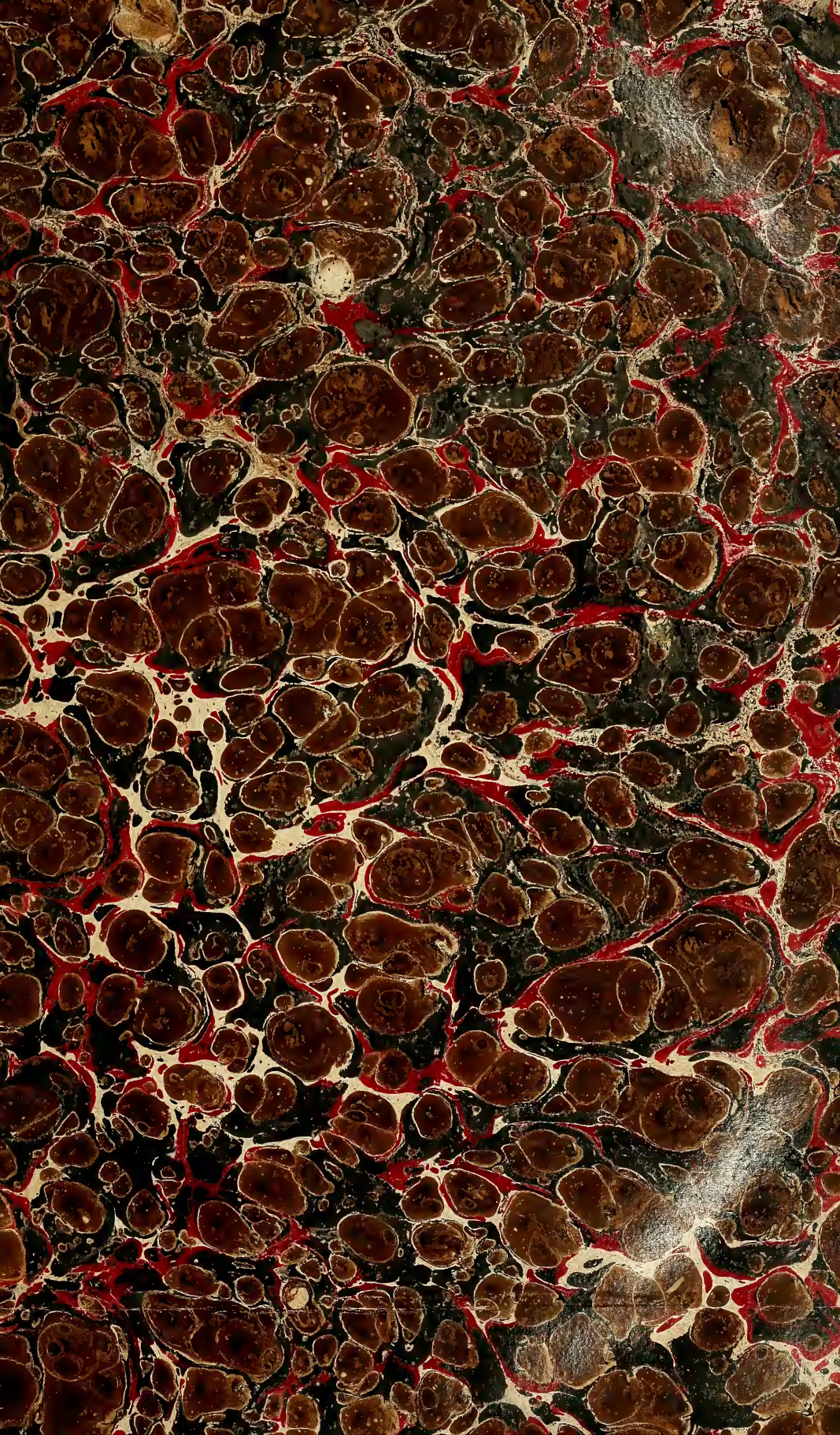
CLASS 423 BOOK F91E
COP 2

THE LIBRARY
OF
HAVERFORD COLLEGE
(HAVERFORD, PA.)

THE GIFT OF
Elizabeth H. Farnum Estate
3 mo. 27 1902

Accession No. 39470



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
LYRASIS members and Sloan Foundation

http://www.archive.org/details/friendslibraryco13will

THE

FRIENDS' LIBRARY:

COMPRISING

JOURNALS, DOCTRINAL TREATISES, & OTHER WRITINGS

OF

MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

EDITED BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS.

VOL. XIII.

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF RICHARD DAVIES.
LIFE OF MARY ALEXANDER.
MEMOIRS OF DAVID HALL.
MEMOIR OF SAMUEL CRISP.
LETTER OF ELIZABETH WEBB TO A. W. BOEHM.
MEMOIR OF EVAN BEVAN.
LIFE OF MARGARET LUCAS.
MEMOIRS, EPISTLES, &c. OF JOHN CROOK.
JOURNAL OF RICHARD JORDAN.
ACCOUNT OF ISAAC SHARPLES.
LIFE OF JOHN FOTHERGILL.
ACCOUNT OF JOHN SPALDING.
MEMOIR OF ABEL THOMAS.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY JOSEPH RAKESTRAW,

FOR THE EDITORS.

1849.

*BX 7624
F94
Vol. XIII

39470

INDEX TO VOL. XIII.

A

Alexander, Mary, account of, 50; appearance in the ministry, 53; visit to families at Woodbridge and Ipswich, 54; visit to Wales, 63; joins E. Coggeshall in religious service, 66; visits Surry, Sussex, &c. 71; do. Scotland, 77; do. London, &c. 86; her last journey, 90; decease, 93.

B

Baptism, Water, 38, 280, 464.
Brown, Joseph, sufferings in prison for testimony against tithes, 60.
Boehm, A. W., Letter to, by E. Webb, 163; his reply, 173.
Bevan, Evan, memoir of, 174.
Baptism, saving, 280.
Bread and wine, 463.

C

Crisp, Samuel, memoir of, 149; letter of, 152; vindication of Quakers, 158; on Divine worship, ministry, &c. 160.
Crook, John, life of, 202; convincement, 211; operation of the Spirit of Truth in his heart 212; how he came by his ministry, 215; epistle to those under suffering, 219; do. to Friends in Bedfordshire, 225; do. for unity, 226; to the children of the Lord, 232; narrative of his trial at the Old Baily, 233; glad tidings proclaimed, 246; account of John Samm, 248; reasons why the Quakers do not frequent the national worship. 250; Address during the plague in London. 253; Truth's progress described, 257; Epistle to the young convinced, 266; To all who profess the Light of Christ Jesus, 268; Principles of Truth set forth, 275; Epistle for unity, 282; Exhortation to stand fast to the ancient Truth, 286; The design of Christianity, 288; Advice to his children, 291.

D

Davies, Richard, Journal of, 1; convincement, 3; persecuted for using the plain language, 5, 6; first imprisoned, 7; holds a meeting with a few others, 9; goes to London, 10; marries and settles in Wales, 10; remarks on John Perot's separation, 24. 26; visits England and Wales, 25; gets G. Fox discharged from Worcester prison, 34; discourses with Bishop Lloyd, 37, 38. 43, 44; his exercises with the Separatists, 40, 41; testimonies concerning, 46.

F

Faith, the true, set forth, 278–9.
Fothergill, John, Journal of, 352; call to the ministry, 357; visits Scotland, 358; do. Ireland, 360; first visit to America, 362; Epistle to Richmond monthly meeting, 367; do. to New England, 369; marriage, 373; visit to South West counties of England, 373; death of his wife, 375; second visit to America, 377; epistle to friends in York, 384. 387; goes to Barbadoes, 399; epistle to Dover meeting, 401; do. to Antigua, &c. 402; visits Ireland, 405; religious services in England and Wales, 411; third visit to America, 417; epistle to friends in Maryland, 425; visits Ireland again, 432; illness and death, 435; testimony concerning him, 437; a faithful warning by him, 439; address to friends, 441.
Fothergill, Margaret, account of, 375.

G

Gray, Isaac, account of his trial, 245.

H

Hall, David, memoir of, 93; appearance in the ministry, 95; preaches in the streets of Skipton, 95; visit to Surry, Hampshire, &c. 97; general epistle to friends, 101; epistle to York Quarterly meeting, 103; a call to those disowned from the Society, 105; epistle to Quarterly and Monthly meetings in Great Britain, 107; advice to ministers, parents and children, 117; epistle to friends, 119; widows and orphans, 121; fruits of early piety, 129; on the duty of attending religious meetings, 132; epistle to Kanaresborough monthly meeting, 146.
Hall, John, some account of 94. 98.

J

John, ap John, 29, 30.
Justification and sanctification, 279.
Jordan, Richard, Journal of, 292; call to the ministry, 294; objection to keeping slaves, ib.; visit to Northern and Eastern States, 295; concern to visit Europe, 308; sets out from

home, 309; goes into Ireland, 314; visit on the continent, 319; testimony to the divinity of Christ and against deism, 326; perilous voyage from Bordeaux, 327; embarks for America, 334; reaches home, 337; removes to Hartford, in Connecticut, 339; settles at Newton, 342; remarks on the fall of man, 343; illness and death, 344 to 349.

L

Lucas, Margaret, account of, 179; lifeless ceremonies, 181; convinced of Friends' principles, 185; sufferings from her aunt, 190. 192. 195; marriage, 197; call to the ministry, 198.

M

Ministry and prayer, 281.

P

Parke's, James, address to professors, 18.
Perot, John, remarks on his separation, 24, 26.
Propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, 277.
Prayer, 281. 468.
Perfection, 459.

R

Resurrection of just and unjust, 278.

S

Scriptures, Holy, not the Word of God, 4; owned and believed in, 276.
Spalding, John, account of, 446; remarks on singing, 448; reasons against observing feasts, &c. 453; on public illuminations, 454; queries to Christians, 456; reasons for leaving the Episcopal society, 458.
Sharples, Isaac, some account of, 349.
Samm, John, some account of, 248.
Sanctification and justification, 279.
Supper, Lord's, 280.

T

Toft, Joshua, some account of, 188; testimony to Christ, 277.
Thomas, Abel, memoir of, 470; address to Governor and Council of N. Jersey, 472; account of his journey in the Southern states 474, 475, 476, 477; letter to his wife from N. York, 481; do. to a friend in Philadelphia, 481; account of his decease, 483.

W

Worship, Divine, 279–80.
Webb, Elizabeth, letter to A. Boehm, 163; account of her convincement, 165; prospect of visiting America, 171.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

CONVINCEMENT, EXERCISES, SERVICES, AND TRAVELS,

OF THAT ANCIENT SERVANT OF THE LORD,

RICHARD DAVIES:

COMPRISING SOME INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE SPREADING OF THE TRUTH IN NORTH WALES.

I was born in the year 1635, in the town of Welchpool, in Montgomeryshire, in North Wales, of honest parents, that had a small estate there. I was brought up in a little learning, and in the religion and discipline of the church of England. When I came to be about twelve or thirteen years of age, the Lord put his fear in my heart, that I came to a consideration, if I should die what would become of my soul, if I lived after the way that some of my companions did: and it came into my heart to leave them. I was inclined to go and hear sermons, and followed the best of those sort of people, that I did believe feared the Lord, which I then thought were the Independent people; especially one Vavasor Powell, who was a very zealous man in his day and time. He took much pains and labour to gather a people into that persuasion, and many were gathered in these parts to that way; and I followed them from one parish to another, and from one meeting to another, writing their sermons, and in time I came to repeat them to the people. And there, being exercised in the historical part of the scriptures, I could speak and talk of them, so that those people came to speak well of me, and this did not a little puff me up; so that I was not so serious, as I should have been, to get eternal life by Christ Jesus, who is the life himself, who said to the Jews, John v. 39, 40, "Search, or ye search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me: and ye will not come to me, that ye might have life."

We were diligent in searching the scriptures, which was good in its place; but the main matter and substance of pure religion, is the enjoyment of eternal life to the soul from Christ.

About the fourteenth year of my age, my father intended to put me apprentice to a shopkeeper, where I was for a trial: but I saw that the conversation of my intended master was not right, and that the fear of the Lord was not there. I was afraid, if I should continue there, that the little love and zeal I had to God and goodness, would be choaked and quenched in me, and the love and pleasure of the world would get up again, so I should be in danger of growing worse than ever. Being under these serious considerations, I heartily prayed to God with tenderness and tears, what he put in my heart to pray for, viz. That I might be delivered from that place where I was intended to be bound an apprentice, and that I might spend my time with and amongst them that feared the Lord, and thought upon his name; and the Lord heard my prayers, and in a little time I was sent for away from that place.

After this I staid at home some time, and continued in that little well-doing I had known, keeping company with sober and honest people; I delighted to read the scriptures, and to go to the Independent meetings. And after some time, I heard of a man that professed the same religion, who was very zealous for a time in going to meeting, and performing that which we call family duties, and there, with the consent of my parents, I bound myself an apprentice to him. His name was Evan Jones, a feltmaker, in the parish of Llanfair, in Montgomeryshire; and we went together to meetings, I writing and repeating sermons, and performing that custom that was among us, in praying in our own will and time, till we were become so dead and formal, carnal and airy, many loose words and actions growing up amongst

us, that I was gone out of conceit with myself, and our formal religion; there being something in me that reproved me for my vanity. When I arose from my prayers, being sometimes in a weighty ponderous condition, I saw that there was something that gave me no true peace nor comfort inwardly to my soul, because there remained a secret pride and self-exaltation in most, if not all, of our formal performances.

In this state and condition I knew not what to do; when neither writing, repeating sermons, reading of the scriptures, and other good books, and sometimes expounding them to the best of my understanding, afforded me any comfort, I was at a loss, and knew not what way to take, that I might have peace and comfort in my performances. Hitherto I knew not the Holy Spirit of the Lord, as I ought to have done, to be my leader and guide into all things that were necessary to my eternal salvation.

Upon a certain time we had a meeting at Hugh David's, a tenant of Charles Lloyd's, of Dolobran, where one of our Independent teachers, who was a great scripturian, was preaching, and I writ after him; and in his sermon he said, "The time would come that there would be no need of the scriptures, any more than another book;" at which I very much stumbled; and after the meeting I asked him, when would that time be? He said, when the Lord would make a new covenant with his people, as it is said in Jeremiah, xxxi. 33, 34. "I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." It seems that he knew not that day come then, though he was a great preacher. I thought it would then be a happy day, when God would be the teacher of his people, himself; that we need not teach every man his neighbour, or his brother, saying, "Know the Lord;" but that we should all know him, from the least to the greatest. This day we knew not then, for all our preaching and long prayers; though the Lord did then beget true hungerings and thirstings in our souls after him. We had great love and zeal, and desired the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus. Sometimes I have said, this was but like Jacob's dream, when he awoke and said, "Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not." And indeed we knew not the Lord, as we ought to have done; namely, by his light, grace, and spirit shining in our hearts, to give us the light of the knowledge of the Son of God, which knowledge keeps a man meek and humble. Such are not puffed up in a vain mind, to seek after those things that are too high for them, as too many are climbing up that way, which is not the way to God the Father; the way to the Father is the way of holiness and purity, and humility, without which no man shall see the Lord nor enjoy his presence to their comfort.

About this time, being in the year 1656, our ministers told us, that there was a sort of people come up in the north, called Quakers, that were a people of a strange posture and principles: saying, that it was the last days and times that Christ spoke of in the xxivth of Matthew, "Many shall come in my name, and deceive many, ver. 5. for there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." This sort of people called Quakers, were much preached against; they told us they were the false prophets, &c. that they denied the scriptures, and all ordinances, and also denied the very Christ that bought them. They were represented to us to be such a dangerous sort of people, that we were afraid of any who had the name of a Quaker, lest we should be deceived by them. Hitherto they had not been in these parts of the country, neither did we know what were the principles held out by themselves; but only such as were reported, though falsely, unto us by our preachers and others; which kept us in blindness, and from making further inquiry, and "trying all things, and holding fast that which is good," according to the apostle's advice, 1 Thes. v. 21.

Now about the year 1657, there came a poor man in a mean habit to my master's house, named Morgan Evan, of South Wales: he had met with the people called Quakers in his travels, and was convinced of the truth. This poor man discoursed with my master about the principles of truth, and I being in the shop about my calling, my mistress came and said, Why do you not go out to help your master? for there is a Quaker at the door that hath put him to silence. I hearing this, made haste, and took my bible under my arm, and put on what courage I could to dispute with that poor man, but he proved too hard for us all; when I went to them, they were upon the words *Thee* and *Thou;* but I very peremptorily asked him, what command he had to speak *Thee* and *Thou;* for I did acknowledge to him, that it was the language of God to Adam, and the language of the scripture; but, said I, that is not enough for us now in this day, we must have a command for it. To which he answered, "Hold fast the form of sound words, which

thou hast heard of me." I asked him, Whether that was scripture; he asked me, whether I would deny it; I told him, he was to prove it. Then he took the bible out of my hand, and he turned to 2 Tim. i. 13, which he read, and told me, that Hold fast there, was a command; which I knew very well, both the scripture and the command: but to prove him further, I desired him to read a little more of that chapter, both backward and forward, which he freely did, and asked me, Why I did require that of him? I told him, that we heard the Quakers denied the scripture, and that they would not read them. He said there were many false reports of them. And truly when he read the scripture so readily, I concluded in myself, that what was reported of them was not true; and he saw that he had reached to the witness of God in me. Then he exhorted me to take heed to that light that shined in my heart, and did show me my vain thoughts, and reprove me in secret for every idle word and action; saying, That "that was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" and in that light, I should see more light, and that would open the scriptures to me, and that I should receive a measure of the same spirit that gave them forth. Further he told me, It was "the more sure word of prophecy, unto which I did well if I took heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts," 2 Pet. i. 19. And he spoke much of the inward work, and the operation of God's Holy Spirit upon the soul; recommending me to the "Grace of God, that bringeth salvation,—teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world," Tit. ii. 11, 12. And so he departed from our house, and I set him a little along on his way.

Now when I came back from him, the consideration of his words took fast hold on me, that I could not go from under them; and the more I waited in that light that he recommended me to, the more my former peace, and that in which I formerly took comfort, was broken; and herein I came to see, that our former building could not stand, for we built upon that which the apostle called "wood, hay, and stubble." Here I came to a loss of all my former knowledge; and my former performances proved but a sandy foundation. Then I did, with much humility and poverty of spirit, beg of Almighty God, that I might build upon that rock, that the true church of Christ was built upon, that the gates of hell might not prevail against me.

But for all this, I was yet afraid of being deceived by the Quakers; yet where to go outwardly for advice and counsel I knew not; for I saw that my former teachers were upon a sandy foundation. So I desired that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, would be my Teacher and Instructor; for I believed that the prophecy of the prophets would be fulfilled, and that the Lord would make a new covenant with his people now, as he did promise by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, xxxi. 31—34, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord: but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them, unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more."

These and the like precious promises I was made willing to take hold of, and waited for the fulfilling of them in myself, and of that which Christ said to the Jews, John vi. 45: "It is written in the prophets, and they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me." He that cometh unto Christ Jesus the Light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, though their sins and their iniquities be great, they shall in no wise be cast out. And it is said, "and all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children," Isaiah liv. 13.

When I came to know a little of the teachings of the Lord, I took my leave of all my former formal teachers, and many times went to the woods and other by-places, where none might see me, to wait upon the Lord, where I was much broken, and tendered by the power of God. And though I did begin to see a little of myself, and something of the goodness of God, yet still I was afraid of being deceived, for I had read and heard that Satan himself is "transformed into an angel of light," 2 Cor. xi. 14. And lest this man should be as the same apostle said, in verse 13, "For such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ," I desired of the Lord that I might see this poor man once again, for I knew not where to see the face of any called a Friend; and it pleased God that he came again that way, and I desired of my master and mistress to give him lodging, and

that he might be with me, to which they consented. Then I queried of him their way of worship, and concerning those two great ordinances, so called, that we so much relied upon, viz. the Bread and Wine, and Baptism, and the Scriptures, to know what was their judgment of them; to which he gave me some satisfaction. In the morning I parted with him, and to the best of my knowledge, I saw him no more for several years after.

In all this time I still kept my retirement in the wood, or some other private place; and there in my waiting, I desired of the Lord, that I might be further satisfied by himself, as to those things; first, Whether the scriptures were the word of God, as it was said and preached unto us they were, and the way to life and salvation? Then the first chapter of John came under my serious consideration in my meditation, which said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: the same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." I considered that the Word was in the beginning with God the Father, and that no part of the scriptures were written until Moses, who we understand was the first writer of those scriptures we have; the apostle tells us here, that "the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ:" in this Word there was life; Paul tells us, that "the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life;" now this life is the light of men, and the Word was before the scriptures were written. By this we may see the Word of God is Christ Jesus, that was with the Father before the world began; "without him there was not anything made that was made." The history that Moses gives us, is said to be written about 3000 years after the creation of the world, therefore the scriptures cannot properly be the Word of God.

I, with many more, was under that mistake that the Jews were in, who thought they might have eternal life in the scriptures; Christ saith, John v. 39, "Search (or ye search) the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me that ye might have life." As he is the life, so he is the way to the Father; "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me," John xiv. 6. As for the scriptures, I was a great lover, and a great reader of them, and took great pleasure in searching of them, thinking that would make me wise unto salvation, as Paul said to Timothy; "And that from a child thou hast known the scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus," 2 Tim. iii. 15. This main thing was wanting, the true and saving faith, which is the gift of God. "It is by grace we are saved through faith, not of ourselves, it is the gift of God," Eph. ii. 8. So it is the grace of God that brings salvation, and not the bare historical knowledge of the scriptures. Too many take a great deal of pride in a literal knowledge of them; some for their gain and profit; others take pleasure in them, by wresting them to vindicate their false and erroneous opinions, that gender strife and contention, and take little or no notice of that meek, holy, and lovely spirit of life that gave them forth, for they are of no private interpretation; "but holy men of God spake them as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

Men may have a great literal knowledge of the scriptures, and yet remain in error, because they know them not, as they ought to do, nor the power that was in the holy men that gave them forth; so I may say, as Christ said to the Jews, "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God," Mat. xxii. 29. So that which gives the true knowledge of God, and a right understanding of the scriptures, is the power of God; and I may say with the apostle, "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ," 2 Cor. iv. 6. And as men and women come to mind this light, that is, the Spirit of God, and to obey it, they shall come to the comfort of the scriptures, as the same apostle says, "For whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope," Rom. xv. 4.

And being under a serious consideration of what I read in the scripture, believing the Spirit of the Lord to be the interpreter thereof; those great mysteries that were hid from ages and generations, and are hid now in this our age from many, are come to be revealed by the Spirit of God, and if they would have comfort in reading the scriptures, they must wait in that measure of the spirit, which God hath given them, which is the only key that opens them to the understanding of those who are truly conscientious in the reading of them. Though I read them formerly, as many do now, without a true sense and a due consideration, yet now I can bless God for them, and have a great comfort in the reading of them; they being no more as a sealed book unto me, and many more, who wait for the assistance of God's holy Spirit, in all their duties and performances that the Lord requires of them, for without him we

know that we can do nothing that is pleasing unto him: though formerly we ran, in our own time and wills, to preach and pray, not having such a due regard to the leading and moving of the Spirit of the Lord; yet, I bless God, it is not so now. Many times, when I did arise from my knees in a formal way of prayer, a reproof was very near me, "Who required this at thy hands? It is sparks of thy own kindling." I was afraid that I should "lie down in sorrow," as was said to some by the Lord, in Isaiah l. 11.

But as to this head, I shall briefly conclude, though much more might be said to the honour of the holy scriptures; but this is my desire, that they who read them, may come to that which will give them a right understanding thereof: "For there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding," Job xxxii. 8.

Then, as concerning water baptism, which I had under consideration, though I was no admirer of it, being not of the persuasion of re-baptizing. Those that were Independents, were not so much at first for re-baptizing; but afterward it prevailed more among them in these parts, when one Henry Jessy came here-aways. And about that time it was, that I came from among them.

I had much reasoning, and various consultations in my mind concerning this, and the bread and wine. And when I was satisfied as to those weighty concerns, I thought I might rest there, and keep my old customs and fashions, and language; but that would not do, I had no peace therein. God showed me the customs of the nation were vain, and our language not according to the language of God's people, recorded in the scriptures of truth. So I made a conscientious search into this matter also:—where I found the great Creator of heaven and earth, who by the word of his power made all things therein, created man in his own image, "In the image of God created he him: male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and gave them dominion over all things that he had created on earth; and Adam gave names to them. And God took him, and put him in the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it. And the Lord commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat," Gen. ii. 15, 16. This is the first *Thou* to man, that I read of in the scripture; and the great Creator said, "Every thing that he had made was very good," Gen. i. 31., and his language to man was very good and pure. Then again, when Adam transgressed the law and commandment of God, "the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked," Gen. iii. 9, 10. Here was the language of God to man, and the language of man to God. And in the searching of the scriptures, I found that all the holy men of God used that language, and Christ taught his disciples to pray in that language; "Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Mat. vi. And withal, I knew a little grammar, and how that it was improper to say *vos* [you] to one single person, instead of *tu* [thou]. And though the learned in our nation spoke it, yet I thought Christians should not use it, but should take the Spirit of God, according to the scripture, to be their rule, and not to follow the confused language of the heathens; for the Lord, by the mouth of his prophet, commanded his people, "Learn not the way of the heathen,—for the customs of the people are vain," Jer. x. 2, 3. I also believed, that the Lord would return to his people a pure language in these days, as was promised in the days of old concerning Israel: then, when they returned to the Lord, he would bring them out of their captivity: "For then, saith the Lord, will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord to serve him with one consent." Zeph. iii. 9.

Thus I was conscientiously concerned to speak the pure language of thee and thou to every one, without respect of persons, which was a great cross to me. Though it seems to some but as a weak and foolish thing, yet when the Lord lays the necessity of speaking the truth to all, in that language that God and all his servants used, it comes to be of a greater weight than many light airy people think it is. The sayings of Christ came to my mind, when he said, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me," Luke ix. 23. He doth not say he *should do it*, but *let him do it*, imperatively; which was a command, viz.: "That we should deny ourselves and follow him:" see also Mat. xvi. 24. And moreover it is said, "He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me." Mat. x. 38.

This necessity being laid upon me, I spoke to my master in that dialect; he was not offended at it, because he was convinced of the truth of it, and that it ought to be spoken to every one; but when I gave it to my mistress, she took a stick and gave me such a blow upon my bare head, that made it swell and sore for a considerable time; she was so disturbed at it, that she swore she would kill me, though she would be hanged for me: the enemy had so possessed her, that she was quite out of order; though beforetime she very seldom, if ever, gave me an angry word. But I considered, that the enmity was between the two seeds, and that "that

which was born after the flesh, did persecute him that is born after the spirit." I being well satisfied of the truth in myself, remembered Christ's words, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that findeth his life, shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it." Mat. x. 37, 39.

The Almighty God put it into my heart to consider the cost, and that through tribulation I was to enter the kingdom of heaven; and I was faithful in this testimony that I had to bear. I was much encouraged to go on in that strait and narrow way, that God showed me I was to walk in. I also considered the saying of Christ, "Whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple." Again, "Which of you intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he hath sufficient to finish it? Lest haply after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, but was not able to finish." Luke xiv. 27—30.

This consideration was weighty with me, lest I should begin to take up the cross, and to walk in this way, and should not be able to hold out to the end; first, because of the temptation of satan, the lust of the flesh, and the sinful customs and fashions of this world, which were very prevalent; and the weight and burthen that was upon me was great, having none in the country to be an help to me in the time of my exercise, but the Lord alone, that hath promised to be with his people in all their troubles and exercises, and that he would not leave them nor forsake them. I was very ready and willing to take hold of his promises; and my prayers unto him were, That he would enable me to go through all things that he required. I was sensible, that without the assistance of his holy Spirit, I could not perform that service which he required of me.

I was now first called a Quaker, because I said to a single person *thee* and *thou*, and kept on my hat, and did not go after the customs and fashions of the world, that other professors lived and walked in. Though some of them would complain of their formalities, and were weary of the fashions of the world; yet they did not take up their cross, and leave them.

The rage of my mistress was not yet abated, though she had nothing against me, but not conforming to the corrupt language and vain customs of the world: for I laboured to keep a conscience void of offence, both towards God and men; I did my work and service honestly and justly, "not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, as the servant of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart," Ephes. vi. 5, 6, and ver. 8. "Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free."

In thus doing, I had great comfort from the Lord, and did receive from him living satisfaction and encouragement to go on in my way; remembering that scripture that saith, "The righteous shall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger," Job xvii. 9. I might also say with Job, "But he knoweth the way that I take; when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold: my foot hath held his steps; his way have I kept, and not declined; neither have I gone back from the commandment of his lips: I have esteemed the words of his mouth more than my necessary food," Job xxiii. 10—12. The Lord kept me, and his people, very meek and low in our minds, in a self-denying spirit. We waited for the living word, that came with a living voice, from him that speaks from heaven to us by his spirit; so that he gave us to discern between the voice of wisdom, and the voice of the strange woman, which is the voice of the flesh, and the lust thereof; and the living voice is the voice of Christ in us the hope of glory; which voice we esteemed more than our necessary food. For obeying this voice, we came to be mocked and derided; "and they spoke all manner of evil against us, and hated us for his name's sake," Mat. x. 22. I remembered what Christ hath told us in Luke xxi. 12, "They shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake: and it shall turn to you for a testimony. Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before what ye shall answer; for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist," Luke xxi. 13—15.

These and the like afflictions I was to meet with, if I truly and faithfully followed the Lord Jesus Christ; therefore I laboured to put on the whole armour of light, that I might be able to withstand the fiery darts of the wicked one, who sought to weaken my faith, and to persuade me of the hardness, straightness, and narrowness of the way, that I should not be able to hold out to the end, seeing there was not any in this country to help and assist me; but the fiery darts of the enemy that I felt, came more by his servants than otherwise. Very prevalent he was in this poor misled woman, my mistress, who was persuaded by him to kill me, and shed innocent blood; and one time, when she thought it a fit opportunity to execute her will and cruelty, she fell into a great rage, and I was freely given up to die

that hour by her; but the Lord was pleased to accept of my free-will offering, and I may say with the apostle, "that I accounted not my life dear to myself, that I might finish my course with joy." And the Lord alone appeared to my deliverance, and made her more moderate the rest of my servitude, it being somewhat less than two years; and after I went away, the Lord visited her with a sharp fit of sickness, in which time she spoke to her husband and them that were with her, that she thought she should not die till she had asked me forgiveness, and desired them to send for me if it were at London; and so they did. I could freely forgive her, for that I had done long since, and I prayed to my heavenly Father, that he might forgive her also. I sent to her, and it pleased God to touch her with a sense of his love, and lengthened her days, she confessing oftentimes the wrong she had done to an honest careful young man, as she said I had been, who minded her husband's inward and outward good, more than they did themselves. It pleased God to order it so, that she had a visit from me, before she went out of this world, and very comfortable and acceptable it was to her; and in a little time she ended her days in peace, and was buried in Friends' burying-place near Dolgelle in Merionethshire.

About this time, 1657, it was the great talk of the country that I was become a Quaker. My parents were much concerned about me. I was informed that the priest of Welch-pool, W. Longford, went to them and told them, that I was gone distracted, and that they should see for some learned men to come to me and restore me to my senses. I had not been yet with my father nor mother, but waited for freeness and clearness in myself, and then I went to see them, and in my way I visited an old friend of mine, a professor, and had a little opportunity to speak to him of the things of God, and his goodness to me, and a young man, called David Davies, was then convinced of the truth: this was on a seventh-day, in the afternoon: and when I was clear there, I went to Welch-pool to my parents. It was a trouble to them, to see that I did not, as formerly, go down upon my knees to ask their blessing, and bow to them, and take off my hat. My father soon turned his back upon me. I had heard of his displeasure, and that he had said, he would leave me nothing; saying to my relations, that they thought to have had comfort of me, but now they expected none, but that I would go up and down the country, crying Repent! Repent! Now if my father should have cast me off upon such an account, I was well persuaded it was for Christ's and the gospel's sake. I remembered David's condition, when he said, "Hide not thy face far from me, put not thy servant away in anger: thou hast been my help, leave me not, neither forsake me, O God of my salvation; when my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up: teach me thy way, O Lord, and lead me in a plain path, because of mine enemies," Psalm xxvii. 9—11.

At length my mother came tenderly to me, and took a view of me, looking on my face, and she saw that I was her child, and that I was not, as they said, bewitched or transformed into some other likeness; which was reported of Quakers then, and that they bewitched people to their religion, &c. Thus they deceived them and many others, with such strange stories, and we were accounted, with the apostles, deceivers, yet true. And when I discoursed with her out of the scriptures, her heart was much tendered and affected with the goodness of God towards me; she went to see for my father, and when she found him, said unto him, Be of good comfort, our son is not as was reported of him, we hope to have comfort of him yet.

But when my father came to his house, he spoke not much to me that night. The next day, being the first day of the week, when I heard the bells ring, it came upon me to go to the steeple-house, to visit that priest that had told my father, I was gone distracted, &c., and when he was at his worship, I went to our own seat to my father; there was no common-prayer read then to the people, as part of their worship in those days. There I sate still till he had done, and when he had done what he had then to say, I stood up and told him, That he might do well to stay, and make good the false doctrine that he had preached that day, if he could; and if I was distracted, as he reported, that he might labour to restore me to my right senses again. But I spoke but a little while, ere I was taken away to prison, with the young man before mentioned, that came to see for me, and found me in the steeple-house, so both of us were taken; there we were prisoners that night, in which time many far and near came to see us, expecting that we were some deformed creatures. God gave me a seasonable exhortation to them to fear the Lord, and indeed to cry, "Repent, repent, for the kingdom of heaven was at hand;" letting them know, "that we were God's workmanship, created anew in Christ Jesus;" with much more to that effect. I spoke to them from the scripture, which was much to their satisfaction, and we praised God, that kept us in his fear and counsel.

We were committed to prison on that law, made in Oliver's days, that none were to speak to the priest or preachers, neither at their worship, nor coming and going. The next morning we were had before the chief magistrate of

the town of Welch-pool, and after some discourse with him, it seemed good to him to discharge us, for he could find nothing justly to accuse us of, except concerning the law of our God.

So we went to our homes, the young man to his father's, and I to my master's; he suffered much violence by his father, in regard that he could not conform himself to that dry, dead, and formal praying that his father used; his father rose from off his knees when he was at prayer, and took a staff, and did violently beat his son, and against natural affection he took a lock and chain, and chained him out of doors in a cold frosty night. Thus our sufferings began to increase, for the testimony of our consciences towards God; but blessed be the name of the Lord, who preserved his people that trusted in him, saith my soul.

A little after this I came to hear that some of the people that were called Quakers, were at Shrewsbury in the county of Salop, being distant from the place of my abode about eighteen miles; I waited for an opportunity to go to see them, and the way of their worship, for as yet I had not seen any of them, but that one poor man before mentioned. When the time called Christmas came, my master's work being somewhat over for a while, I got leave to go so far. I went first to the house of John Millington, where many Friends resorted, and they of the town came to see me in great love and tenderness, and much brokenness of heart was among us, though but few words. We waited to feel the Lord among us, in all our comings together. When the first-day of the week came, we went to a meeting at W. Pane's, at the Wild Cop, where we had a silent meeting, and though it was silent from words, yet the word of the Lord was among us. It was a hammer and a fire; it was sharper than any two-edged sword, it pierced through our inward parts, it melted and brought us into tears, that there was scarcely a dry eye among us; the Lord's blessed power overshadowed our meeting, and I could have said, that God alone was master of that assembly. The next day as I was preparing for home, having had a considerable time with Friends there, and being much comforted with the goodness of God, and unfeigned love of the brethren, we heard that John ap John was come to town, and was to have a meeting there. I staid that meeting, where I heard the first Friend that was called a Quaker, preach in a meeting, and when I heard him, I thought he spoke as one having authority, and not as the Scribes, his words were so sound and piercing.

After this meeting at Shrewsbury, I came home to my master's house, where I was under many considerations, and especially that of Christ's words, "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." Mat. v. 14—16.

I was sensible that God had opened my understanding and lighted my candle, and given me a sense and feeling of my own state and condition, how that I had been in darkness, and under the region and shadow of death; and God having showed mercy and kindness unto me, in calling me from this great darkness to the marvellous light of his dear Son Christ Jesus, who is "the light of the world, that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world;" I was made willing not to hide my candle, as it were under a bushel, or to hide my talent in the earth; but in the love of God, I was made willing to let that light, which he pleased by his grace to enlighten me withal, shine before men, that they might come "to glorify their Father, which is in heaven." Mat. v. 16.

The next public service that the Lord required of me, was to go and give my testimony for him, and to warn a company of people to think of their latter end, who were met to dance and to play, at what they called a merry night, not far from my master's house. When I came within the room where they were dancing, the fiddler ceased playing, and they dancing; I declared the word of the Lord among them. That which was chiefly before me was that of Job; "They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance. They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ. They spend their days in mirth, and in a moment go down to the grave," Job xxi. 11—13. When I had discharged myself of what lay upon me, I parted in love and peace from them, and they thanked me for my good exhortation, and some of them came to set me home.

About this time, 1658, I heard of one that was called a Quaker, who was come from Ireland to Llanvilling, a town in the county of Montgomery, and in the love of God I went upon the first-day of the week to visit him; where we had a comfortable refreshing meeting together, and the Lord's presence was with us, though we were strangers one to another, as to the outward, yet we had fellowship and unity one with another in the inward life of righteousness; his name was Roger Pritchard. He tarried not long there, but went back again to Ireland; though it was said, he came to these parts with an intention to stay here, and to bear his testimony for God in this dark corner of North Wales; but he not being faithful to God, who sent him here, as he was going back he

suffered great losses by sea, and lost his good condition also, and turned back to the vanities of the world, which was a great sorrow and exercise to me: but the Lord visited him again, as may be seen hereafter. Thus I was left alone again.

I continued, as the Lord made way for me, to visit those in whom I found any inclination to the things that were good, and there was one William Davies convinced of the truth with me. I was also made willing to visit the Independent meeting, and those people that I formerly belonged to, that were a separate people, gathered together chiefly by Vavasor Powell, before mentioned, a zealous man in his day. But when truth broke forth in this country, I being the first that came to receive it in these parts, did separate myself from them, in love to that blessed truth that I received, and it became my true teacher. So Vavasor Powell proved angry, and preached much against the Quakers, their way and principles; I hearing this, came to a place called Cloddieococchon, near Welch-pool, to their meeting, expecting to find him there; but he was not there. John Griffithes, a justice of the peace in those days, was preaching there. When I came in among them, they seemed uneasy; and when I had an opportunity, I bore a testimony for God, and his Son Christ Jesus, his way, truth, and people, which they preached against. When I had done what I had to say, he went on again; and when I found something more upon my spirit to declare among them, this John Griffithes commanded to take me away, and a near relation of mine, that owned the house, took me in his arms, and led me out of the house through the fold, and through a gate that opened to the common, and shut the gate after me. There I sat under an ash tree, weeping and mourning to see the blindness, darkness, and hardness of heart, pride and haughtiness, that were come over a people who once were loving, kind, and humble in spirit. As I sat weightily under a serious consideration, what and when would be the end of these formalities and hardness of heart, I prayed to the Lord for them. And the word of the Lord came to me, That though they put me out of their house, yet in time they would come to own truth, and that house should be a meeting-place for Friends. Of this a further account may be seen hereafter. So I went away, well satisfied of the love and goodness of God to me that day, in giving me comfort and consolation, for my tears of sorrow and affliction, that I met with a little before; and I remembered the saying of the apostle, Heb. xii. 11, "Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous; nevertheless, afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness, unto them which are exercised thereby."

After this, I still waited to know the will and counsel of God, and that he might direct me in my way and order my steps in this my spiritual travail; for I had none to look unto but to him alone, who was all-sufficient to carry on the work which he had begun, though often by weak, poor, mean, and contemptible instruments in the eyes of the world. Well might I say with the apostle, "But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are," 1 Cor. i. 27, 28.

About this time I went to visit some young men, my former companions in profession of religion; two or three of them were convinced, and received the Truth. When we were come to the number of four, it was with me, that we ought to meet together in the name of the Lord: for I remembered the promise of Christ, who said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," Mat. xviii. 20.

So we all agreed to meet together, but none of us had a house of his own to meet in. We determined therefore to meet upon a hill in a common, as near as we could for the conveniency of each other, we living some miles distant one from another. There we met in silence, to the wonder of the country. When the rain and weather beat upon us on one side of the hill, we went to the other side. We were not free to go into any of the neighbours' inclosures, for they were so blind, dark, and ignorant, that they looked upon us as witches, and would go away from us, some crossing themselves with their hands about their foreheads and faces.

Thus we continued for some time, till two of them left me; one of them was put apprentice by Friends to William Shewen, of London. The other young man was a soldier in Oliver Cromwell's days, and he got, as soon as he could, to be disbanded, so he went to Gloucestershire, and lived among Friends. The third was one William Davies, that lived hard by me, and we met together for some time; but one time he staid longer than usual, and a foul dark spirit possessed him, so that the little time we were together, was not comfortable to me; and when we had broke up the meeting, by way of discourse, he asked me, How I did think we should stand in the face of the whole country. I answered him with great zeal, The Serpent, the Serpent, the same that

beguiled the woman in Paradise, hath beguiled thee; thou wilt not be able to stand. And while we were yet discoursing, I saw my master coming, who was also convinced, but was not faithful to that good spirit that convinced him of the truth, and showed him what he ought to do, but did it not; yet he continued loving to Friends, and frequented their meetings to his latter end. As I looked back, I saw him coming towards us, with two women following him, the one was his wife, my cruel mistress, the other was his sister; they both had staves in their hands, and when they came unto us, the sister began to beat her brother, my master and my mistress set a beating of William Davies. So his trial came very quickly, and William Davies came no more to meet me, nor any other Friends, for many years; yet he afterwards came among Friends, and continued with them to the end of his days, and was buried among them. It so happened that I had never a blow among them, and if I had received any, I had learned of Christ Jesus, my Lord and master, to suffer patiently for his name's sake, and not to depart from him, though my trials, temptations and afflictions were not a few; so that I may say with the apostle, "But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy." Acts xx. 24. 2 Cor. iv. 17. Mat. x. 37, 38, 39.

These young men going away thus, I was left alone again, but still I kept waiting upon the Lord, to know his will and good pleasure concerning me; and when the time of my apprenticeship was over, I found freedom to go to London, to visit Friends there, which was in the year 1658–9: and finding many good and living Friends there, I settled to my trade, being a felt maker, and I was very well satisfied, that I could go to meetings, and follow my business. When any thing would come into my mind of my native country, barren and uninhabited with Friends and Truth, I endeavoured to shut it out, and to keep where I was, and I did what I could; but all my fair pretences and reasonings would not do, I was disobedient to the Lord, and trouble and sorrow and judgment from the Lord came upon me, for not obeying his command, to go to my own country, to stand a witness for him there. In this my disobedience, I continued till I lost his presence, and he smote me with trouble within and pain in my bones, that I could not work nor labour. In this time Friends of London were very kind and careful of me, and would freely have administered unto me, but I was not willing to accept of any thing from them, so long as I had of my own. My pain of body and spirit increased upon me, till at last I was forced to bow to the will of the great God, who was too strong for me; and reasoning with him one night, upon the bed of my sorrows, he showed me clearly, that I was to go to my own country; and I was made willing to give up to go, if he would be pleased to let me know his will and pleasure by this sign and token, that he would remove my pain. I also reasoned with him thus; that I was alone, like a pelican in the wilderness, or a sparrow on a house top. The Lord still commanded me to go, showing that he would provide an help-meet for me. And when I had made a covenant with the Lord to go, immediately my pain was removed, and I had peace and quietness of mind and spirit. I arose next morning, and went to my work; and when those tender Friends, that had a regard for me in my sickness, came to see me that morning, I was gone to work; which was to their admiration.

So the Lord gave me a little time, and he alone provided an help-meet for me; for I prayed unto him, that she might be of his own providing, for it was not yet manifest to me where she was, or who she was. But one time as I was at Horselydown meeting in Southwark, I heard a woman Friend open her mouth, by way of testimony against an evil ranting spirit that did oppose Friends much in those days. It came to me from the Lord that that woman was to be my wife, and to go with me to the country, and to be an help-meet for me. After meeting, I drew somewhat near to her, but spoke nothing, nor took any acquaintance with her, nor did I know when, or where I should see her again. I was very willing to let the Lord order it as it seemed best to himself, and therein I was easy; and in time the Lord brought us acquainted one with another, and she confessed that she had some sight of the same thing that I had seen concerning her. So after some time we parted, and I was freely resigned to the will of God; and when we came together again, I told her, if the Lord did order her to be my wife, she must come with me to a strange country, where there were no Friends but what God in time might call and gather to himself. Upon a little consideration, she said, if the Lord should order it so, she must go with her husband, though it were to the wilderness; and being somewhat sensible of the workings of God upon her spirit in this matter, she was willing to condescend in her mind to what he wrought in her; but by hearkening to one who had not well weighed the matter, she became disobedient to what God had revealed to her; which brought great sorrow and trouble upon her. I went to see her in this poor condition, and I rested satisfied with the will of God in this concern, being freely resigned, if the Lord had wrought the same thing in her, as was in me, to receive her as his gift to me; and after some time, we waiting upon the Lord together,

she arose, and declared before me, and the other Friend who had begot doubts and reasonings in her mind, That in the name and power of God she consented to be my wife, and to go along with me, whither the Lord should order us; and I said, in the fear of the Lord, I receive thee as the gift of God to me. So I rested satisfied in the will of God, for a further accomplishment of it.

Under a weighty consideration, which way to take each other in marriage, we concluded to lay our proceedings before our elders, and especially our ancient friend George Fox; (people in those days were married by a priest, or before a justice) and I told George Fox, we thought to take each other in a public meeting; so he desired the Lord to be with us. And when we saw our clearness in the Lord, we went to the Snail meeting in Tower Street, London, in the morning; and in the afternoon to Horselydown, Southwark: and in that meeting, being the 26th of the fourth month, 1659, in the presence of God, and that assembly, we took each other to be man and wife.

God alone knew our innocency and integrity in going together. It was not for gold nor silver, nor any outward thing; but to be serviceable to him in our age and generation, and to stand witnesses for him and his blessed truth, where he should send us. I might say with Tobias, "Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife, for a helper and a stay; of them came mankind. Thou hast said, It is not good that man should be alone, let us make an aid like himself." Tobit viii. 6.

Soon after, in the Lord's time, we made what haste we could to come to the country, where we believed the Lord would have us to be; and we said, O Lord, if thou wilt go with us in our way, and give us bread to eat, and raiment to put on, then, O Lord, thou shalt be our God; and the Lord was with us in all our journey, and gave unto us his sweet and comfortable presence.

Soon after we came to Welch-Pool, those professors, who had been and were in great power, began to be faint-hearted, because of the report of bringing in king Charles the second; which in a little time was accomplished, and those that were in great pomp, were brought to prison themselves. And I was had before the first justices that were made in these parts by the authority of king Charles the second, in the year 1660, notwithstanding I was a prisoner to the magistrate of the town. When I went up before them, many of the people of the town followed me, to see what would become of me, and to what prison they would send me, or what punishment they would inflict upon me. But the Lord was with me, and I feared not man, whose breath is in his nostrils, but the living God, whom I desired to obey in all things. When I was come into the room, it being in the night, the high sheriff, colonel Mostyn, and the justices stood as people in amaze, to see me come with my hat on my head amongst them, and spoke not one word to me for some time. In a little while, I asked them, whether they sent for me there; they said they did. One of the justices asked me, where I had that new way, and strange religion. I answered him, It was the good old way that the prophets and servants of God lived and walked in; and that way I had found, and desired to walk in it all my days. That justice was peevish, and said, I think the man is mad: I think we must have him whipt; though I answered them according to scripture, yet they were ignorant of it. They demanded of me to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy; I told them, that my Lord and Master Christ Jesus, and his apostle James, commanded me not te swear at all. They had a priest with them, who took upon him to question me. The first thing he asked me was, Which was first, reason or scripture; I told him, reason was before scripture; God made man a reasonable creature in his own image: and the first part of the scriptures now extant, was written by Moses: the apostle tells us, "That the law came by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." I further told them, "that holy men of God gave them forth as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." As to this, they seemed to be satisfied. But the priest put some ensnaring questions to me; and when I perceived it, I asked the justices what that man was; whether he was a justice of the peace or not; and whether he was not a priest; they said, they looked upon him to be a fitter man than themselves to discourse with me about religion. I told them, I thought he was as the high-priest among the Jews, who put ensnaring questions to Christ, when he was brought before them, to seek to make him an offender; and turned myself to the justices, and desired them to take notice of that man, who laid those ensnaring questions, to seek to make me an offender. Then the priest left me, and the justices asked me, seeing I would not take the oaths, whether I would give bail; and said, they would take my father's bail for my good behaviour. I told them, my cause was just, and I was innocent, and would give them no bail, for truth binds me to my good behaviour. Then the high-sheriff, a very fair man, told me, I was a strange man, and of a strange persuasion, to come with my hat upon my head among them, and would not take the oaths nor give bail. You know, said he, that Paul said to Festus, Noble Festus. I told him, that Paul had tried Festus, but I had not as yet tried him; and it might be, that I

might speak of him, Noble Sheriff. Upon this they were most of them very pleasant. He asked me, whom I did know there; there were several justices my relations present, who very well knew me, but I made mention of none of them; but told them, I knew the chief magistrate of the town, Charles Jones, whose prisoner I was. Then they called for him, and asked him, whether he knew me; he said he did, very well, for I was born and bred in the town among them, and was a very honest young man all along; but, said he, what devil he hath now, I know not. They asked him, whether I was his prisoner; he said I was. Then, said the justices, take him again to your custody. As I was going out of the room, I told them, that I brought a good hat on my head there, but was going away without it, for some of the baser sort had conveyed it away, but the justices made diligent search about it; so it was brought me again, and put upon my head, and they parted with me very friendly, and the town magistrate took me a little from them, and bid me go home to my wife and family. Many of the inhabitants of the town accompanied me home, praising God in their way for my deliverance, for several things were threatened against me; but, blessed be God, truth was over all, and had dominion: and the witness of God was reached in many of them, and the high-sheriff continued loving and kind to Friends, and ready to serve them in what he could all his life-time, as also was his deputy-sheriff, and several other of the justices.

About the third month, 1660, many of these professors, captains, lieutenants, and soldiers, that were in arms in Oliver's and Richard Cromwell's days, were put in prison in the town of Montgomery. My wife and I did foresee, that I should be sent there to them, though I never was a soldier, nor bore any arms for either side. And in a little time came a troop of horse for me, to bring me to prison. My relations offered to give bail for me, but it was not accepted. So I went to acquaint my wife of it, and to make myself ready to go with them. One of the soldiers came up stairs after me, with a pistol and naked sword, and my wife raising herself up, and sitting in bed, being confined but three days before with her first child, she said, Dear husband be faithful to God, whatever becomes of me. The soldier seeing her, retreated back. So I went down to the troop of horse, standing in the street before my house. There was among them one bad man, who ran away in my father's debt, that threatened to compel me to follow his horse's heels on foot many miles. But by this time several of the aldermen, and others of the town, were gathered together in the street, who desired this man, and others of the troop, to let me alone for that time, and they would engage, body for body, that I should be in prison next morning; but they could not prevail. At length some of the aldermen fell into a rage, and bid them meddle with me if they durst; and bid me go to my house, which I was not willing to do, for great fear came upon me, lest there should be a quarrel among them concerning my going or staying. But one or two of the aldermen, being more considerate than the rest, desired their patience till the captain might be spoken with, who was then in town. He soon granted that I should stay at home that night, and be in Montgomery prison next morning, and was angry at that bad man for his incivility towards the aldermen that interceded for me; for the captain knew I was a peaceable man, and never concerned myself in fighting for one side or other. When the troop had their orders, they went on their way; and I praised God, in the multitude of his mercies, that there was no blood shed that day; for many of the young men of the town, with the aldermen, were gathered together with clubs and staves, saying, What, should a town's born child be so abused by such a bad fellow as that was, before-mentioned? My heart often trembled within me, lest any thing should fall amiss in this tumult; and I desired them often, before they went to the captain, that I might go along with them towards my prison.

So that night I staid at home, and next morning took my journey towards my prison at Montgomery. I avoided the house of my uncle, a justice of the peace in this county, near my way, and brother-in-law to this captain, lest he should stop me from going to prison. So I went there myself alone, and told the marshal, John Mason, that I was come a prisoner; and he took me up to an upper garret for my lodging, but I had the liberty of the house, as well as other prisoners, there being many Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, who were formerly my great acquaintance; but now they appeared very strange, and would not discourse with me. I considered the reason, and was informed, that these old formal church-members or professors had agreed among themselves that they would not discourse with me, nor receive any books from me, lest the most serious inward Christians amongst them should turn Quakers. But in a little time their orders and covenants were broken, and I was moved to go to their meeting, sometimes having little to say among them, but a sigh or a groan, and a travail in my spirit for them, which did often put them out of order in their preaching and praying; and as the Lord would order it, I spoke a few words among them. A Baptist was convinced there, and came to meet with me in my room.

Cadwalader Edwards was also convinced, and came up with us to meet in the prison; and then discourses and disputes began between them and me. I wrote a few lines to send home to my wife, but knew not by whom to send it, for it was very hard to send any papers out of prison: the marshal, or jailer, would examine and search such as came in, or went out, for letters. An old friend, an acquaintance of mine, came to visit her friends and brethren the professors in prison, whom I desired to carry that letter to my wife, as she went through our town of Welch-pool, to her home; she was afraid to meddle with it, partly for fear of the jailer, and also lest she should offend her brethren there. I desired her not to be afraid, for I would read it to her first, and the jailer might see it if he pleased; and after I had read it to her, she was tenderly affected, turned to her brethren again, and said, surely these people will never come to us, but we must go to them. Some time after, through much trouble and affliction, she came to receive the truth, to live in it, and obey it; her name was Margaret Bowen, wife of John Bowen of Colfryn, and mother to Peter Bowen, in Martin's-le-Grand, London.

In a little time my service was over among those professors in that prison, and the Lord made way for my enlargement. In about two weeks I came away, and left the rest of the prisoners there, where they continued a considerable time. I was well satisfied with the goodness of God, that I found his presence, life, and power with me; a present help in the time of need, which kept me low and humble, that I durst not rejoice that spirits were made subject; but rather rejoice, that I found my name written in heaven. I came home in great love and peace to my wife and family, and many of my loving neighbours rejoiced to see me.

I continued about my calling and business, and waited upon God to know his mind and will concerning me. In this time I heard of an honest old woman, who had received the truth some time before at Montgomery, her name was Ann Hamon, wife of Thomas Hamon; my wife and I went to visit her.

About the year 1661, I went to a meeting at Edgemont near Wem, in Shropshire. Here our friend William Gibson and I were taken prisoners, with about twenty-five or twenty-six more, and sent to Shrewsbury. We found the temper of the jailer to be very cruel. He threatened us with a great deal of hardship, if we did not eat of his meat, drink of his drink, and lie on his beds, and give him what he demanded. We told him, we were the king's prisoners, and demanded a free prison, and straw to lie upon; but he in a rage denied us that, and put us in a little room, where there was scarce place for us to lie down. When night came, sleep came upon us, we being weary by travelling so many miles on foot, but we were made willing and able to suffer all things; so that night we lay upon the boards, and it was pleasant unto us, being warm weather, and about the time of hay-harvest. The next morning we were very fresh and well, praising God for his mercies and goodness to us, when the jailer came to us, and asked, how we liked our lodging, and how we slept; we told him, we slept in peace of conscience and quietness of mind, for we suffered for conscience-sake towards God, and durst not break the command of Christ and the apostle, who commanded us not to swear at all. For our supposed transgressions was not only for meeting together, but for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The jailer being a very passionate inconsiderate man, would go out in the morning from his own house, and not come back till night, and then returned so drunken, that he could hardly speak or stand. The next night when we went to lie down, the room was so little we could not all lie at once. The next morning we complained to the jailer, that there was not enough of room for us all to lie down, and desired him to let us have a little straw, but it would not be granted us. By this time the Friends of the town had liberty to come to visit us, and to bring us in some provision; and when the door was opened for us to go into another room, there being a bedstead with cords in that room, William Gibson and I lay upon the cords, and next morning we found, that the print of the cords was not only in our clothes, but in our skin also, so that it had been easier for us to have lain upon the boards, as we did before. By this time having well observed the jailer's humour and temper, I began to be uneasy in myself to let him alone; so I watched him in the morning upon his first rising, when he came to the court before our prison door, and began to discourse with him about the prisoners that lay in such hardship. I told him, they were honest men and most of them masters of families, and had good beds to lie upon at home, but now they were content for Christ's and the gospel's sake, to suffer that hardship, I desired him to let them have liberty to go to their friends in town at night, and to come there in the morning: and if he would not be pleased to grant them a little straw, then to let them go lie in their own beds; which he surlily denied, calling them a company of rogues and knaves, and such like terms. He asked me, what made me plead for them; I told him, they were my friends. He answered, Why your friends? You are no Quaker, are you? I said, I am called a Quaker. He an-

swered, You do not look like a Quaker; and he looked me in my face, and on my hands and body. I desired him not to disgrace me so, as to tell me I was no Quaker. Then he asked me, where I lived; I told him, when I was at home, I lived at Welch-pool, and my family was there. But said he, where are you now? I asked him, whether he did not know I was a prisoner there with my friends; and he asked me, whether I did lie upon the boards with them; I told him I did. He said, he was sorry for it; but went away in anger, being much discontented in himself. I did not see him till next morning, at which time I went to him again, and discoursed friendly with him; he said, he enquired about me in town, and I might take the liberty of the town. I acknowledged his kindness; but told him, it would be no comfort to me, to have the liberty of the town, and leave my friends and brethren there. He said, then I might stay there with them. So I did not see him till the next morning and then I went to him again. He was so cross and ill-conditioned, he would not suffer any other Friend to speak to him. William Gibson did so judge him for his wickedness, that he kept him close in a room by himself. After five or six nights lying on the boards, I prevailed with him, that Friends might have the liberty of the town in the night, and be there in the morning. So the next day he began to be more friendly to us. After some days, I desired our friend John Millington to come with me to the jailer's house, to see whether we could have leave to go home till the next assizes; but it was not then granted; but he told me, if I pleased I might go home till then. I told him, he might as freely let them go as me, for most of them lived in the county, and I lived out of the county; but no more could we have that time of him. I was uneasy in myself, seeing I had got a place in him, to let him alone, and pressed for my friends further liberty. A little time afterwards, by serious arguments, as it was harvest time, and hard for their wives, or some of their families, to come with weekly necessaries for them, I, with my friend John Millington, prevailed with him to let them go, and he took our words for our appearance at the next assizes.

Through the goodness of God, we all returned together to Shrewsbury, to our prison, before the assizes, and found a great alteration in the jailer; he was very low and mournful. He had lost a prisoner, a malefactor, and was to be tried for his life for his escape. He was very loving and kind to us, and let Friends go themselves to Bridgenorth, about fourteen miles, where the assizes were then held; and he desired me to stay with him in his affliction, and not be much from him. He said his life was at stake, and if God and the judge would show him any mercy, it was upon our Friends' account, and not for any deserts that were in himself, for he confessed he had been too severe to us; but notwithstanding, said he, you are merciful men, and can forgive wrongs and injuries.

When we came to Bridgenorth, we were put in a large spacious room in the house of correction, to be there in the day time, that we might be all together, and ready when called for; but we had liberty of going in and out for lodging, and what necessaries we wanted; no keeper being over us, but what we set ourselves to look to the door, and that too many Friends might not be out at once, and those were not to stay out too long. We saw it was convenient, that Friends should go out by two and two, to walk the streets; for it was a strange thing to people to hear of Quakers. Once it fell to my lot to be at the door, though the door was always open, that such who would, might come and see us—with several of whom we had reasonings and disputes about the way of truth and righteousness—there came one, who appeared something like a gentleman, and asked me, whether he might see the Quakers; I desired him to walk up along with me, and he should see them. When I had brought him up to the room where Friends were walking, I told him, those were they. He answered, these be Christians like ourselves, but where are the Quakers? I told him, these were they that were called Quakers. He asked me, whether I was one of them; I told him, I was one so called. I had an opportunity to declare to him the way of truth, and that the name of Quaker was given to us in scorn and derision; and he departed very friendly. Some people were so blind and dark in those days, that they looked upon us to be some strange creatures, and not like other men and women. They would gather much about us in the town, and we had good opportunities to speak of the things of God to them. But I was pretty much with the jailer, waiting when his trial would be; and when it came, I went with him, and stood somewhat near him, which he was very glad of. The jury cleared him, being not found guilty of a wilful escape; which was gladness to him, and satisfaction to us. And when the assizes was near at an end, the judge returned us to one justice Holland, except William Gibson, to whom the judge put it, whether he would go home, if he were discharged: but he could not make the judge such a promise as he required, so he was committed again to the same prison; but we were freely and friendly discharged, having had good service in that town, and the Lord was with us, and brought us safe home, to the comfort of our families

and ourselves; and we have cause to bless and praise the name of the Lord, for ever, for all his mercies and goodness to us all along, in the time of our afflictions and persecutions. We could say, Surely God is good to Israel, and unto all them that draw nigh unto him with an upright heart.

In the year 1662, a further concern came upon me about meetings in this country. One that was convinced in the prison of Montgomery, when I was there, viz., Cadwalader Edwards, who lived near Dolobran, promised me that we should have his house to keep a meeting in. I went to know whether he would perform his promise, which he readily granted; and I appointed the day and time with him, which he gave notice of to his neighbours thereabouts. I being destitute of a friend to accompany me to the meeting, depended upon the Lord, that he would provide a suitable companion to go with me. And my wife going to Shrewsbury, I told her of the meeting, and desired her to speak to Friends there of it, that if there was any public Friend there, he might come home along with her. There happened to be Richard Moor, of Salop, a worthy and faithful labourer in the gospel, who came along with her to our house in Welch-Pool. This was in the ninth month, 1662. A day or two after, we went to the meeting, where came in Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, who was formerly in commission of the peace, and had been in election to be high-sheriff of that county, and also several of his well-meaning neighbours, some of them were professors, belonging to the same people that I formerly belonged to. The Lord was not wanting, but afforded unto us his good presence; life and power came from him, that reached to the hearts and understandings of most of the people then present, who gave testimony to the truth, life, and power of God, that appeared with us that time; and in the love, fear, and life of truth, we parted.

The next morning we went to visit Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, who tenderly received us, and several that were at the meeting, came there that day; where we had a sweet, comfortable, refreshing time, in the presence of the Lord; as it is said, "In his presence is fulness of joy, and at his right hand there are pleasures for evermore." Psal. xvi. 11.

The report of this meeting went through the country, some saying, that most of that side of the country were turned Quakers. Whereupon divers were sent for, before Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, to a place where he then lived, called Llyssin, about three miles from Dolobran. After some discourse with them, he sent them to Welch-Pool to prison, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which they refused, because they could not swear at all; they being about six sent together, viz., Charles Lloyd, Hugh David, Richard David, Cadwalader Edwards, Anne Lawrence, Sarah Wilson, &c., where they were continued very close prisoners.

In a little time were added prisoners to them, William Lewis, and Margaret his wife, who were owners of the house at Cloddiecochion, before-mentioned, where I was moved to go, about the year 1657, to a meeting of the professors, afterwards the place of my abode. This William Lewis, my near relation, was he that led me out of the house to the common, and shut the gate against me, as before related. And thus the word of the Lord was fulfilled, that came to me then, That those people should own and receive truth, and that house should be a meeting-house for us, which it now is, and hath been these forty years.

The oath of allegiance and supremacy being tendered to them, they could not take it for conscience-sake; swearing at all being forbidden by Christ and his apostle James; so they were sent to prison, and continued prisoners there. Edward Evans also, an honest and substantial man, was committed to prison for the same supposed offence, who was convinced some time before; I having had some weighty discourse with him about the things of God. He told me, when he was in prison with Vavasor Powell, with many more of their brethren in Pool jail, that Vavasor leaning upon a window of their prison that opened to the street, saw me and my dear wife pass by, and said, Behold Zacharias and Elizabeth: it was said of them, that they walked in all the commandments of God blameless. This Edward Evans, and some others of the prisoners, looking out through the window, saw us two called Quakers, that he and others a little before had preached severely against. They looked upon it, that the Lord had forced him to give that testimony of us, and several of them, as Edward Evans said, were convinced by that testimony of his concerning us; and in some time after came to live in obedience to the truth, and suffered for it.

These prisoners were kept very close; some of them were substantial freeholders, who were put in a dirty nasty place, being a low room; and the felons and other malefactors in a chamber over head, their filth often falling upon them. Charles Lloyd, who was a little before in commission of the peace, was put in a little smoky room, and did lie upon a little straw himself for a considerable time; and at length his tender wife, Elizabeth, that was of a considerable family, daughter of Sampson Lort, near Pembroke in South Wales, was made willing to lie upon straw with her dear and tender

husband. And thus they both, with the rest of Friends, did rather "choose to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season."

I staid at home with them for some time, keeping our meetings in prison; but at length the jailer had strict charge to keep me from among them, alleging, that I strengthened them in their way and principles; and when the jailer kept me out, I went to a neighbour's back yard, having leave of him, to see them and speak with them.

The sufferings of Friends being now very great, and still increasing, they sent the following paper to the quarter-sessions held at Montgomery.

To the Justices and Magistrates of this County of Montgomery.

"Forasmuch as it is not unknown to you, that we, who by the scorners of this world, that know not God, are called Quakers, are detained and kept close prisoners, only for the testimony of a good conscience towards God and man, our friends not being suffered to visit us, though drunkards, liars, thieves and robbers, are not debarred of their friends' admittance to them. This unheard of cruelty, were enough itself to establish us in our ways, if they were never so erroneous, as you say. This we are persuaded in our hearts, that never did Christ, nor any of his apostles, use this, or any other way of cruelty, or persecution, to convince any of their errors, but contrarywise, by sound doctrine, and good conversation, and 'doing unto others, as they would they should do unto them;' for that was the rule that Christ left to true Christians.

"Now consider, in the soberness of your hearts and spirits, that if you were in our condition, would not you desire your enlargement? And seeing it is the king's clemency, in a declaration bearing date the 26th day of December, 1662, wherein he says, he is glad to lay hold on this occasion, to re-establish and renew unto all his subjects concerned in those promises, indulgence of a true tenderness of conscience. This assurance and confirmation of his promise made at Breda, upon the word of a king, viz.

"'We do declare all liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question for differences of opinions in matters of religion. And moreover he saith, in the same declaration, as for what concerns the penalties upon those, who living peaceably, do not conform thereunto through scruple and tenderness of misguided consciences, but modestly, without scandal, perform their devotions in their own way.' We understand by these words, viz., that it is his fatherly care, to publish this his declaration, to stop and prevent all other acting, according to former acts made against liberty of tender consciences. And we hope that you will be as favourable to us, your neighbours, seeing power is committed to your hands, as the king, being chief magistrate, is unto his subjects. These things have we seen fit and convenient to lay before you, that you may understand we are not ignorant of the king's clemency towards us. And we, whose names are underwritten, do wait the fulfilling and performing this one other word more of a king, by you who profess yourselves to be his obedient and loyal subjects; notwithstanding all which former words and promises of the king, the supreme magistrate, we have been persecuted more by you, his inferior magistrates in this county, than in many other counties. And further, that you may be left without excuse for that, if you do persecute us, it is without any cause from us, or any order from the supreme magistrate, the king of England. If you do justice herein, the Lord will bless you; if not, sin will lie at your door.

"These from your friends, that desire the good and welfare of your souls and bodies, that have received the spirit of meekness; that can pray for them that persecute us, and despitefully use us, who in patience and long-suffering are content to submit to the will of God, who renders to every man according to the deeds done in the flesh."

Humphrey Wilson,	William Lewis,
Richard Davies,	Sarah Wilson,
Edward Evans,	Margaret Lewis,
Charles Lloyd,	Catherine Evans,
Hugh David,	Anne Lawrence.

The foregoing paper was sent to the magistrates at their quarter-sessions, held at Montgomery, the 8th day of the eleventh month, 1662.

A copy of it also was sent to the chief justices at Ludlow by the jailer, together with another paper directed to them.

A little time after this I went to Penllyn, near Bala, in Merionethshire, to visit some Friends and tender professors there, who received me kindly, and there I settled a meeting among them, in the power of God, and from thence I came home, where I staid but a little while, to visit these prisoners. Soon after I went to the house of Owen Lewis, at Tyddyney Gareg, near Dolgelle, in Merionethshire, a man that had been in commission of the peace in Oliver's days, and was newly come from prison from Bala, who received me kindly; he was first convinced by Thomas Briggs. From thence I went to Robert Owen's of Dolycere, near Dolgelle, who had also been a justice of

peace, and a commander in Oliver's time. He received me and my testimony; as did also Owen Humphrey of Llwyngwril, near the seaside in the said county, who was a justice of the peace in Oliver's days, and his father, and his brothers, Samuel and John Humphrey. These, with many more there, received the truth in the love of it, and continued faithful, serviceable men in their country, kept meetings in their houses, and many were gathered to the Lord among the rocks and mountains in those parts; this was in the year 1662. After this journey, the Lord brought me safe home to my wife and family, to the comfort of Friends, and one another in the Lord.

Not long after this, Thomas Lloyd, brother to Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, hearing his brother was in prison, came from Oxford to visit him, having been a student there several years, as also his brother Charles had been before him; they told me that the great sufferings of Friends, in that city of Oxford, by the magistrates, and by the wild and ungodly scholars, did work much upon them; and they had some secret love for Friends then. So when Thomas Lloyd came home, being some time with Friends in prison, and elsewhere, the Lord opened his understanding by his light, life, and power, and he received the truth and was obedient to it, took up his daily cross, and followed Jesus, came to be his disciple, was taught by him, and went no more to Oxford for learning; and I may say with David, "The Lord made him wiser than all his former teachers." He staid pretty much at home, and with his eldest brother Charles Lloyd, and in these parts.

The jailer of Welch-Pool was very cruel to Friends, and continued them in that nasty hole before-mentioned, till Edward Evans fell sick, by reason of the dampness and unhealthiness of the room, and died; and the jailer would not suffer us to have his body to be buried, except we would pay the coroner, and so clear him, as if he had no hand in his death; but at last his relations prevailed without a coroner's inquest, and they took and buried him on a hill, on the back-side of the steeple-house in Welch-Pool; and it happened, as they were digging the grave, they found some bones of a man, and upon inquiry in some old records, it was said, there was an old judge buried there; and the name of that place is called ever since, Judge's Hill. We had got no burying-place of our own then, but were about having one.

Thomas Lloyd and I not heing prisoners now, though except us two, most that were then convinced were prisoners; the report of such who were turned Quakers being spread abroad, they were soon sent for before a magistrate, and the oath of allegiance and supremacy was tendered both to men and women; and they for conscience-sake refusing it, were sent to prison in order to be premunired.

My friend Thomas Lloyd and I were moved to go and visit most of the justices that had a hand in committing Friends to prison; we began at the furthest justice towards Machynlleth, and came down to Edward, Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, at Llyssin aforesaid, who had committed Charles Lloyd, and several other Friends; we understood on the way, that he was at a bowling-green, and several with him, near a place called the Cann Office, near the highway side, and not far from Llyssin, where we beheld them bowling. We considered with each other, which way to take, there being a peevish priest, the said lord's chaplain with them; so I asked Thomas Lloyd, whether he would engage the priest in discourse, or go to the said lord; which he chose, and got into the green leisurely towards him, where most of them knew Thomas; but he went not in their complimenting posture. He staid there but a little while, and they broke up their game, and while he discoursed with the Lord Herbert I discoursed a little with the priest. Lord Herbert coming towards the priest and me, he said to the priest, Mr. Jones, what have you got there? He answered, A Quaker, and haberdasher of hats, that lives in Welch-Pool. Oh! said Lord Herbert, I thought he was such an one, he keeps his hat so fast upon the block. Then he intending and preparing to come down a great steep ditch, I stept down to lend him my hand to help him; another priest would have stept between me and him, but Lord Herbert refused the priest's help; and stopping a little, said to the priest, Here is a brother that stands by will say, The blind leads the blind, and both will fall into the ditch. The priest was so drunk, that he could not stand by himself. This lord being a very big fat man, took my help to come down, so we went along with him towards his own house at Llyssin, laying the sufferings of our Friends before him, and that their sufferings were for their conscience-sakes towards God. He gave us no grant then for their enlargement, but we heard that he sent private instructions, and they had more liberty. The jailer had an empty house at the end of the town, and there he let Friends go, which was a sweet convenient place near the fields, without any keeper over them, and they had the liberty of the town, and to go where they pleased, except to their own houses.

So Charles Lloyd took a house in town for him and his family to live in; and we kept our meetings in that house of the jailer's aforesaid, for several years. Most of Friends by this time being under a premunire, many Friends came from several places to visit them, and

those that were convinced towards Machynlleth, William Evans, and several others of that end of the county, who were formerly Independents, were sent here to prison upon the same account, refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Peter Price also, a worthy man of Radnorshire, was sent to this prison; he had been in commission of the peace in Oliver's days; he, with several others with him, were committed by the justices of this county, to the house of correction in Welch-Pool, for three months, as vagrants, because they came out of their own county Radnorshire, adjoining to this county of Montgomeryshire, where they remained the three months; but they had the liberty of the town, and to go to the meetings with the rest of the prisoners. Other Friends, that lived in and about the town, met with them in prison, and considerable meetings we had in that house.

A little after this, Thomas Ellis, called a deacon in the Independent congregation, was convinced; a man of great esteem among them, and so he was also afterwards amongst us. He came to my house to visit the prisoners, his former fellow church members, and showed me a letter that came to him from their minister, Vavasor Powell, lamenting the deplorable condition and danger they were in at that time; saying, that the Christians were in great danger to be split between two rocks, viz: the World and Q. (meaning the Quakers) but the worst, said he is Q. But the Lord had opened Thomas Ellis's understanding, and given him a sight of their decay and formalities. Some years before the Lord did break in among them, to the convincing of many of them; for Thomas told me, that there came two women Friends among them, in the time of their breaking of their bread, (I suppose it was before I came from London) and when they had the motion of truth upon them, they opened their mouths in the name of the Lord, in much fear and humility; so that the Independent elders stood still and gave the women leave to speak what they had to say to the people; then the professors went on again with their business, and after some time the Friends spoke again; and then they commanded them to be taken away, but no one was very ready to do it. Then their minister, Vavasor Powell, called,—Brother Ellis, take them away. Thomas Ellis told me, that he remembered Christ was not hasty in passing sentence upon the woman, that the Jews brought before him in the case of adultery; but he stooped down, and wrote with his finger upon the ground, as though he heard them not. So Thomas Ellis told me he was not willing to take them away, till they had fully cleared themselves of what was upon them to deliver among them; but at last they called to him again, and bid him take them away. Then he rose from among the company and went to them, and desired them to go with him to the next room, for he had something to say to them, and the Friends went readily with him; then he told them on this wise: Friends, you see how we are met together here; we are like the Prodigal, who was spending his portion, and we have a little yet unspent; and when we have spent all, we must return to our heavenly Father, and come to you and your way. The Friends went away well satisfied. I have made much inquiry who these Friends were, and from whence they came, but could not certainly learn who they were. As for our Friend Thomas Ellis, the Lord blessed him, and poured his Spirit upon him, and gave him part of the ministry, and he became a faithful labourer and serviceable man among us; and at length he was made a prisoner here at Welch-Pool.

About the year 1663, our Friend James Parkes came from the north, hearing that some of his acquaintance and fellow church-members owned truth; he came to give them a visit in the love of God, and also to visit those Independents he formerly walked among that were not convinced; and he left a paper with me to deliver to them, which was thus:

A Lamentation and Warning from the Lord God, in the love of Christ Jesus, unto all the professors in North Wales, especially those about Wrexham in Denbighshire, and Welch-Pool in Montgomeryshire, whom formerly I have known, and walked with, in a fellowship and worship, till the Lord awakened me out of sleep, and opened in me an ear to hear his voice, which cried, Come out from amongst them, and be thou separate; touch no unclean thing, and I will receive thee.

"FRIENDS,

"Hear and lend an ear, O ye professors of Wrexham and Welch-Pool, and all the places and towns adjacent thereunto, who have been called churches of Christ, and members of his body, and followers of the Lamb. I am come in my Father's name to visit you, and in bowels of his love, in this the day of your calamity and adversity have I visited many of you, in obedience to his command, who sent me in his name and fear into these parts, chiefly for your sakes at this time, that you might hear, and come to fear him, whose voice hath shaken the earth, and removed it out of its place. He is making the keepers of the house to tremble, and he hath bound the strong man in many, that was armed, and formerly kept the house; then all was at peace; but a stronger than he

is risen, and manifest in the hearts of thousands, even Christ Jesus, the light of the world, who enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, that all in him and through him, might believe. He is dividing the spoil, and spoiling principalities and powers; and they whose eyes come to see him the Lord of Hosts, come to be undone. When Moses saw the appearance of the Lord, he did exceedingly fear and quake. It was he that made Habakkuk tremble, and his lips to quiver. And whosoever comes to know Christ, must know him through death, be baptized into his death, and suffer with him, before they come to live and reign with him. They must repent of all their wickedness, and turn from it, before they can come to be assured of rest and peace. Let none think God will wink at their wickedness, as he did in the times of ignorance; for now he is leaving all without excuse, and calling every man to repent. The light is risen, that manifests sin and hypocrisy in them that hold truth in unrighteousness; it is not the name of being called church-members, will serve any of your turns.

"O ye professors of all sorts, from the highest to the lowest, from the richest to the poorest! I am moved of the Lord God to warn you, that while you have time and space, you may be redeemed out of all evil; and that you might come out from amongst evil-doers, and so be saved from the wrath and destruction that will overtake the workers of iniquity, who repent not of their evil deeds, to give God the glory; and with the whirlwind of his wrath, he will vex you in his sore displeasure. O ye professors of Christ, and the apostles' words! who are not come to his life, nor to be of the same mind that he was of, who endured the contradiction of sinners, and was made perfect through sufferings; whom the apostles bore testimony to, and suffered for; being of the same mind, they did not shrink nor bow, nor let go their testimony, when persecution arose because of the word; but they overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, which they held; and they loved not their lives unto death. Are you all so blind, that you cannot see yourselves to be out of the light and image of Christ, and out of their practice, who followed him, and confessed him, and did not deny him before men; neither did they change their religion, as the powers of the earth changed. For whatsoever the powers of the earth countenanced, or discountenanced, they mattered not, who were of the true church that is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the pillar and ground of truth; but that which God made manifest to be his will, that they did; and though they were charged, by the powers that were then, to speak no more in his name, yet they spoke in his name, and did not deny his name.

"Dare you say, that you are saints, and of this church of Christ, and yet live in the breach of his commandments, who said, 'Swear not at all;' as some more eminent in esteem amongst you have done, and have taught others to do? Doth not the land mourn because of swearing? Are not such like the scribes and pharisees, who would not enter into the kingdom of heaven themselves, nor suffer them that would to enter in? Are not such now shutting up the kingdom of heaven against men? And must not the woes from the Lord be pronounced against them? Yea, assuredly, and will overtake them; pain shall suddenly come upon them, as on a travailing woman, and they shall not escape it. The Lord is come to deliver his people out of the teeth of these devourers, who with good words and fair speeches have deceived the hearts of some more simple and honest amongst you, and made merchandize of them, by promising you peace, while you are in your wicked ways and works; which the true prophets and apostles of old, whom the Lord sent, could not do; neither can they, who are of the same descent, royal seed, and offspring now; they know, there is no peace to be spoken to any, while they are in their wicked ways, drinking up iniquity as the ox drinketh water. Oh! my heart is broken within me, and I cannot but take up a lamentation for you, who have been esteemed beautiful, and the glory of many that have been called churches, to see you carried away captive, by the prince of the power of the air, that ruleth in the children of disobedience; and that you should be yet lying under the bondage of corruption and in sin, the wages whereof is death; out of the glorious liberty of the sons of God; and that death should reign over you, subjecting you to the power of the enemy; and you are taken captive by him at his will, laden with sins, and led away with divers lusts, like the silly women spoken of in the scriptures of truth, that were ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, but resist it; and so err in your minds, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God, though you talk of them. If you knew the scriptures, and the power of God, which brings into the life of them, you would witness the ability the saints in former times had, and now the saints of the Most High have, to stand over the powers of darkness, hell and death; then you would come to that which cannot be shaken, nor the gates of hell prevail against. But have not the powers of darkness prevailed against you, overcome you, and made you bow to their will, and to their laws, that will bind the conscience, and hinder its full liberty?

"Oh! consider seriously, and weigh in the coolness of your spirits, and in the fear of the Lord, what you have done; whether you have not received the beast's mark, either in your foreheads or in your hands: have you not fainted in the day of adversity? Have you not let go the profession of your faith, and wavered in your minds? Have you not licked up your old vomits again? Are you not wallowing in the filth of iniquity, and in your fleshly minds, walking in sensuality and in the carnal mind, which is enmity against God? Is it not death to be carnally minded? Are they not in death that are in the carnal mind? It is not strange to me, if I find such an enmity; because I expect no other from natural men, who perceive not the things of the spirit. You have rejected the chief corner-stone, which is laid in Sion for a foundation, and have not believed in the Light of the world, who is become the Head-stone in God's building and husbandry, and of the church that is pure, without spot or wrinkle, which is in God, the Father, of our Lord Jesus Christ, the pillar and ground of Truth. This is the city sought out, not forsaken. This is the habitation of God through the spirit, the stones whereof are laid with fair colours, the foundation of sapphire, and all the borders of pleasant stones. Such being redeemed out of sin, and from under the bondage of corruption, cannot plead for it, as some, looked upon amongst you more than others do; and would endeavour to make you believe, that the prophet Isaiah was always a man of unclean lips; but that was before he was undone, and while the woe was upon him. Ah, brutish is that spirit that would imagine that our God should make use of a man to do so much for his name and honour, as Isaiah did, and yet continue a man of unclean lips. This I testify, that Isaiah's iniquity was taken away, and his sins purged out. Such manifest themselves to be ignorant of Christ's death and manifestations, which is to take away sin, and in him is no sin. All that come to believe in his light, and to walk in it, have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth them from all sin. Such come by him to be made free from sin, and servants to righteousness; not of sin; for sin and iniquity comes to be done away; and then God beholds no iniquity in Jacob, nor transgression in Israel: and to such is given the tongue of the learned, to speak a word in due season to the weary. Such come to know the pure language, which the Lord promised to turn to his people. Such set a watch before their mouths, and have a bridle for their tongue. Now some plead for uncleanness, because the prophet said, he was a man of unclean lips, before he was touched with the lively coal, and before his iniquity was done away, and his sins purged out; and assuredly one day you shall all know that this is a false cover, too narrow to cover yourselves with, who break the commands of Christ, and teach others so to do; and that put your hands to the plough, and look back; so that you are not fit for the kingdom of heaven. You are filled with your own ways, wicked devices, and false covers you get to cover yourselves withal; but all your false coverings will prove too narrow, and your beds of ease, and false rests, which you think to stretch yourselves upon, too short; and no rest or peace there shall you have, but you shall all yet be farther tried, and your folly be made more manifest; and all the false covers, that all professors out of the life and power of God have been covered with, shall be plucked off; yea, all that are covered, and not with the Spirit of the Lord. The woe is to them who are adding sin to sin, and are not come to cleanness of heart, or cleanness of lips; and as long as you are in the uncleanness, and the best of you, as a brier pleading for it, blush for shame! Relinquish the title of church-membership, till you come to tread in the steps of Christ, and obey him; for his servants ye are to whom ye obey. Deceive yourselves no longer with the name of Christians only, but come to the nature, to witness the first old nature and birth slain, and brought under; which you all must do, before ever you come to know the new nature, or birth, that is of the spirit; for that which is born of the flesh, that is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit, that is spirit. If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, and all things are become new. The church of Christ is made up of living stones, squared and hewed into order, complete together, made a spiritual household, purged, washed, and made white, and the filth of the flesh done away. Such come to be vessels of honour, fit for the Master's use; receive of the heavenly treasure into the earthen vessel, and out of the abundance of the treasury of the heart, bring forth good things. With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

"So every one come to him that searcheth the heart, trieth the reins, and will reward every one according to their works, or deeds done in the body, whether they be good or evil; for the Lord God will be no longer mocked; such as you sow you must reap; he will no longer bear your halt and blind service, and dead worships, out of the life and power of God. Your hypocrisy and dissimulation is seen by the spirit of Truth, that leads and guides into all Truth, which you shall one day know is now striving with you, as it did with them before the flood;

yet shall not always strive with men. It saith, who requireth these things at your hands? And do you think God is pleased, or will now be served with the dry, dead, and airy service and worships? I tell you nay; the light of the glorious gospel is manifest, and the pearl of great price is found, and many have sold, and parted with all which was most dear to them, and which they most delighted in, to buy it; and they who come to believe in Christ Jesus, the Light, the Way, the Truth, the Life, and to walk in the light, they stumble not, nor stagger at the promises; but come to have life in themselves, and their minds, words, and actions, are seasoned. They are the salt of the earth, a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid; and their lights shine so before men, that they who are not wilfully blind, may see their good works, and godly conversation coupled with fear; and they that walk in the light, as he is in the light, have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ they witness, cleansing them from all sin. So if ever you come to know God aright, you must turn to the light that reproves you for evil, for the reproof of instruction is the way to life; and they that hate that which reproves them for their evil deeds, and sets their sins in order before them, abide in the chambers of death, and know not rest, life, and peace for their souls. Now as you come to the light, and wait in the light which comes from Christ, all your sins will be set in order before you, and it will show you all that ever you did; as you shall one day know, to your woe and misery, if you continue rejecting him. This is he in whom we believe, and of whom the prophets and apostles bore witness, whose name is better than every name, unto which every knee must bow, and every tongue confess; and every tongue that would rise up in judgment against him, shall be condemned, and shall fall before him.

"Therefore beware, and take heed what you do; repent of all your evil deeds, of all your hard speeches which you have uttered against him, and his glorious appearance in his sons and daughters, in this the day of his power, wherein he hath made many willing to follow him wheresoever he goeth, even through many tribulations, who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb: when you deny him, and will follow him no farther than it will make with your peace in the world, and enjoyment of your pleasures, and keep the friendship and favour of the world, which none ever did, but who were adulterated from the life of God, and turned against the pure spirit of God in themselves; and this shall you know.

"So whether you will hear or forbear, in this I shall have peace. My reward is with God, in that I have discharged my duty, and warned you before your day be quite over, before the Lord leave off stretching forth his hand, who knows and searches the hearts of all men, who knows my love towards you all, and to that which is pure of him, which never consented to sin, in all your consciences; even to that, and nothing else, can I, or desire I to be made manifest. I believe there is a seed to be brought forth from amongst you, which must be gathered into the true fold of everlasting rest and peace; for which seed's sake I travail night and day, waiting for its redemption and restoration, who am your friend, who seeks not yours but you; that you might come to know in this your day, the things that concern your everlasting peace, comfort, and true settlement, upon that rock that cannot be shaken, nor the gates of hell ever prevail against, before they be hidden from your eyes. Knowing the terrors of the Lord, and the wrath that is to be revealed from heaven against all that hold the Truth in unrighteousness; and having obtained mercy from the Lord, and in his name, the strong tower, hid myself, I cannot but persuade all to come into the same; and being in a deep sense of the loving kindness of the Lord, and what he hath done for my soul, since I walked with you, and was esteemed one of you, too large here to relate; neither indeed am I able to demonstrate the loving kindness of the Lord, in the visitation of his pure love, in turning me from darkness, which I must confess all the time I was with you, I walked in, into his marvellous light, and from the power of satan, unto God. He hath made me to feel and witness his power, wherein, through his good will towards me, I have found the ability to perform and to do the good, that when I was amongst you I desired to do; and likewise to resist the evil that I would not do. This is the Lord's own doings, and it is marvellous in my eyes; and I desire never to forget the Lord's great love to me, and powerful effectual working in me, to will and to do of his own good pleasure. I desire not to eat my morsel alone; but that all may come to taste and see how good the Lord is. Great and marvellous are his works, just and true are all his ways; he waits to be gracious, and there is no want to them that fear the Lord. He never forsakes, nor doth withhold any good thing from them that walk uprightly.

"So Friends, while you have time, prize it, and put not the day of the Lord far from you, for the Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but his long suffering is not for any to perish, but that all shall come to repent. Now is the day that every man's works must be tried, and every man's faith and love to God will be tried. Now is the day that many great professors make shipwreck of their faith, and of a good

conscience, and some that formerly seemed somewhat tender and honest amongst you, are grown sottish and brutish, and their understandings darkened, through the ignorance that is in them. The god of this world hath blinded the eyes of many great professors, by keeping them from the light, by which they might see their ways, and the works which they are doing out of the light, in the blindness which hath happened to them; but if you would come to the light, which is pure, of God in you, then would ye receive power to perform the acceptable will and requirings of the Lord; which that you may come to know and do, is the desire of your friend, that seeks not yours but you; and desires your everlasting peace and happiness, who formerly was known, and esteemed of, as a brother amongst you, by the name of

JAMES PARKES."

Wrexham, the 9th of the first month, 1662.

Several Friends, both from the North and South of England, were drawn to visit these Friends in prison, and many sweet and comfortable epistles were written to them.

There was a great convincement in the year 1662, in these two counties, viz., Montgomeryshire, and Merionethshire; and as meetings increased, several Friends came into Welch-Pool, where our meeting was kept in that house that was their prison. The magistrates and priest were discontented, some saying, that there came as many to the meeting, as went to their worship at the church, as they called it.

So the magistrates were resolved to come and break up our meeting, and one first-day they they came, viz. Thomas Corbet, a counsellor and a justice of peace in this county, together with the two bailiffs of the town, the serjeants at mace and under officers. When they came into the meeting I was at prayer, and they were indifferently civil till I had concluded, and then began to take our names. When they had done, my wife called to justice Corbet, and told him, they had not taken the names of all that were at the meeting; he asked her, who was untaken; and she put her child towards him, about a quarter old. He said, that was under age. She answered, We are all as innocent from plotting, contriving, or thinking any harm to any man, as this little child: which smote much this Thomas Corbet, and several others present. They committed me to one serjeant's house; and Thomas Lloyd, brother to Charles Lloyd and Samuel Lloyd, (son to Samuel Lloyd of Dudson, in the county of Salop, eldest brother to John and David Lloyd of London, and Edward Lloyd of Bristol) to the other serjeant's house. When the serjeant, whose house I was committed to, was come from the steeple house, he turned me out, and bid me go home, I should not stay there. So I went first to see my friends the old prisoners, who were kept, for a little time, more close, and we were not suffered to go to them; they were very glad to see me, and I was refreshed also to see them, though we could not go to one another. In a little time I went to see the other two prisoners that were at the other serjeant's house, and the serjeant let them come home with me.

On second-day following it came into my mind, that the magistrates would try us with an offer, to pass by that which they called a transgression, upon condition that we would go to the steeple-house to their worship the next first-day following; which I told to Friends.

On third-day following, justice Corbet, and the two bailiffs that had committed us to prison, sent for us before them. So we went, Thomas Lloyd, Samuel Lloyd, and myself. After some discourse with them, they proposed to us, that if we would go to church and hear divine service, as they called it, we should be discharged. I told them, when I was last there, they turned me out of their church, and if I should make any promise to go there, it may be they would do the like by me again. Justice Corbet said, he would engage I should not be turned out. Then I told them, I knew nothing to the contrary, but that I would come there. Justice Corbet seemed to be satisfied; but one of the bailiffs said, Mr. Corbet, do you think that the old Quaker will come to church, except it be to disturb our minister? Corbet asked me again, Whether I would disturb the minister? I told him, if God should put something in my heart to speak to the people, I hope they would not impose upon me to hold my peace. He said, God forbid they should do so! Then I told him, I hoped I should perform what I had promised to do; and so they discharged us. Now none was under an engagement to go to the steeple-house but myself, and the report went about that the old Quaker would go to the church.

When first-day came, and the bells began to ring, the other two Friends, viz., Thomas Lloyd, and Samuel Lloyd, came to me and said, We think we must go with thee to the steeple-house. When the people went to the steeple-house, I took my bible under my arm, and went to justice Corbet's house, (that was but a few doors from my house) to let him see that I was going, and asked him, Whether he was coming! He said, He was not disposed to come that day, but he would send his man to see that we should not be affronted. So the two Friends and I went to my own pew, that was opposite to the pulpit. There was but the curate to read the common prayer, and their service to them that morning; there was a great multitude of people; some said, there were some that had

not been at their church several years before. So nothing was laid upon us to speak to the people, till he had done. Then I stood up, and said to the people, I suppose you are not ignorant of the cause of our coming here this day, which was thus: the magistrates of the town came to our meeting, and they found us upon our knees praying to Almighty God. They were civil while we were at prayer, and when we had done, they took our names and committed us three to prison; most of the rest that were at the meeting were prisoners before. And the magistrates told us, if we would come to church, we should be discharged; and now you see we are come according to their desire. But I find that your priest is not here, and now I would have you to inform him, that I say

1. If he prove this to be the true church of Christ;

2. And that he is a true minister of Christ;

3. And that his maintenance is a gospel maintenance;

4. And this worship of yours to be the true worship of God;

Then we will be of your religion, and come again to you.

But if he proves not this, then we must conclude,

1. Your church to be a false church;

2. And he to be no true minister of Christ;

3. That his maintenance is no gospel maintenance;

4. That your worship is not the true worship of God.

All the people were very civil and orderly, and heard me a considerable while in the steeple-house. When I had done, Thomas Lloyd spoke a few very seasonable words to the people. And the people said, if Mr. Langford (which was the priest's name) will not prove us to be the true church of Christ, and our worship to be the true worship, then we will pay him no more tithes, for what Richard Davies said he proved out of the bible; for you see, he had the bible in his hand all the while. So for that time we parted.

When the bells rang again for them to go to their evening service, it lay upon me to go there again, and the aforesaid Friends went along with me; where the old high priest was, who made a long sermon, till we were all uneasy; but I desired the Friends to bear all things patiently. When the priest had done, he was going away; but I stepped up in my seat, and desired him to stay, for I had something to say to him; which was the same as aforesaid; when he heard my queries, and what I had to say, he turned his back and went away and gave us no answer. Then I said, Behold the hireling fleeth because he is an hireling. Some of the people staid, and some went with him, but all dissatisfied, that he would not prove them to be the true church of Christ, &c. I had a good opportunity to speak to the people more at large in the grave-yard; the Lord's presence, life and power was with us, blessed be the name of the Lord for ever, who doth not forsake his people that trust in him.

When we came home, justice Corbet sent for us again to him. He met us in his court, and said he was sorry that Mr. Langford was so uncivil, that he did not answer our queries, which he thought were very reasonable. In a little time, many of the neighbours were gathered together in the street, and in his court; we had a good opportunity to reason with him, and to open to the people, and declare to them the way and means to obtain the kingdom of heaven: and he was so moderate, that one of the neighbours said to him, Mr. Corbet, we think you will be a Quaker too. His answer was, I wish I were a Quaker in my life and conversation. Towards the end of our discourse, he desired me to give him my queries in writing, that Mr. Langford might answer them; for, said he, it may be he was not prepared to answer you then, but he may answer them in writing. I told him that was but a private way of answering; but if he was not prepared then, I told him we would give him the meeting next first-day at the steeple-house, or in the town-hall upon a market-day. He said, it was very fair.

Counsellor Corbet was very friendly and loving to us, and did no more persecute us to his dying day; but did us all the good he could in all the courts of judicature where he was concerned.

As for this priest, William Langford, many Friends were moved to go to him to the steeple-house in the time of his service, to declare to him and the people, what they had to say from the Lord: and when the magistrates have committed some of them to prison on that account, when their service was over, this priest hath got them to be released.

Some time after this, he sent the clerk of the parish to me for Easter-reckonings. I asked the clerk, whether his master did expect any thing of me, that had nothing from him; and bid him tell his master, I would come to reckon with him by and by. So the clerk went his way. And in a little time I made myself ready. When I went to him, there were a pretty many people with him. I told him, his clerk had been with me from him, for that which he called Easter-reckonings, and I was come to reckon with him, if he could make it appear that I owed him any thing, I would pay him, and I expected the same from him. He said, I owed him for several years for the sacrament. I asked him, what he meaned by the word sacrament, for I found no such word

in the scripture; he said, It meaned the bread and wine which was used in the church. I told him, I received none of him, and therefore not liable to pay. He answered again, Why then you might come to church and receive it. I told him, I did not believe that church was the true church of Christ: and I did not believe that he was a true minister of Christ, commissioned by him to break the bread, and give it to the people: much less to sell it, or take money for it of the people; for I did not read in all the scripture, that the true ministers of Christ did take money of the people for that bread they delivered unto them. He said then, That the labourer was worthy of his hire; and under the law it was said, "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn." I told him, he trod out no corn for me; and though he was an hireling, yet I never hired him.

The people coming thick to pay him for the bread and wine, I asked him, how in conscience he could take so much money for so little bread and wine; it being, I suppose, about ten pence for man and wife. I asked him, what scripture he had for it; and desired him to prove his practice by scripture. He asked me, What scripture I had to eat flummery. I told him, I had scripture to eat it. Paul said to Timothy, "For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer," 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5. His communicants who were present, were much dissatisfied that he had no better answer and proof for his practice. So I desired the people to take notice, that he could not make it appear by scripture, that I owed anything; but I told them, he owed me some money, and I desired him to pay it me, which he did. So we parted fairly. We have a saying, That even, or often reckonings make long friends. He was very friendly afterwards, and never sent to me more for Easter reckonings. And as for the tithe, in time of harvest, he charged his servants to take from me no more than their due, nor so much. I was informed he should say, He knew not why he should take any thing from me, seeing I had nothing from him. He lived here among us many years a good neighbour; and though in the time of great persecution, yet he had no hand in persecuting any of us.

We have cause to bless the Lord, who carried us through all our services and exercises, in the time of our weaknesses; and though we were little and low in our own eyes, the Lord did not leave us: blessed be his holy name forever.

About the year 1663 or 1664, I went to London, and found some there separated from that love and unity, which I formerly saw them in; joining in that spirit with John Perrot, who was newly come from prison at Rome to London, as it was said, with much seeming humility and lowliness of mind. A considerable company joined together with him, where they had me among them for a little time. The tendency of that spirit was to speak evil of Friends that bore the burden and heat of the day, and so to cry out against Friends as dead and formal. They expected a more glorious dispensation, than had been yet known among Friends; and they kept on their hats in time of prayer. I was but a little while among them, till a vail of darkness came over me, and under that vail, I came to have a light esteem for my dear and ancient friend George Fox, and some others, who had been near and dear to me. But it pleased the Lord to rend that vail of darkness, and cause the light of his countenance to shine again upon me; whereby I came to see the doleful place I was led into, by a spirit that tended to nothing else but self-exaltation, and (under a pretence of humility and self-denial) breach of that unity, love, and fellowship, that formerly we had together, and the good esteem we had one of another in the Lord. Children we are of one Father, esteeming one another above ourselves in the Lord. There was no jar or contention among us then, but all dwelt together in love and unity, and in the fellowship of that blessed gospel of peace, life and salvation.

At my return home from London, I was soon taken to the same prison with my friends in Welch-Pool; and a little before I came among them to prison, the under-jailer dreamed, that he had in his fold a flock of sheep, and that he was wrestling to get in one ram among the sheep, but could not get him in; but when I came to prison, he said to my friend Charles Lloyd, Now I have got the old ram in among the sheep. But the jailer turned me out that night to my wife and family; and though I had the name of a prisoner, and was premunired, as the rest of my friends and brethren were for several years, yet I was not kept close prisoner.

This was a time when most travelling Friends were taken up prisoners, and though I was a prisoner, yet it lay upon me to get liberty to go and visit Friends, in several counties of England and Wales. So I followed my good guide, that showed me what to do. I went to the jailer, and told him, I had an occasion to go out a little while, and I could not go without acquainting him of it, because I was his prisoner. He said, I warrant you will go to preach some where or other, and then you will be taken to prison; and what shall I do then, said he. I told him, that if I was taken prisoner, I would send to him where I was, and he might send

for me if he pleased; so he bid me have a care of myself.

In a little time, in the love of God, I took my leave here of my friends and family, and committed myself to the protection of the Almighty. I went to Shrewsbury, and so to Worcestershire, where I had good service for the Lord; so to Tewkesbury, where I was never before. An ancient woman Friend followed my horse, and before I had put up at the inn, she was with me, and very cordially said, She had a sense upon her, that I was one of her heavenly Father's children. I went in and refreshed me a little, and asked her, whether she thought I might have a meeting with Friends that evening. She readily said, She would acquaint Friends of it. And after she had gone a little way out of the inn, she returned again, and desired to know my name, that she might acquaint Friends of it. I was straightened in myself to give her my name, though I knew not the cause then; but I desired her to go in the name of the Lord, and if I came in the name of the Lord, they would receive me. So she went, and came again, and told me, I might have a meeting, which was appointed to be at Susan Smithin's; and a blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord gave to us our expected end. There were several professors at the meeting. Some came to me next morning, and discoursed friendly with me about the things of God.

From thence I went through Gloucestershire, where I had good meetings, and so to Bristol. When I was clear of Bristol, the Lord having blessed me, and preserved me so far in my journey, I set forward towards Pembrokeshire. I travelled without any companion but the Lord alone, who was with me all along in my journey; he was my helper and preserver. So I came to the house of our friend Lewis Davies, who gladly received me in the Lord. Staying there some time, they lent me a horse to go to a meeting at Redstone, and I left my own horse behind me, thinking he might rest for some days after my hard riding. When I came to the place, the meeting was out of doors, there being no house, that I knew of, that could contain the multitude of people. When we came to the meeting, Meredith Edwards, whom Friends judged unfit to preach the gospel, had the confidence to speak to the people till they were weary of him, and those that were sensible were burthened by him; after some time there stood up a Friend and silenced him. I sat as a stranger among them. The Lord was with us, his good presence was our comfort and satisfaction; and after some time I had an opportunity to open to the people those things that belong to their eternal salvation; and having concluded the meeting in prayer, this man, Meredith Edwards, aforesaid, stood up again and preached to the people, and I turned my back and came away, and the Friends, with most part of the people, followed me. As I was coming out, a Friend came and told me, there were two soldiers, (I understood afterwards they were the two sons of a priest) that had brought my horse there some miles. When I saw my horse, I drew nigh to them, and asked them, who brought my horse there; they asked me whether I was the man that came from Bristol; I said I was; then, said they, you are the man we look for. I asked them, by what authority they came, or what warrant they had; and they showed me their swords and pistols. I told them, such warrants highwaymen had. Then I asked them, how they durst venture so, among such a company; they said, they knew we were peaceable men, and would not resist; otherwise they would have brought greater force. I told Friends, we were not bound to obey them, and desired Friends to part, and leave only two or three with me; but Friends' love was so great to me, that they kept mostly in a body about me. So I desired the Friend to take my saddle and bridle, that was upon the Friend's horse that I rode to the meeting on, and put them upon my own horse; so I got upon my horse, and bid them lay their hands off my horse, for I feared not their swords nor pistols; but if they had a warrant from any justice of peace, or lawful magistrate within the county, I would obey it. Then they let my horse go, and I turned a little aside, and saw them lay hold of the other man, Meredith Edwards; I could not call him a Friend, because he was not guided by a right spirit; and I turned myself to them again, and told them, that if any justice of the peace, or lawful magistrate within the county, had any thing to say to me that came from Bristol, he should hear of me at the house of William Bateman, in Haverfordwest. I told them my business would require some stay in the country; so they let us go pretty friendly, and I had several brave meetings in Haverfordwest, and other places in the county.

The last I had was at Pontchison among the Welch; they having notice of a Welchman coming to keep a meeting in those parts, many came to that meeting, and good service I had for the Lord, his truth being declared in their own language to them. We had the meeting out of doors, and I stood with my back towards the wall of Thomas Simmon's house. I was young and strong, and my voice was heard to the steeple-house, and most of them came out to hear me; and very few came out with the priest when he had done. When the priest saw such a multitude, he was moved to passion, and would have had the constable take me

down. It was reported some said to the priest, they would not take me down, for I preached Christ and the gospel to them, and they would have him come and learn of me himself. I was informed, that the priest's wife and two of his daughters were at the meeting, and were very loving and tender, and came to be convinced of the truth. The Lord was not wanting to us; his life, power, and good presence was with us, and that meeting was the last I had in Pembrokeshire at that time. The Friends of that county were very loving and careful of Friends that came from far to visit them. They dwelt in love and unity among themselves. My service was weighty upon me, being myself only without a companion; the Lord alone, that knew the integrity of my heart, was my comfort, support, and exceeding great reward. As for M. Edwards, the two men before mentioned took him before a justice; the justice would have been moderate to him, and would have showed him kindness, but he, by his ungoverned temper, provoked the justice to passion, so that he committed him to the house of correction as a vagrant for three months, to the great trouble of Friends.

I was informed that the justices and magistrates of that county, were generally very moderate the hardest times of persecution. From Pontchison I took my leave of Friends in Pembrokeshire, and came pretty directly home, blessed be the name of the Lord, to the comfort of my wife and family, and those Friends that were prisoners; and the jailer was well satisfied that I came to my prison, without further trouble to him. Several were taken prisoners, at those meetings I was at, but the Lord preserved and delivered me, blessed be his holy name for ever.

I was but a little time at home, ere John Whitehouse, a follower of John Perrot, came and had a meeting at my house at Welch-Pool. I happened not to be at the beginning of the meeting, but came before it was concluded, and found he had sown an evil seed, and that some of our Friends had received it; who soon after joined with that corrupt spirit, which led them to have a light esteem of their brethren, which was a great exercise to many honest Friends, and especially to my wife and me; and we were ready to say, hath the Lord sent us here, to be instrumental for the gathering of a people in this country, and hath he suffered the enemy to scatter them in their imaginations. But some time after, the Lord satisfied me, that those who were simple-hearted among them, should be restored again into a more settled condition than they had formerly known; and I believed in the word of the Lord. And in time the Lord broke in among them, and opened the understandings of some of them, and they began to reason among themselves, and saw that they were in darkness; so that most of them were restored again into their first love, and lived and died faithful to Truth, except Cadwalader Edwards, who continued in stubbornness and hardness of heart, and endeavoured to hurt such who were simple-hearted. I was moved to give forth a paper against him and all his vain imaginations. The following paper was likewise sent to him from Friends:

"We whose names are here under-written, are those that thou hast been seeking to insinuate thy corrupt principles into; and also are those that testify against that seducing spirit that thou art gone into: and most of us do know the terror and judgment of the Lord, for receiving that spirit; and we do exhort all, that they touch not, nor taste of it, lest they be separated from the Lord and his people, and so come under the judgment of the Lord, as we have done; and we have all seen the hurtful effects of that spirit, and in the fear of the Lord we do deny the same, and them that be joined to it.

"Charles Lloyd, Richard Evans, Owen Jones, Evan Davies, John Reese, Watkin David, William Lewis, Evan Thomas, Richard Davies, Thomas Hammons,—Elizabeth Lloyd, Tace Davies, Ann Lawrence, Katherine Jones, Sibil Jones, Katherine Evans, Ann Hall, Sarah Wilson."

1668. This being read in our monthly meeting for worship, the Lord was pleased to afford us his sweet presence, and his power melted, tendered and mollified our hearts, and caused us to praise the Lord, for his great goodness and mercy to us, in bringing us out of that darkness that came over us, by giving heed unto the seducing spirit of John Perrot, John Whitehouse, and Cadwalader Edwards. And now the Lord having restored us again, we did praise his holy name for the same; and Friends were careful afterwards of receiving any spirit that might tend to the breach of love and unity among us. Many other Friends brought in their testimonies against that spirit; amongst the rest, one came from our friend Thomas Ellis, who had been particularly warned by me, in the fear of the Lord, not to touch or meddle with the spirit, though it came with much seeming humility, lest he should suffer thereby; which he did, to his great sorrow, as he set out in his paper, and said, This have I suffered for my mongrel moderation: but blessed be the Lord, he was sweetly restored again to his former love and integrity, to the great comfort of himself and brethren.

As to John Perrot, John Whitehouse, and

Cadwalader Edwards,* they turned their backs upon God and his truth, and followed the devices of their own hearts and imaginations.

About this time, there being a meeting of Friends gathered at Aberystwith, in Cardingshire, most of them were sent to prison to Cardigan, and our friend Thomas Ellis, was taken prisoner with them. Having the sufferings of these young convinced Friends under consideration, I found much love in my heart towards them, even so as to go to the magistrates of the county, to offer myself a prisoner instead of my friend and brother Thomas Ellis, and some others, that they might go home to visit their families. I acquainted my wife of my exercise, which came pretty close to her; but she likewise in love, after a little consideration, gave me up for that service. So in a few days I took my journey, and went first to Thomas Ellis's house, to visit his wife and family, before I went further, his house being about twenty-four miles from Welch-Pool, and not far out of my way towards Cardingshire. There I very unexpectedly met Thomas Ellis himself at home; he told me they were all discharged out of prison. Thus I saw it was the good will and pleasure of my heavenly Father to accept of my free-will offering instead of the deed; and my friend Thomas Ellis and his wife were sensible of my love and kindness to them therein.

And now my service being farther for Pembrokeshire, Thomas Ellis was willing to accompany me in my journey, and we went to Aberystwith, to visit those Friends there, where we had a pretty large meeting the first-day in the morning, and there came one Thomas Price, brother to Sir Richard Price, of Gogorddan, who took us all prisoners, and committed us to the town prison. That evening we had a meeting in the house where we were prisoners. Many of the town's people, some of them persons of account, were at the meeting that evening. I declared the word of the Lord to them in Welch, and showed them the way to the kingdom of heaven. A sweet comfortable meeting we had, and great satisfaction it was to them that were there.

That night a weighty consideration came upon me, about those young convinced Friends that were so lately discharged of their imprisonment, because they were like to go so quickly to prison again. So I asked counsel of the Lord, what we might do for, and in behalf of, these young and tender Friends; and being under great exercise in my spirit, earnestly praying to God, that he might make some way for their enlargement that time, it came in my mind to write to the chief magistrate, Sir Richard Price, and give him an account of my journey so far, and that my friend Thomas Ellis and myself intending for Pembrokeshire, and resting with our friends, and having a meeting with them that day, were taken prisoners by his brother Thomas Price; and if it was his pleasure to send us to prison to Cardigan, that he would be so kind as to leave his neighbours at home, and accept of my friend Thomas Ellis and me, as prisoners instead of them all. To this effect I wrote to him, and sent it next morning; but he sent me no answer. But the high-constable came to us, and told us, we must all prepare to go to Cardigan town, where the county jail was kept. So Friends freely and heartily prepared themselves to go. When the time of our going was come, they tenderly taking their leaves of their wives, children, and neighbours, (for some of their neighbours came a little way to see them out of town,) the constable stopped, and bid all go home, except Thomas Ellis and me; for it seems the high-constable had private orders not to go with them, but to do as I desired in my letter. Thus the Lord did try those tender Friends, and also deliver them.

The constable had instructions to bring us to the quarter-sessions, then held at Llanbedar, and not to Cardigan. When we came there, the justices being upon the bench, we were had before them; some of them were formerly acquainted with Thomas Ellis, he having been in authority, and according to his place, somewhat sharp against offenders. The justices were very moderate to him; but the clerk of the peace was very peevish and froward. I asked the justices, whether that man that questioned my friend, was a justice of the peace; they told me, he was not. Then I told them, we were not bound to answer him; but if they would give me leave, I would give them a just account of my business in that county, and upon what account we were sent there before them: and they desired me to speak on. I told them I was at my own house, with my wife and family, in Welch-Pool, in Montgomeryshire, and hearing that my friend Thomas Ellis, and other of my friends, were in prison in this county of Cardigan, for a considerable time, it was with me to come to the magistrates of this county, to offer myself a prisoner, that my friend Thomas Ellis, and the rest of them, might go for a little while to visit their families; in order thereunto, I came as far as my friend Thomas Ellis's house, where I found him at home with his wife and family; and they being discharged of their imprisonment, I had a further concern upon me to go to Pembrokeshire; my friend Thomas

* He became afterwards very bad, and ungodly in his life and conversation, and died in the Fleet-prison, at London, being there for debt; yet near his end, he seemed to repent of his wicked life, and told some, 'That they who were preserved faithful among the people called Quakers, would be happy, and that they were the people of God.'

Ellis, not being willing I should go alone, accompanied me. We came to Aberystwith, to rest there the first-day of the week, and had a meeting with our friends, so were taken prisoners, and sent here to you, and now desire to know your pleasure. The justices answered, It was great love indeed, that caused me to come to offer myself a prisoner upon such an account; and they were sorry that Sir Richard Price gave us that trouble to send us there: and so they discharged us. And the court being silent, I had an opportunity to declare the word of the Lord among them. Very still and attentive they were, as if I had been in a meeting. I commended their great moderation, and in the love of God we parted with them. The deputy-sheriff, and the high-constable that brought us there, came out of the court and treated us very civilly, and would have bestowed on us the best that the town could afford, but we were sparing of taking any thing of them. I was informed, that the deputy-sheriff and the high-constable were convinced, and very loving to Friends all along. I know not of any that were imprisoned in that county afterwards. The Lord was with us, and he had a regard to the integrity of our hearts, and he alone pleaded our cause, and was with us in our services.

Then we took horse and left the town, and went towards Pembrokeshire, till we came to Cardigan, about twenty-four miles. We met with some hardship on the way, having little or no refreshment till we came here, where we had very good entertainment for ourselves and horses, and from thence we had a Friend for our guide toward Pontchison in Pembrokeshire, but we were benighted, and it rained; our guide lost his way, and we wandered up and down among the peat or turf-pits, and other dangerous places, but the Lord preserved us out of them all. At length we came to Pontchison, but it being dark, we did not know the house where our friend, that we intended to go to, lived, but I spoke to our guide to see where the steeple-house door was, and he brought us to it; then I told them, the Friend's house was opposite to it, for I remembered when I had a meeting there, my back was against the wall of the house, and my face towards the steeple-house door. So we went forwards and found the house. I desired T. Ellis to call and tell them, that there were some Friends who had lost their way, and desired to have lodging there that night. They being in bed, answered, they thought that no good Friends were out at that time of night. T. Ellis reasoned a little with them, but still they were not willing to rise and let us in. At last I called to the Friend, whose name was Thomas Simmons, and to his wife, and desired them to rise and let us come in. He asked me who was there? I told him in Welch, Richard Davies was there; What, said he, Richard Davies of Welch-Pool? I told them, I was the man. Thereupon the tender-loving Friends hastily came down and let us into their house, and we were satisfied in the love of God. This was the first journey that Thomas Ellis made to Pembrokeshire since he was convinced.

Hence we went to Haverfordwest, and so through all the meetings in that county, till we came to Pontchison again and had a meeting there, where there came many Friends both Welch and English, so that the house could not contain us, and we had the meeting out of doors in the street, and I declared the word of the Lord to them, both in Welch and English.

As we came to Pembrokeshire, we went to a Baptist's house, and the woman of the house being loving and tender, promised we should have a meeting among the Baptists there. We also appointed a meeting at Newcastle, in Carmarthenshire: Peregrine Musgrave, James Lewis, and several other Friends accompanied us to the meeting at Newcastle. The magistrates of the town were very civil, and several of them came to the meeting. The weight and service of the meeting lay chiefly upon me; for though our friend T. Ellis was reckoned a deacon, and an eminent preacher among the Independents, yet his mouth was but very little as yet opened by way of testimony among Friends. He was an understanding man in the things of God, and was not hasty to offer his offering, till he found a very weighty concern on him. As I was declaring to the people in the Welch language, I stood opposite to a great window that opened to the street, and there was an evil-minded man in the street, that had a long fowling-piece, who put the mouth of it through the window and swore, that if I would speak another word, I was a dead man. But blessed be God, I was kept in that which was above the fear of man, and the Lord kept me in dominion over all. There were two women sitting in the window, and the mouth of the gun came between them both; one of them seeing the gun, turned her back upon it, and said in Welch, when the man threatened as before, I will die myself first. And there was one in the meeting went to this man, and took the gun away from him, and that wicked man came into the meeting, and was pretty quiet there; the Lord's good presence was with us, and a good meeting we had; and I may say, They that trust in the Lord, are as Mount Sion, that cannot be moved. And as it was said of old, As the hills were round about Jerusalem, so is the Lord round about his people, to be a present help to them in every needful time.

Here Pembrokeshire Friends and we parted, and it being somewhat late, the meeting having

held long, we travelled all night over some doleful hills, intending to be at the Baptist meeting next day, which we had appointed, as before mentioned. It was by computation about twenty-four miles. In this time we had little refreshment for ourselves or horses; but when we came there we had no meeting. The woman of the house said, that the magistrates had heard of it, and charged them, we should have no meeting there. So the slavish fear of man came over them. The woman seemed to be sorrowful, and would have given us some victuals, but I told her, we did not travel so hard, to come there for her meat and drink, but in the love of God, for the good of their souls.

So here my friend and companion, Thomas Ellis and I parted; he went homewards, and I went that night to William ap Pugh's house, a poor Friend, who had a considerable company of small children. I lay on a little straw, upon a hurdle of rods. When the morning appeared, I took a bit of cake and a cup of clean water, and William ap Pugh and I took our journey towards Radnorshire, which was about twenty miles, mostly over great hills: and when I came there, I staid a little while among Friends. Afterwards I hastened home to my family, and when was I come there, Margaret Bowen brought my girl to me, and said, Here is a child the Lord hath given thee; she had been sick near unto death. When I was under my exercise in Pembrokeshire, one told me, my child was dead, and my wife not like to recover; which was matter of sorrow to me; and I turned a little aside from Friends, and the Lord satisfied me, that neither my wife nor child was dead. When I came home they told me, my child had been as it were raised from death to life. Blessed be the Lord that restored her, and preserved my family, and we were comforted in the Lord.

After this journey I staid a considerable time at home with my family and friends, our meetings were pretty much supplied with Friends, especially from the north of England; though we were prisoners, yet we had our liberty to go to meetings abroad. We had a considerably large meeting at Cloddiecochion, the place of my abode, near Welch-Pool; there were at our meeting John ap John, and James Adamson, a north country Friend; but the magistrates of Pool, it being in the limits of their corporation, came and broke up our meeting and took us prisoners. We old prisoners went to the county prison, and the rest to the corporation prison. I took my friend John ap John by the hand, and told him he must come to prison with me; so several of us went together, and when the hurry was over with them, they let us, who were old prisoners, go to prison alone. Then I discharged our friend John ap John, and told him, he should be my prisoner no longer. He staid a little while with us, and then went homewards. The jailer was friendly to us, and after a while I went to the magistrates, and got them all released that night, except James Adamson. The magistrates of the county gave strict charge, that if any north-country Quakers came that way, they should be secured; and I had a great care upon me, to get them discharged as soon as might be; for I knew there was a great concern upon them, for the churches of Christ wheresoever God sent them. So when I saw a convenient time, I went to the serjeant of the town, and asked him by what authority he kept my friend there a prisoner; and whether he had a commitment upon him: he told me No. Then I desired him to let him come with me, and I would answer for him; so the Friend came to my house, and Friends and I concluded together, to let him go to Shrewsbury, which was about twelve miles from Welch-pool; and I desired him to stay there till he should hear from me.

The assizes being there a few days after, the chief magistrate of Pool went, and I went also. And as my friend James Adamson and I were walking under the hall at Shrewsbury, we met the magistrate of Welch-Pool, to whom James was a prisoner. He seemed a little angry because I sent the prisoner away, and asked me, How I could answer it: for said he, we sent to the lord Herbert of Cherbury, for a commitment upon him. I told him, they had kept him too long without a commitment, which they could not legally answer. Now he knew not that the prisoner was with me, so I asked him after some discourse, what he would give me for a sight of the prisoner; he considered, and asked me, whether the man that was with me was not his prisoner? I told him he was, for I knew he was then out of his liberty. So he said to the Friend, Your friend hath done you and me a kindness; and I see, if there had been any occasion you would have come back again; so he parted very friendly with us.

In these times the oath of allegiance and supremacy was tendered to most Friends that came into the county, if they were taken, and such were committed to prison, for not taking it, till the next assizes, and then premunired; and then there was little hopes of their being released from their imprisonment; and it came to be a saying, that when any Quakers were taken prisoners in Montgomeryshire, there would be no end to their imprisonment.

About the year 1669, my ancient, well-beloved, and dear companion, John ap John, and I, took our journey for South Wales, to visit our friends and brethren in those parts. We went first into Radnorshire, where we had several

good meetings. We gave timely notice beforehand, where we appointed the meetings, and several Friends and other people came from Herefordshire to meet us at the lower end of the county of Radnor, where we had a sweet living meeting, and the power of the Lord tendered the hearts of many. We declared the word of the Lord both in Welch and English. My friend John ap John was very sound and intelligible in the Welch language. He deserved the right hand of fellowship, for he was my elder, and the first Friend that I heard declare in a meeting in the English tongue; and though he was not perfect in that language, yet he had the tongue of the learned, to such who were spiritual. When that meeting was ended in Radnorshire, we both withdrew a little aside from Friends, being bowed before the Lord, in a sense of his goodness amongst us. After a little while I turned my face towards the Friends, and saw a man coming towards me with much brokenness and tears; and when he came to me, he took me in his arms and held me there. I was very tender of him, though I knew him not. He asked me, whether I did not know him; I told him I did not; though I said, I could remember something of him. He said, he had cause to remember me. When I looked upon him again, I asked him, whether he was not Roger Prichard; he said, he was the man that had gone astray. And I was glad, yea, very glad, that the lost sheep was found, and that he came to know the true Shepherd and his voice in himself; and he followed him, and went not astray again, as he did before. He accompanied us to several meetings in that county, and in Monmouthshire. As we were parting with him, John ap John told him, he had come far out of his way with us. He answered, we had put him in his right way again, and he hoped he should keep in it.

We went through Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire, visiting Friends. We had a good meeting at Scilly, and at Swanzey in Glamorganshire; where we met with some French Britons. We could understand something of their language. We found they were passionate among themselves.

From thence we passed to Carmarthenshire. We had a meeting at Cardiff, and lodged at John Mayo's; his wife Elizabeth was a nursing mother to Friends in the beginning. At Cardiff, John ap John suffered great persecution, and in other parts of that country, before I was convinced: I suppose he might be prisoner there in 1653, or 1654.

We went thence towards Pembrokeshire, were we had several good meetings, and the Lord was with us. Then we came homewards; and before we parted with Roger Prichard, we appointed a meeting at his house, which was in Almeley-Wooton. The Lord helped us on in our journey, and we came there according to the time appointed, and a large, sweet, comfortable meeting we had: I know not that any meeting had been there before. I appointed another meeting to be there; and in a few weeks after my return home, I went accordingly. The concern of that part of the county of Herefordshire was much upon me, and I was often there; and when the people of that village saw me come, they would say one to another, Come, let us go to Mr. Pritchard's, for we shall have prayers there to-night; and the house hath been soon near full of people. A comfortable time we used to have together, and many were gathered to the Lord in those parts. As for Roger Prichard, the Lord blessed him in his basket and in his store, and his heart and house were open to Friends, and he built a fine meeting-house at his own charge, and also gave a burying-place, and settled both upon Friends for that service, and lived and died in love and favour with God, and in unity with his brethren. "Say to the righteous, It shall go well with them."

About this time I was pretty much at home, and the enemy and adversary of the growth and prosperity of Truth in these parts, stirred up an informer against us, one John David, alias Pugh, a weaver, a tenant to the jailer. We had our meeting in an upper room in the prison, and the said informer dwelt below. Once as he was coming by my barns where my cattle were, he said to some of my neighbours, These cattle are all mine. They asked him, how they were his; he said, Richard Davies had preached three times this day, and that by the laws there is sixty pounds on the preacher for the same. By this it was noised abroad in the town, that I was like to be undone. My neighbours seemed to be concerned, and one of the aldermen, a relation of mine, came chidingly to me, and asked me, whether I had a mind to ruin my wife and family; could I not leave my preaching, when I knew the laws were so severe against us. I told him, I could not, when the Lord required it of me. I desired him to let the informer alone, and let him take his course. He said, he would not; but, said he, I will tell thee what I will do: I will take him along with me to Severn-side, and whet my knife very sharp, and I will cut off one of the rogue's ears; and if ever he informs against thee again, I will cut off the other. I earnestly desired him to let him alone; but he and his neighbours were so enraged against him, that I was afraid they would have done him some mischief.

This informer was a weaver by trade, and the neighbours took their work away from him, so that his children went soon after a begging,

many of the town telling them, their father had got a new rich trade in hand, and that they need not give them any thing. So the poor children suffered very much; but my wife did not withhold her hand of charity from them.

One time I had my boots on, ready to go out; the jailer, this informer's landlord, seeing him come up the street towards my house, I being in the street, he said to the informer, Mr. Informer, you see Richard Davies is going out to preach somewhere to-day, I advise you to look diligently after your business, and find him out. If you will not inform against him, I will inform against you. You have got a good trade in hand, and if you do this great service for the king, you must needs have either Dolebran, or Coedcowrid, for your pains. The one was the mansion-house, and the other the jointure-house that belonged to my friend Charles Lloyd, and his ancestors. Thus the jailer jeered him, and the poor informer travelled great part of that day, from one Friend's house to another, to see for me, till he came to Dolobran, where we were met upon church affairs. As we were coming from the meeting, I met him at the door, and discoursed a little with him. He told us, that he was going for a warrant against us to Edward lord Herbert. I felt the power of God was over him, and Truth reigned among us. He went to the said lord, and desired a warrant against the Quakers. Lord Herbert asked him, What did the Quakers do? he said they preached. He queried of him, where did they preach? He told him, they preached at his house, which was their prison. Lord Herbert answered, Let them preach there as long as they will, what have I to say to them? But the informer told him, they met at Cloddiecochion. He asked him, whether those were not prisoners; he answered they were. Then said lord Herbert, What do they do at Cloddiecochion? Do they preach there? He said, No; their way was to sit down, and look one upon another. He answered, Thou art but a fool; the Quakers are a loving people; they went to visit their children, and to eat bread and cheese with them.

So lord Herbert took his cane, and went from him with his gentleman to walk in his park. The informer followed them, and spoke again to him, and said, Will you be pleased to grant me a warrant against the Quakers; He asked him, who sent him there for a warrant? He said, D. Davies. This was the priest of Welch-Pool, a quiet man, and no persecutor. Lord Herbert asked him again, whether he had a letter from him; the informer said, No; he thought his word might be sufficient to get a warrant against the Quakers. Upon this, lord Herbert, with indignation, it was thought, would have spoiled him, had not his gentleman interposed. He said to him, Is it not sufficient to put my peaceable neighbours in prison? Must I give a warrant to make such a rogue as this rich, by ruining them and their families? So the informer returned home; and as I was going by his house, he desired me to walk in for he had something to say to me. I went in with him, and he said to me, I am sorry I did you so much wrong, for I intended much evil against you. I was put on to be an informer, which proved to be mine and my children's ruin; for my neighbours took their work from me, and when my children went to their doors, they would scarcely give them any thing to relieve them. And now I desire you to pray to God to forgive me; and I pray you to forgive me also; for I think most of our bishops are Papists, and there is no trust to be put in them. I desired him to have a care what he said, and not lay the fault there: for it was the enemy, the adversary, the devil that begot that covetous mind in him, against his peaceable neighbours. I desired the Lord to forgive him; and as for me and my friends, we would forgive him; and I desired him to go his way, and to do so no more. So he never informed against us afterwards.

Thus the Lord helped and preserved us through great hardships and difficulties. There was nothing taken from us at this time, upon this informer's account.

About the year 1675, we heard there was a severe persecution by informers in Merionethshire, especially in Penllyn, near Bela; in which time our meetings did increase there, and many people came to them. A concern lay upon my friend Charles Lloyd and me to visit those meetings, where we had a meeting on the first-day of the week at Cadwalader Thomas's called Wern-fawr. There was abundance of people, more than the house could hold. Two informers came in, and staid all the meeting-time; and after Charles Lloyd and I had cleared ourselves by way of testimony, the people's understandings were very much opened in the things of God, and the way to his kingdom, [which was preached] in the Welch language, in which I concluded the meeting, the Lord owning us with his great power and presence to our great comfort, and the satisfaction of the auditory. The two informers kneeled upon their knees with us, while I was at prayer, and one of them, called Robert Evans, did exceedingly tremble; and when I had concluded the meeting, the said Robert Evans took a paper out of his pocket, and stood before us with much trembling and shaking, and could say nothing to us, but *a warrant, a warrant, a warrant.* Friends stood quiet in the possession of that life and power that God had blessed them withal that day, and we said

nothing to him, nor he to us, which was almost an amazement to the spectators; for he was a spiteful envious man, that had done much spoil upon Friends in those parts. At last I asked him, what he had there; he told me, he had a warrant. I desired him to let us see it. He was not willing we should see it; but said, if we would come a little farther on our way, we should see it. We told Friends, we were not bound to follow him, and desired Friends to depart to their own habitations. But our loving tender-hearted Friends would not part with us. Charles Lloyd and I had a great mind to see what the tenor of the warrant was, and who the justices were that did sign it. So we went along with him to the house where he said we should see it; but the man of the house not being within, he was still loath we should see it. We told him, he should have it safe again, and at last he let us see it: and we saw that colonel Price of Rhiwlas, and colonel Salisbury of Rûg, had granted it. We went that night to John Thomas's of Llaethgwn, and were concerned to go and visit these justices. In the first place we went to see whether we could speak with Price of Rhiwlas, to lay the sufferings of Friends, that were his neighbours and tenants, before him, for many of them were his tenants; but we could not see him, though we heard he was at home. Thence we went to Rûg, where this colonel Salisbury lived; and we enquired before we came to the house whether he was at home; some told us he was: but when we came there, they perceived we were those people called Quakers, by our habit and language, and he being conscious to himself what he had done, and what spoil was made upon Friends' goods, would not admit us to speak with him. We desired one of his servants to acquaint him, that we had come a great way to visit our suffering Friends in that country; and my friend Charles Lloyd bid him tell him who he was; for it seems he was his relation, and old schoolfellow. From thence we went to John ap John's at Wrexham in Denbighshire, and visited Friends there; and then came home to our families, where we found all things well; and the Lord was with us in our journey.

Some time after this it lay upon me to go and visit Friends in London. I went to see the lord Powis and his lady who dwelt then at London, they were my particular friends; and acquainted them with the sufferings of our Friends in Merionethshire, by informers upon the late act. They asked me, Which way they might be helpful to Friends; I told them, If they would be pleased to get a few lines from their brother the duke of Beaufort, then lord-president of Wales, to colonel Price of Rhiwlas, I did not question but that would moderate them very much: for the said colonel was not in the main a persecutor, but was put on by some peevish clergyman, so called. In a little time they got his letter for me, with his own seal thereon, but not sealed up; the tenor of it was thus: Sir, I have stopped the complaint of his Majesty's subjects, called Quakers, from coming before the council-board, concerning the severe prosecution of the penal laws against them. So when I had this letter, I made what haste I could down into the country, and gave it to a Friend and relation of colonel Price's, who delivered it into his own hand. It had good effect; the Lord was pleased thereby to stop the rage and ruin that was intended against Friends in that county. The justices of the peace called the informer to an account for what he had done to, and taken from Friends, but he could not make up his account. The moderate justices followed him so close, in behalf of the king, that he was near ruined and undone thereby. So it pleased God that himself fell into the snare and evil that he intended against his neighbours.

Some time afterwards, one Price, priest of Llanvawr, in Merionethshire, was severe against Friends for tithes, and some Friends came down to me to Welch-Pool with an account thereof. I considered his proceeding upon a *quo minus* from the exchequer, and caused an attorney to appear for the Friends, and he, in a few terms, brought me a writ of charges against the priest. When I had it, I was in a great strait what to do with it; for I knew if the priest was taken upon it, it would exasperate him against Friends. I sent for some of these Friends to be at our quarterly-meeting at Dolobran, which they belonged to. I told them what my judgment was in the matter; and that though there was a writ of costs obtained against the priest, yet it was not expedient to have it executed. I told them, I thought it would be more convenient for them to take the writ, show it to the deputy-sheriff, and tell him the whole case; but to take care that the writ should not be left with him; which was well approved of, and the Friends did accordingly, and kept the writ. The deputy-sheriff knew that would be for the advantage of Friends, and was ready to do what he could for them. So he blazed it abroad that the Quakers had gotten a writ against the priest; and the poor priest was afraid of coming to the steeple-house for several days to perform his service, till he employed somebody to come to Friends to make an end of the matter; and I never heard that he troubled Friends again for tithes while he was there.

About this time that I was at London to visit Friends, there sprung up a new informer, whose name was David Maurice; he lived at a place called Pen-y-bont, in Denbighshire, and was newly made a justice of the peace of the county of Montgomery. He that recommended him

was informed that he was a sober man, and not given to persecution; but soon after he had his commission, he appeared to be a great persecutor, not only of our Friends, but of other dissenters also.

The said David Maurice, upon the 7th day of the first month, called March, 1674-5, came into a meeting at Cloddiecochion, with about fourteen or fifteen persons, most of them armed, where a small number of our Friends were waiting in silence upon the Lord. He requesting us to depart, our friend Thomas Lloyd requested of him a quarter of an hour's time before our being dispersed, which he readily granted, and he with his followers sat amongst us. Thomas Lloyd uttered a few words by way of defining the true religion, and what the true worship was; all which David Maurice approved of as sound, and according to the doctrine of the church of England; yet notwithstanding, he fined T. Lloyd twenty pounds, for preaching, though he was no magistrate of the corporation, and he fined the house twenty pounds, and five shillings a-piece for the hearers. And on the 16th of the fourth month, 1675, he caused to be driven from Thomas Lloyd four cows and a mare, all worth about sixteen pounds, by two of his servants, one of them being his clerk, and the other his tenant, and no officer of the corporation, nor of the parish, nor of that allotment of the hundred, in place with them. These were lurking near the ground about two hours before day, and drove away the cattle before sun-rise, and they were brought out of the county into his own domains.

The same day, about the dawning thereof, the said drivers, by a warrant from the said David Maurice, rudely broke through a neighbour's fields, to the grounds of Thomas Lewis, of Cloddiccochion, and drove from him six cows, two oxen, and two heifers; alleging for his offence, that the said Thomas Lewis suffered a meeting to be at his house, though the said David Maurice was at that meeting himself, and not only allowed of it at the time, but approved what was spoken there.

About the same time Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, had ten young beasts taken from him by John Jones of Golynog, an attorney at law, who was that year overseer of the poor of the parish of Myvod, together with the petty constable, &c. upon a warrant from the said David Maurice, the only informer and busy justice upon this mercenary act in our borders, for preaching at Cloddiecochion, within the liberties of Welch-Pool, the 14th of the first month, 1674–5, though the said Charles Lloyd was not at that place that day, nor many days before or after, at any meeting. David Jones of Branyard, for being a hearer at the said meeting at Cloddiecochion, had a brass pan for his own proper fines, taken from him, and one cow for the pretended inability of others convicted, upon a warrant from the said David Maurice, of Pen-y-bont. But nothing was taken from me, though my family was at the meeting, and I lived within the limits of the corporation.

I being at this time in London, and my service there pretty much in the time of the said hard persecution, my dear friend Charles Lloyd sent me up a full and large account of the sufferings of Friends there, by this wicked informer David Maurice; and when I had read and considered them, I was under a great consideration, what way to take to prevent the farther intended mischief of this man; and I laid their innocent and faithful sufferings in secret before the great God of heaven, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, and may order them as seemeth good to him.

After this, when the time of the quarter-sessions was come, the clerk of the peace told the court, he had received the new commissions; which being read, and this David Maurice being then present, and finding himself left out, he fell into a great rage and passion.

In a little time the said David Maurice went to London, and was put into commission again; but being made high-sheriff of the county this year, he could not act as a justice of the peace; and he fell into a great rage, for the said office was likely to be chargeable to him. So that year we had peace and quietness: and when his sheriffship was over, he was coming through a brook called Lynlleth, near his own house at Pen-y-bont, and it was supposed his horse threw him, and he was carried down into the river Tannat a considerable way, and there miserably perished. Thus the Lord helped us through all our afflictions and troubles; and we see that they that trust in the Lord shall not be confounded, but are as Mount Sion and cannot be removed; and as the hills are round about Jerusalem, so is the Lord round about his people; blessed and praised be his holy name for ever and evermore saith my soul.

In the latter end of the year 1674, I went to visit my ancient dear friend George Fox, who was a prisoner in Worcestershire; I passed through Herefordshire, and had some meetings there. I staid with my friend George Fox for some time. He told me how he was taken prisoner, and that he was indicted for refusing the oath of allegiance; that he had been twice removed by habeas corpus to London; that he had his trial there, and no error being found in his indictment, he was returned back again to his prison at Worcester. As he was opening his case to me, I thought there might be sufficient errors found in his indictment to get him discharged. I told him of a counsellor, Thomas Corbet, a friend of mine, then in London, who

was very excellent in finding out errors; so after some consideration, he sent next post for an habeas corpus, which came down in a little time, and the sheriff was served with it; so we set forward, George Fox went in the coach with the sheriff and clerk of the peace of Worcester, and I rode on my horse along with the coach, and no other Friend with us.

We came to London the 8th of the twelfth month, and when we came there, several Friends much admired that he should be removed up again; for he was something private in the matter. He desired the Friends, who had the management of the business before, to let me have a copy of the record, which was pretty difficult to be had; for several thought it was to little or no purpose; but George Fox was not satisfied till I had it. I had acquainted counsellor Corbet of the whole case, as far as I could understand it, before I could see a copy of the record; and about the tenth hour in the night, William Mead came with me to counsellor Corbet with it. When he had read it, he said, There were several material errors in it; which put William Mead to a consideration how that could be; and he desired the counsellor to show him one error. The counsellor showed him several errors. William Mead seemed to wonder that such great errors could not have been found out by other counsel.

The next morning, being the 11th of the twelfth month, we went to court, where some other counsellors moved first on George Fox's behalf, and they were pretty close upon some things, but they knew not of any errors in the indictment. All this while counsellor Corbet was silent. Counsellor Walcott was against George Fox, and fearing lest they should find some errors in the indictment, he moved, that the oath should be tendered again to George Fox. Upon which counsellor Corbet stood up and moved, that there was no imprisonment in case of *premunire*. Whereupon the chief justice Hale said, Mr. Corbet, you should have come sooner, at the beginning of the term, with that plea. He answered, We could not get a copy of the return, and of the indictment. The judge replied, You should have told us, and we would have forced them to have made a return sooner. Then said judge Wild, Mr. Corbet, you go upon general terms; and if it be so as you say, we have committed many errors at the Old Bailey, and in other courts. Corbet was positive, that by law they could not imprison upon a *premunire*. The judge said, There is summons in the statute. Yes, said Corbet, but summons is not imprisonment; for summons is in order to a trial. Well, said the judge, we must have time to look in our books, and consult the statutes: so the hearing was put off till the next day. As we were going out of Westminster hall, some Friends were much troubled, that the Welch counsellor should start such a plea, contrary to the opinion of the judges, and all the counsellors; and some of them said, they thought George Fox would have been discharged, if the counsellor had not put in that plea. But honest George Fox said, he had a fine trial, and was cheerful in his spirit. I desired Friends to have a little patience, for I thought the Welch counsellor would stand upon his own legs. So I went to the hall again, and staid for counsellor Corbet till the court was up; and when I found him, I told him, he had started that which many thought he could not make good; and if so, it would be a reflection upon me, and the Welch counsellor, as they called him. He desired me to bring him that evening another copy of the record, besides what he had. So I got one, and went with it to him; and he writ in the margin something in French, and gave it me again, and desired me to go with it to Thomas Rudyard, who was an attorney in London, for George Fox, and desired him to deliver it that night to judge Hale, and he would take the other himself to judge Wild; and then he thought there would be little discourse of that matter more: and so it happened.

For the next day they chose rather to let that plea fall, and begin with the errors of the indictment; and when they came to be opened, they were so many and so gross, that the judges were all of opinion the indictment was quashed and void, and that George Fox ought to have his liberty. Upon which proclamation was made, that if any had any thing to say against George Fox, let them come forth and they shall be heard, otherwise he is discharged. And so he was set at liberty.

Counsellor Corbet, who pleaded this cause, got great fame by it; for many of the lawyers told him, he had brought that to light, which had not been known before, as to the not imprisoning upon a *premunire*. And after the trial, a judge said to him, You have attained a great deal of honour by pleading George Fox's cause so in court.

As we were coming out of the court, I had an opportunity to speak to some of London, and to blame them for their unbelief; because they could not believe that any good could come from that plea. I was then of a mind, and still am, that the hand of the Lord was in it, more than the wit and cunning of man; for that trial put an end to all the *premunires* in the nation. Our friends, in this county of Montgomery, were most of us under a sentence of *premunire* for many years. Our friend Charles Lloyd was not suffered to see his own house for several years, although it was but five miles from Welch-Pool, where he was kept a prisoner.

And as for myself, I had the name of being a prisoner on the same account for about seven years, but was not kept close prisoner in all that time, but had my freedom and liberty to be at London, and in other places of the nation, as my service was, and as the Lord made way for me. In this time I visited Friends pretty much in their sufferings.

So, "good is the Lord, and good is his word, and worthy is he to be praised by all that know him, from henceforth and for ever."

1677. Some years after this trial of George Fox at London, counsellor Walcott, who was a counsellor against him, was made judge of three counties in North Wales, viz. Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, and Anglesey. He began his circuit in Bala, in Merionethshire. He caused several Friends to be brought before him, and tendered them the oath of allegiance and supremacy. He did not intend to proceed against them by *premunire*, but said, The refusal of those oaths was high-treason, and he would proceed against them upon that statute for their lives the next assizes; threatening that the men should be hanged, and the women burned. He was a wicked, hard-hearted man, and intended much mischief to Friends, if the Lord had not prevented him. So Friends of that county acquainted us here of the whole proceedings in that affair. It being the time that the parliament was sitting, Friends concluded, that our friend Thomas Lloyd should go up to London immediately, and we desired him to advise with counsellor Corbet, what to do in the matter, who was then in London. When counsellor Corbet heard of the business, he was much concerned, for he was very well acquainted with this Walcott, and said, By that way they might try us all, if Popery came up again; for they have, said he, the writ *De Hæretico Comburendo* in force, which was executed in queen Mary's days, for the burning of heretics, which was not repealed to this day. So counsellor Corbet and Thomas Lloyd went to the parliament-house, and acquainted several parliament-men of it, and that session it was repealed; and judge Walcott was spoken to in London, and our friends were no further prosecuted, but had their liberty; and, blessed be the Lord, Friends had great peace and quietness in that county for a considerable time afterwards. In a few years judge Walcott died, so there was an end of that persecutor.

In the year 1677, our friend John Burnyeat came to give us a visit in Wales, and had a meeting at Machynlleth, in Montgomeryshire, where appeared an informer, Oliver Maurice, of Drain Llwdion, in Merionethshire, and caused a disturbance, and went afterwards to William Pugh, of Mathafern, near Machynlleth, a justice of the peace for this county; he was one of them that had his commission when David Maurice was turned out, as before related, who granted him a warrant; and himself, together with his bailiff and a constable, meeting John Burnyeat and Thomas Ellis upon the road, stopped them, and seized their horses, with their saddles and bridles, so that they were constrained to travel on foot. John Burnyeat's mare died within an hour and a half after seizure, and Thomas Ellis's horse died in the informer's hands in half a year's time; in which time also a distemper infected most of his cattle, whereby he suffered very great loss: the said justice likewise fined several other Friends at the same time, though they lived in another county. Thomas Ellis despatched a messenger to me at Welch-Pool, being about twenty-two miles. The next day the lord Powis being at home at his castle of Powis, I went to him, and acquainted him thereof, and he was very sorry. I desired of him, that he would grant me that favour to make use of his name, that he had heard such and such things concerning the before-said justice. Not only so, said he, but let Mr. Edmund Lloyd (this was a neighbouring justice, and no persecutor) write to him and tell him, that I am angry with him for such proceedings. So I went to my friend, that other justice, and got him to write a few lines to the said William Pugh. He wrote effectually to him, and I sent it away by night; by which means the rest of the fines were stopped. But John Burnyeat's mare was dead, as before related.

Some time after, there was in this county of Montgomeryshire, one Hughes, a priest, in the parish of Hirnant, where lived a Friend, an honest man, whose name was John Rhydderch, who could not pay tithe for conscience sake. This priest brought several actions against him out of the county court for tithe; the sheriff's bailiffs drove away several of his cattle, for judgment had out of the county court. Our friend being well acquainted with the deputy-sheriff, acquainted him of the errors of the proceedings in the county court; and the sheriff ordered the bailiffs to return the Friend his cattle again; so the priest was in a great fret that he lost all that charge. After that, he ordered the Friend to be sued at Ludlow court, which was for the marches of Wales. This court was a great yoke and bondage to Friends in this dominion; for all answers were to be given upon oath in that court, which Friends could not do for conscience sake. This priest followed the Friend with one contempt after another, till it came to *a writ of rebellion*. We let him go on as far as he could go, till the Friend was ready to be taken; our attorney gave us an account of it, and I desired the Friend to go to a Friend's house in Shropshire, which was out of

the jurisdiction of that court, and stay there till he should hear from me. I sent to London to John Lloyd, brother to Charles Lloyd of Dolobran, who belonged to the chancery-office, and he sent me down a prohibition, and I sent to serve the priest and his attorney with it. The priest fell into a very great rage, and his attorney came to him for seven pounds charge that he laid out for him, but the priest would not pay him; the attorney sued him, and got judgment against him, so that the poor priest could not go to perform his wonted service for some time. Soon after which the priest died, and I know not whether the attorney had one penny of his money; and that Friend was never troubled after on account of that suit.

Our friend Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, was sued for tithe at the great assizes held for this county of Montgomery, by the earl of Castlemain, impropriator, and Randal Davies, vicar of Myvod, the parish that our friend Charles Lloyd lived in; we were satisfied it was a court of record, and they might sue for treble damage for not paying tithe; so we concluded to go with a copy of their declaration to counsellor Corbet, who lived then at Welch-pool, and when he read it he said he would demur to it. I asked him whether he could demur in case of tithes? He said, he would maintain a demurrer to that declaration. So when the court sat, he acquainted the judge, that he would demur to that declaration. The judge said, Demur in the case of tithes? Yes, in this case, said he. The judge asked him, whether he would demur special or general? Corbet said, when we join in demurrer you may know. So they joined in demurrer; and when it came to be urged, he showed his cause of demurrer. So the judge and the court were convinced of the error, and they paid cost, and mended the declaration, and the next assizes they obtained judgment upon *Nihil dicit.* So Charles Lloyd's cattle were driven for treble damage; but the priest was so perplexed, and put to charge and trouble, that I do not know he ever sued any Friend for tithe again.

After this I went to London to the yearly meeting, and continued there some time, in and about the city, and so came leisurely down through several meetings, visiting Friends. A while after I came home, Thomas Ellis and James Halliday came to our town; I told James it was well done of him to give us a visit in these parts of Wales. They said, they came to visit us against their wills. I asked them, whether they were prisoners; they said, they were: and soon after came other Friends with them. I took them along with me to my house to refresh themselves. They told me, James Halliday came from London to South Wales, intending to take shipping there for Ireland, to be at the half-year's meeting; but the wind proving contrary, he was necessitated to come for North Wales to Holyhead, and having a meeting in this county near Llanydlos, they were taken prisoners and fined by Evan Glyn, a justice of the peace, and sent here. I was very much concerned for James Halliday, that he should be stopped in these parts, and hindered of his service. So next morning about two of the clock, I took horse and went to this justice's father-in-law, justice Devereux, and found him at a village three miles from Welch-Pool. He asked me, what was the matter; I told him, that his son-in-law Glyn had committed some of our friends to prison to Welch-Pool, and fined them also; and I told him, I thought by the law, that no man was to suffer twice for the same supposed transgression. He gave his son-in-law hard language, and desired me to see some way to get them off. I went to a neighbouring justice, and got James Halliday a discharge, and brought it with me that morning; so we hastened him away with a guide towards Holyhead, and I was informed he had a good and quick passage, and got in time to the half-year's meeting in Ireland, as he intended.

For Thomas Ellis and the rest of the Friends, the jailer took our words, that they should be forthcoming at the next quarter sessions, at which time Charles Lloyd and myself attended the court, and went to the clerk of the peace, and desired him to call our Friends first, which he did. The Friends being all at the bar, no prosecutor appearing against them, (justice Glyn being not then come to town), they were soon discharged, without demanding any fees; and after Friends had refreshed themselves in town, they went homewards, some of them towards Radnorshire, and those that went towards Llanydlos, met justice Glyn, who had committed them, going towards the quarter sessions. He spoke to them, and they told him they were discharged. He seemed not to be sorry for it, for he was not a persecutor in the bottom, but was put on by a peevish, proud, informing priest, and I know not that ever he did the like again.

I went to London to the yearly meeting in 1681. Persecution was very severe upon Friends in the city, and elsewhere in those parts; at which meeting it lay upon my mind to move for a yearly meeting in Wales, and after some consideration about it, it was left to Friends in Wales to appoint their first yearly meeting, as in the wisdom of God they should see meet, at their half-year's meeting, held at Swanzey, the 28th of the seventh month. An account of which my friend Thomas Ellis sent me to London, as followeth:

"Dear friend, R. Davies,

"In the love of God is my remembrance of thee at this time, with many others of the like minded, in and about the city, and especially those who from the beginning have been and still are most exercised under the glorious weight of the care and concerns of the church of Christ; the remembrance of whom hath divers times, and especially of late, as at this present, wrought both eyes to tears, and hearts to tenderness. Although I was disappointed in my expectations of seeing thee here, at this half-year's meeting, yet thy letter to John ap John, coming so seasonably, did so answer for thee, that it was both joy and refreshment to many of us. We had a full meeting of Friends from most parts of Wales; many having come upon the account of the yearly meeting, which was concluded to be at Haverfordwest, the second-day of the week, called Easter-week, for the following year. Here were E. Edwards, John ap John, W. Players, Francis Lea, Philip Leonard, and Richard Walter, who had testimonies; and many other Friends besides from other remote parts, all zealous for the yearly meeting. We had meetings here the three last days.—Thy friend and brother,

"Thomas Ellis.

"Swanzey, the 28th of the Seventh month, 1681."

About the year 1680, or 1681, came Dr. William Lloyd, late of Martin's, in London, to be bishop of this diocess, called St. Asaph. Persecution was very sharp and severe in several places about this time, upon account of excommunication, and the statute of 20 pounds a month. But this new bishop thought to take a more mild way to work, by summoning all sorts of dissenters to discourse with him, and seek to persuade them to turn to the church of England. Among the rest, when he came to Welch-Pool, in his visitation, he sent for us. Charles Lloyd, Thomas Lloyd, and myself, sought to speak with him, but I was that day bound for London, so could not, but my friends stayed till they had an opportunity with him: and my friend Charles Lloyd gave me an account afterwards of what passed between them, which was to this effect:

That the bishop was much displeased that I was absent; and when he was told of my urgent occasion to go, and my stay on purpose some time to see him, he said, his business was greater, whatever my business was. That day they discoursed with him, his chaplains, and other clergy, so called, from about two in the afternoon till two in the morning. Afterwards they discoursed with him two days at Llanvilling. The first day from about two in the afternoon till night; and the next day, from about ten in the morning till an hour in the night, publicly in the town-hall. The first day at Pool, our friends Charles Lloyd and Thomas Lloyd gave their reasons of separation. In none of the three days would the bishop and his clergy defend their own principles, or refute ours; but only held the three days on the general principles of Christendom, and the apostles' examples of water baptism, and once a small touch at the bread and wine. Thomas Lloyd held the last day, our reasons why we separated from the church of England; which were,

1. Because their worship was not a gospel worship.

2. Because their ministry was no gospel ministry.

3. Because their ordinances were no gospel ordinances.

But they would not join with him to prove any of them, though often solicited thereunto; Friends being sufferers must submit to all disadvantages; for they had not any notice beforehand of what matters they should argue till they came to the place of dispute, and the last day they forced Thomas Lloyd to about twenty-eight syllogisms, all written down as they disputed, to be answered extempore; and the bishop said, he did not expect so much could be said by any on that subject, on so little warning. And he said, that he expected not to find so much civility from the Quakers; he highly commended Thomas Lloyd, and our friends came off with them very well. They had also much discourse with the chancellor, and one Henry Dodwell, and with the dean of Bangor, afterwards bishop of Hereford, very learned men, who were also at the said dispute, with many of the clergy of the diocess, some justices of the peace, deputy-lieutenants of the county, and a great concourse of people in the town-hall aforesaid, in Llanvilling. Several of the clergy, with whom I afterwards discoursed, seemed not well satisfied with that dispute; for they said, they thought the validity of water-baptism was much weakened thereby; and several noted men that were present said, they thought there could not have been so much said against water baptism as had been said there. It was agreed by consent of all parties concerned, that the dispute should not be printed.

I staid a pretty while in London; and when the Lord made way for me, I took my leave of the city Friends, letting them understand that I was preparing homewards, intending for my prison, upon the writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo*, that was out against me and our Friends, and other dissenters in this diocess called St. Asaph. A little time before I came out of the city, there came two or three grave citizens, I suppose of the Independent congregation, and told me, they were come to let me know that there was a writ *De Excommunicato*

Capiendo, out against me, and there was one of their friends already in prison on the same writ in our county, and if I would contribute with them, they said, they knew how to make it void. I told them, I knew that there was a writ out against me; and I did also know there was a friend of theirs, one Richard Trollus, in prison in Welch-Pool on that writ. I told them, I thought they might make the writ void, but I would contribute nothing towards it; for I told them, I would hasten home as soon as I could, and go to prison if required. They said, they were satisfied I had other reasons why I would not make the writ void, and desired me to be free with them, and tell them my reasons. I told them, I thought they might make that writ void with a great deal of charges; but, said I, how will you prevent the bishop from coming on again with another writ, which you cannot make void? If there be any error in their proceedings in this, no doubt but the bishop and chancellor will mend it in the next. And whether do you think it is better for me to go to prison on a false writ, or on a writ that you can find no error in? I said, if I go to prison on this erroneous writ, and the sheriff or jailer gives me my liberty, the bishop or the chancellor cannot justly sue them. These men went away well satisfied with the reasons I gave them, and I know of no money they spent to make the writ void.

I acquainted my friend William Penn, and some Friends, that I intended to give bishop Lloyd a visit before I went to prison, if the Lord pleased to make way for me. So my friend William Penn, the morning before I came out of the city, sent me a letter from the lord Hide to the bishop, with his coat of arms on it unsealed. I took my journey and the Lord brought me safe home, to the comfort of my family and friends, who were afraid I had been detained from coming home.

The next morning I set out to see the bishop without interruption; though the sheriff, George Mercer, was very envious to Friends, yet I escaped his hands at this time. I went to my friend Thomas Wynne's who lived in Caerwys in Flintshire, not far from the bishop's palace, and he went with me. When we came there, the bishop's secretary came to the gate. I asked him whether the bishop was within; he said, he was; and asked me, Who would speak with him? I told him, that Richard Davies would speak with him. What, said he, of Welch-Pool? Yes, said I. What, said the secretary, my lord bishop! Bishop, as it signifies an overseer, said I, I own; but lord bishop I deny. So the bishop sent for us in, and there were several clergymen with him, among the rest the dean of Bangor, before mentioned. The bishop seemed to be dissatisfied that I was not with them at the dispute at Llanvilling; we went soon to dispute about water-baptism; I told them, There was one Lord, one faith, and one baptism; and that baptism was necessary to salvation; and that water-baptism, which was John's baptism, was to continue and remain but for a season. So this, and such like discourse, held us till it was late at night; and then I went to my friend's house with an order to be there again in the morning. I came in the morning, and we disputed upon the same subject. I said, if one should grant what they desired, viz. that water baptism was necessary to salvation, which I would not, where should they have an administrator, seeing St. Paul says expressly, "He was not sent to baptise, but to preach the gospel;" and thanked God, that he baptized none, except such and such? 1 Cor. i. 14 — 17. And Peter, who baptized many, came so to see the invalidity of water-baptism, that he said, "By baptism we are saved, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, (outward water could do no farther) but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ," 1 Pet. iii. 21. They went from this to their ordination. I put them to prove who sent them to baptise. The dean told me, such an one ordained him; and so named from one to another. I told him I thought I should send him to Rome for their succession and ordination. They said, Yes, the ordination might be good, though it came from Rome. He brought a comparison; as suppose a malefactor was condemned to die, and a reprieve was obtained, and it came down by the hangman's hand; and though it came so, yet, said he, the pardon was good. Then said I, your ordination comes not by the spirit and power of God. This return made them somewhat uneasy; and the time being far spent, I was willing to be discharged, having been there part of three days.

I told the bishop of good old David, who said, Psal. xxvi. 6, "I will wash my hands in innocency, so will I compass thy altar, O God; that I may publish with the voice of thanksgiving and tell of all thy wondrous works." Then I said to the bishop, Thou canst not say thou wilt wash thine hands in innocency, nor compass the altar of God, while thy writs remain against so many innocent people, willing to suffer till death, for the testimony of their consciences towards God. And I said, Bishop Lloyd, if I go to prison upon this account, I shall have more peace there than thou shalt have in thy palace. I also said, Suppose another prince should arise that would impose something upon thee that thou couldst not do for conscience-sake, what wouldst thou do? He said, Then I will go to Pennsylvania also: for at that time many Friends were about going there. Then

it came clearly to me, and I said to the bishop, Though thy head be grey, yet thou mayest live to see liberty of conscience in England; though as to outward appearance, it seemed to be very far from it at that time.

The bishop called for pen and ink, and said, he would write to the chancellor for my liberty; but I told him, I was not satisfied for myself to be at liberty, and my friends in prison. So he wrote to the chancellor, to suspend the execution of the writ. When he had done, he read the letter to me, and I owned his kindness to us all therein. Then I took lord Hide's letter out of my pocket, and gave it him. When he saw the superscription, and knew from whence it was, he asked me, How I came by it; I told him, As I was coming out of London, intending for prison, a friend of mine brought me that letter the same morning that I left the city. When he had read it, he said, he hoped I was satisfied that he had granted me the contents of that letter. I told him it was so, and I hoped he would have his reward for his well-doing.

Then I was dismissed, had leave to come home, and brought a letter to John Edwards, chancellor, a peevish man against Friends, who lived at Llanymynech, about eight miles from Welch-Pool. When he received the letter, he did according to the bishop's order, and those Friends in the diocess, that were concerned therein, were not molested nor troubled on that account any more; and the Friends that were in prison before, were discharged. We have great cause to bless and praise the Lord for all his mercies, kindnesses, and deliverances to us; for hitherto he hath been our Eben-ezer; that is, "the Lord hath helped us," 1 Samuel vii. 12.

In the beginning of the year 1682, my dear friend Charles Lloyd and I went to visit Friends in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, &c., and came through their meetings to London, before the yearly meeting. I acquainted my friends George Whitehead and William Penn, that I intended to go to lord Hide, to acknowledge his kindness for his letter on my behalf, to bishop Lloyd. George Whitehead said, there was some service to be done for our suffering friends in Bristol, and it was thought convenient that three of the city, and three of the country, should go with the said sufferings, and desire the kindness of lord Hide to present them to the king. The three Friends for the country were Charles Lloyd, Thomas Wynne, and myself; for the city, George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, and one more. Our friend George Whitehead told me, that our countryman Sir Lionel Jenkin, secretary of state, was so cross and ill-humoured, that when the king was inclined to moderation and tenderness to suffering Friends, he often stopped and hindered the relief intended them. When we went to Whitehall, we waited a long time before we could speak with them, they being upon a committee a considerable time; but we had sent in by the door-keeper, to acquaint lord Hide that we were there; and in time they sent for us in. The secretary looked grim upon us. I went to lord Hide, and acknowledged his kindness for his letter on my behalf to the bishop. He told me that I should tell the bishop, there would be liberty of conscience in England. I told him, I did say so; and did believe it would be so in God's time. Secretary Jenkin spoke in a scornful manner, and asked me, What was Welch for a Quaker; I answered him, Crynwr, Crynwyr; it being the singular and plural number. But the secretary said, We had no Welch for it, for there were no Quakers in the Romans' days. My friend Charles Lloyd answered, If thou didst ask my friend the question aright, he hath answered thee aright; for there is English, Welch, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for a Quaker. So the secretary said, Sir, I understand Welch pretty well, and English, and Latin, and Greek; but if you go to your Hebrew, I know not what to say to you. I left my friend Charles Lloyd to engage with his peevish countryman, and presented lord Hide with a long list of the names of men, women, and children, in their several prisons at Bristol. I desired him to be so kind as to present their sufferings to the king, which he said he would; and our friend George Whitehead spoke farther to him. Then I turned to the secretary, who directed his words to me, and spoke to him thus in Welch:

"Mae yn ddrwg gennif, fod vn o Hiliogaeth yr hen Frittaniaid; yr rhai ydderbyniodd y Grefydd Gristianogol yn gyntaf yd Loeger; yn erbyn yr rhai sydd gwedi derbyn y wir Gristianogol Grefydd yr awr hon."

The English is thus:

"I am sorry that one of the stock of the ancient Britons, who first received the Christian faith in England, should be against those who have received the true Christian faith in this day."

He replied, he was not against our friends; but, he said, our Friends gave their votes for the election of parliament men that were against the king's interest. I told him, It was our birth-right, as we were freeholders and burgesses, to elect men qualified to serve both the king and country; but how they were corrupted, when they came within these walls, I knew not. The secretary would have engaged further with me in a dispute about religion. I told him, he was an ancient man, and that they had been a long time there upon their business, and if he would be pleased to dismiss us then,

and appoint what time we should some morning wait upon him, we would, if he pleased, spend an hour or two with him in discourse about religion. Upon which he took off his hat, and thanked me kindly for my civility; but we heard no more of him about the dispute. Upon the whole, our friend George Whitehead told me he was more moderate to Friends afterwards, than he had been before. The number of prisoners in the list delivered to lord Hide, to be presented to the king, amounted in both prisons, to one hundred and thirty-nine; of which there were eighteen aged women, from sixty and upwards, and eight children. In the latter end of the list it was said, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

I had my several exercises this year, 1682, in London, both from false brethren and otherwise. Once I was at the Bull-and-Mouth meeting, and there were in the gallery several troublesome people, and none of our ministering brethren in true unity with us, but George Whitehead and William Gibson. The gallery being pretty full, one of them seemed to strive to keep me out, and our friends George Whitehead and William Gibson perceiving it, made way for me to come up to them; another of them had been speaking long in the meeting, and had made many weary of him. I was under great concern in my spirit for the honour and exaltation of the name of the Lord and his truth, and the ease of many that were under weights and burdens; yet, for quietness-sake, I silently bore the weight and exercise that was upon me, till he had done. Then my mouth was opened in the name and power of God, who had compassion on his afflicted seed, and caused the light and life of his countenance to overshadow the meeting, to the comfort and great satisfaction of the faithful.

I was made to detect the false doctrine, which one of them had delivered to the people, viz. That the children of God are destroyed for want of knowledge. I told the people, that the children of God in these days, were the children of the new covenant; and the covenant that he makes with them is, that "They shall all know him, from the least to the greatest; and the true knowledge of God to his people in these days, is life eternal," John xvii. 3; though Israel of old were destroyed for want of knowledge, because they forgot the God of their fathers, that brought them out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage, insomuch that the Lord complained of them, and said, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but my people know not me;" Isa. i. 3. And elsewhere it is said, "They have forgotten me days without number." These were those apostates that the Lord complained, had committed two evils; they had "forsaken him, the fountain of living waters, and hewed themselves out cisterns, broken cisterns, that could hold no water." Jer. ii. 13. These were such as the apostle said, "When they knew God they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections and a reprobate mind," Rom. i. 26. And the apostates in our days, said I, have forgot the God that first made them acquainted in measure with him; so having lost the sense of his goodness, have separated themselves from the love and unity of the brethren; but the children of God, who are faithful to the measure of the grace of God in themselves, know it to be their teacher and leader into all truth. These are not destroyed for want of knowledge, though the world know him not. There are apostates in our age, who have lost the true knowledge of him; but the saints in light have, and remain in, the true knowledge of him, being guided by the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; "but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you," John xiv. 17.

When I had thus eased my spirit, a concern came upon our friend and brother, George Whitehead, and he sweetly concluded the meeting in prayer.

After this I was pretty well cleared of the city, and was willing to draw homewards. Next first-day I came to Jordans in Buckinghamshire, where we had a blessed meeting; then I had one at Chesham; from thence I went to Robert Jones's near Tring. Thence I went to the quarterly-meeting at Weston-Turfield, not far from Aylesbury, where it opened in me, to advise Friends to keep to those rules and methods agreed on among us in our men's and women's meetings. As I was declaring, came in an opposite party; however I went on, and showed them, how it was agreed among the apostles to send chosen men, endued with the Holy Ghost, to set up good order and method among them. I delivered unto them that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us also, to set up our men's and women's meetings, that the care and concern of the church of Christ might be upon holy, self-denying men and women, who might take care of the fatherless and widows in their afflictions and keep themselves unspotted from the world; which the apostle James says, "is pure religion, and undefiled before God," Jam. i. 27. And that the care of all, both poor, strangers, and prisoners in affliction might be carefully and tenderly looked after, and supplied according to their necessities; and that the ministers of Christ in this day, might take the counsel of the

apostle, who said, Acts xx. 28, "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."

When I had ended what I had to say from the Lord among Friends, one of the party stood up, and spoke something by way of reflection, upon what I then delivered. When he had done, our friend Thomas Ellwood proposed to the meeting, that all should sit down, and wait to feel the power of God among us, and let that decide whether I did speak in the name and power of God among them this day; to which the meeting agreed, and all were silent. After which several Friends, as they were moved by the Lord, gave tenderly their testimony, that what was delivered that day, was in the name and power of God, and that his presence was with us; as honest Robert Jones, and Richard Baker, who loved the Lord and his blessed truth with all their hearts, and several others present in that meeting. There stood up a young man that I knew not, whose heart was affected, and much broken in spirit, and said on this wise: There is a man come this day amongst us, I know not from whence he came, nor where he goes; but this I am satisfied, the Lord sent him here, and his power and presence is with him, and his testimony for the God of truth. I enquired afterwards who that young man was; they said he was one John Thornton. Upon this one of the party broke in violently and disorderly against what had been agreed upon among us, before the meeting had fully cleared themselves, and finished their testimonies; but it proved greatly to his dishonour and disgrace, so that he was made manifest to those that adhered to him. The meeting held from about ten in the morning, till (as they thought) ten or eleven at night. But blessed be the Lord, that doth not leave his people without a witness to himself: and he is the preserver and defender of all his people that wait upon him. They that trust in him are as Mount Sion, that cannot be moved.

After this I made what haste I could home, taking meetings in my way; at Banbury, and the country about, and part of Worcestershire. So, blessed be the Lord, I came safe home to my wife and friends, where I found all things well: blessed be his name for ever.

In the year 1683, I went again to London, to the yearly meeting, and staid there some time, after most of the country Friends were gone out of the city. I was engaged one first-day, for Westminster meeting, and there was no ministering Friends present but myself. Several weighty matters opened in me at that meeting, as, concerning the church of Christ, what it was, and on what it was built. I said, some be of the judgment that the church of Christ is built upon Peter; and I opened to the understanding of the people, something of what is written in the 16th chapter of Matthew. I showed them, that which revealed unto Peter, "that Christ was the Son of God," was a manifestation of the Spirit of God in Peter, for it is said, Matt. xi. 27, "No man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." God revealed unto Peter, that Christ was the Son of God; and he is the only rock that his church is built upon, the rock of ages, the foundation of many generations, that the gates of hell never prevailed against. But the gates of hell prevailed against Peter, when he denied his Lord and Master in the time of his sufferings; and therefore he was not like to be the rock which Christ built his church on. It is said, 1 Cor. x. 4, "For they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ." So Christ is the sure foundation that his church is built upon. Peter saith, 1 Pet. ii. 5, &c., "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God, by Jesus Christ." And in verse 8, he acknowledged Christ to be the Rock. Paul saith, 1 Tim. iii. 15, that "The house of God, the church of the living God, is the pillar and ground of the truth." This, said I, may inform the blind and ignorant of this age, that lime and stone, and temples that are made with hands, are not, as they say, the church of Christ, and the house of God; "for God dwelleth not in temples made with hands," as saith the prophet Isaiah, lxvi. 1, and the martyr Stephen, Acts vii. 48. Thus I was concerned to declare the truth in that meeting, with much more to the same effect. After meeting I went with some Friends towards the city; and as we were coming along the Strand, the queen was going from her chapel, and some of her life-guard were very rude, and with the staves they had in their hands, they did knock and beat Friends that had their hats on, all along as they came. I received a blow upon my head, so that it swelled, and was sore for a considerable time. But blessed be the Lord, in all our exercises and afflictions, his life, power, and presence bore us up in the midst of them all; praises be to his pure and holy name for ever.

Before I came out of London, we met with more exercises and troubles. One first-day in the morning, I was not well, and could not go to the meeting, nor scarcely get out of my bed; but when the time of our afternoon meeting came, it lay upon me to go to the Bull-and-Mouth; and I told Job Bolton, with whom I lodged, that I must go to the said meeting. He

reasoned with me; but I told him I would go so far as I could; and he said he would go with me. As we went through the passage to go in, I heard a voice that I was satisfied was not the voice of a true shepherd, the meeting being already gathered, and many people there. When I went up to the gallery, one was preaching of perfection, who said, "Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect," &c. I staid to hear him but a very little while, till I stood up and judged him, and told the people, that the kingdom of God stood not in words, but in power, righteousness and holiness. Then this man went in a rage out of the meeting, and a considerable company followed him; and a Friend or two went after them as far as Fleet Street, to see where they were going; and one of the company saw the Friend, and desired him not to follow them too close, lest they should do him an unkindness. We heard afterwards, there was a wager laid that this man, who some said was a Jesuit, would preach in the Quakers' meeting, and that he should not be discovered; and had he gone without reproof, they would say, that a Jesuit preached in the Quakers' meeting, and they could not discern him. But it was reported in many places in the city, that he was detected in the Quakers' meeting, and he could not abide there. We have cause to bless the Lord for his goodness to his people, that gives them a discerning spirit to judge between good and evil, and between those that serve God in truth and righteousness, and all deceitful hypocrites, who are to be judged and condemned by the word of his power.

In the beginning of the year 1685, king Charles died, and king James came to the throne, and the statute of 20 pounds per month for absenting from the public worship, which I suppose was made against the Papists in queen Elizabeth's days, had been and was very much put in force against our Friends, whereby many of them were almost ruined; the sheriffs and their bailiffs persecuted them so severely, and did make such a prey of them, that some worth many hundreds, were made so destitute, they had scarcely a bed to lie upon, but were robbed of all. When king James came to be settled upon the throne, our dear friend George Whitehead, who always was much concerned for the sufferings of Friends up and down in the nation, and who did not spare himself to visit kings and parliaments, and all others, where he thought he could get relief for his suffering brethren, went to king James, and laid the present condition of suffering Friends before him. After some consideration, the king told him, that what concerned him, or came to him of those fines, he very freely and readily would remit. Upon which an order was granted, to suspend the rigour of their persecutions. But it seems, when it came out, the Roman Catholics took the advantage of it to themselves; which was some surprise to Friends who had laboured in that service. George Whitehead hearing I was in the city, came to me, and told me the whole business, and understanding that I had interest with the earl of Powis, who was great with the king, he thought it might be of service if I would go along with him to the earl.

Next morning my friend George Whitehead and I went to the earl of Powis' in Lincoln's-inn-fields. When he understood I was come in, he very soon came to me; and when I had ended my country business with him, I told him I wanted a little of his advice, in a case wherein our Friends were great sufferers by a law that was made against them, and that we were severely whipped upon their backs by the statute of 20 pounds per month, for not coming to hear that which is called divine service. I told him that a friend of ours had waited upon the king, and had told him the whole state of things, and that the king was ready to relieve us in what he could, and that an order was granted to that purpose; but it seemed his friends had taken the benefit of it, and excluded us, &c. I desired his advice, whether we should proceed further in it or no: he answered, By all means; for, said he, "I will tell you, that there was taken from our friends in Lancashire, 8000 pounds upon this statute, and the king and myself went to see how much of this money came into the exchequer. When we saw it, it appeared, that the king was in debt to that account about 28 pounds, and all the rest gone. I desired him, seeing it was his advice that we should go on, and not be discouraged, that he would be pleased to grant that a friend of mine might come in and speak with him, who was more able to give him an account of this business than myself, and who had been with the king to get relief in this matter; for George Whitehead staid all this while in an adjacent room; so he bid me bring him up to him. When George came, he opened the matter fully to him. When he thoroughly understood the matter, he soon got himself ready, called for his coach, and bid me come to him at an appointed time; and he brought an absolute order from the king, to stop all proceedings by sheriffs and bailiffs upon that account in the nation. In a short time the rage, envy, and cruelty of such devouring men were stopt, and I know not that any have been troubled or suffered since upon that statute. Blessed be God, that hears the cries of the poor, fatherless, and widows, and sends relief to the afflicted in his own due time. I must say, that the earl of Powis and his countess, were very ready and willing at all times, to do our friends

any kindness that lay in their way, and to help them out of their troubles and afflictions; and I am apt to believe they did it conscientiously, for there were many of our friends in several of their lordships hereaways, and the earl never suffered any of us to be fined for not appearing in any of his courts upon juries, or any other way or manner.

In the year 1688, it seemed good to king James to publish a declaration for liberty of conscience, and ordered the bishops to send it to their several diocesses, that it might be read. Seven of them would not read it; bishop Lloyd aforesaid was one of them, therefore they were committed to the tower. Then I remembered that which I spoke to the bishop at his palace in the year 1681, when I queried of him, What if another prince should arise, that would impose something upon him that he could not do for conscience-sake? And that year when at London, I went to visit him in his troubles; and he said to me, I often thought of your words, and I could wish I were in Pennsylvania now myself. He told me the reason why they could not read the declaration, saying it was arbitrary, and not according to law, and that it was a matter of conscience to them; and others were to have their liberty by it, besides Protestant dissenters. He told me also, that they were put on to do those things which they had done against dissenters; but when I told him of it before, he could not believe it, till it came thus upon them. I had acquainted him formerly, that I had read a sermon that was preached to prove the church of Rome to be a false church; because she was a persecuting church: and now, said I, the members of the church of Rome puts you on, not only to persecute upon the penal laws that were made against dissenters, but by those laws also that were made against Popish recusants; and by the same argument may we and they say, the church of England is a false church, because it is a persecuting church. The bishop said, they did not consider nor know it then as they did now. I took my leave of him, and he kindly acknowledged my visit; and after some time they were released.

Afterwards the bishop came to Welch-Pool, in the assize week, and in the evening sent for me to the high-sheriff's house; there being with them most of the justices and deputy lieutenants of the county, with many of the clergy, who were very civil to me. The bishop told them that he had sent for me, and that he was more beholden to me than all the men in the diocess, for I came to visit him in his troubles; and he desired of them to do me all the kindness they could, and he would take it as done to himself. When supper was over, the bishop and the high sheriff, Edward Vaughan, of Llangedwin, took me into a private room with them, and we discoursed a little about the times. There was some report of the coming in of the Prince of Orange, and in a little time I had an account that the prince was landed, which was great satisfaction to the bishop; for he said some prosecuted him very close for his life. And when the Prince of Orange was made king of England, &c. and liberty of conscience was established by law, he and others were well satisfied with it.

And now I think it worthy to take notice of the several kindnesses, upon account of our suffering Friends, I received from this bishop Lloyd, in several diocesses; for as we record the hard-heartedness and cruelty we have found from unmerciful persecuting bishops and clergy, and how many they have made poor widows and fatherless, I think it is justice and equity in us to record all the mercy, tenderness, and compassion, we find from those that are conscientious and charitable among them. For instance:

Bishop Lloyd being at a visitation in Llanvilling, in this county of Montgomery, four peevish men, church-wardens of Welch-Pool, did intend to prosecute my son-in-law, Jacob Endon, for not paying towards the repairs of their worship house; I went with my son-in-law, and waited on the bishop, and told him the case; he very quickly called the church wardens, and told them there was an act of parliament ordering a more easy way, and with less charge, to recover by distress, than to drive to excommunications. He enquired for the act, which I gave him; and he turned to that clause, read it to the wardens, saying that he himself drew that clause in the act, and told them how they ought to go to the justices for a warrant; but, said he, Why will you go to the charge of a warrant? Cannot you go and take a pewter dish, or some other thing near the value? I warrant they will never sue you for it; for, said he, we must do unto them, as we would be done unto, if we were in their condition: so he quickly despatched them. Then I told him, I was come moreover in the behalf of a prisoner on the same account, whose name was Richard Davies, near Ruabon, in Denbighshire; and he advised me to go to the chancellor, Dr. Wynne, whom I should find, he said, a very fair man; so he called him to us, and left us together; and I took my leave of the bishop, acknowledging his kindness. When I had fully discoursed the chancellor about the prisoner, I found him very fair; and in a little time after, I heard my friend Richard Davies was discharged; and several kindnesses I had of the chancellor since. When the said wardens came home, they reported what favour I had with the bishop, and were troubled thereat; but neither myself

nor son-in-law were ever after troubled about those repairs of their worship-house.

Another time when I was going to London, and visiting Friends in my way, I called at Timothy Burberough's, at Aino on the hill, in Northamptonshire, where I understood he was gone to prison, I inquired the cause of his imprisonment, and his wife told me the priest of the parish had left their small tithes, and other tithes, till he thought they amounted to a considerable value; and then he came and took away near all that they had, and sent him to Northampton jail, where he had been for some time. I took a memorandum of it, and when I went to London, I thought of the affliction and exercise of my poor brother. My old friend bishop Lloyd being then at London, I went to his lodgings at Whitehall, and I must say, he was very ready to come to me. After some discourse, I laid the distressed case of my friend Thomas Burberough before him. He answered, he did not know what to do in it, the priest of Aino was a stranger to him, and out of his diocess. I told him, if he would be pleased to write a few lines to the bishop of Peterborough, for it was in that diocess, I said, he might peradventure write a few lines to the priest of Aino, to be more moderate and conscientious, in not taking more than the value of that which he called his due, and casting the poor man from his family into prison also. The ease I left with the bishop, and he took care to send it to the bishop of Peterborough, who sent to the priest of Aino; and bishop Lloyd sent the priest's answer, with a letter from the bishop of Peterborough to himself, in a letter of his to me near Welch-Pool; which I took as a great kindness and favour from him.

Not long after this I went to London again, and called at my friend Thomas Burberough's, where I found him at home, being released; he told me the priest had sent an order for him to come home; and that he came to reason and discourse with him. It seems he was not so unkind as he had been formerly.

In the year 1700 there was a considerable suffering on Friends in Worcestershire, an account of which was given me by my friend Edward Bourne of Worcester, who desired me to use my interest with bishop Lloyd for the relief of John Fowler, and his mother-in-law, the widow Banbury, who was a prisoner for tithe in the out county prison in Worcester, and he sent me their whole case. When I understood it, I found a concern upon me to make what haste I could to the bishop, who was then at his palace at Hartlebury, a few miles from Bewdley. I considered also what a great sufferer our friend William Sankey, had been by one Vernon, a cruel ungodly priest of the parish he lived in, who had cast him into prison, when he had five or six small children, and his wife lately dead. He several times took from him more than treble the value of his pretended due for tithe. From Bewdley I went to William Sankey's, and told him I was to go to the bishop, and desired him to go with me. In the morning we went together. I inquired for the bishop's secretary, Francis Evans, who very lovingly came to us, brought us in, and said he would acquaint his lord that I was there; and in a little time the bishop came to us. And after some discourse I told the bishop, I was not only come to give him a visit, but I was come purposely from home in behalf of some friends of mine, who suffered for tithes in that country: and that I was informed there had been three committed to Worcester jail by one Kerry, the priest of Tredington, and that two of them were released, and the third remains a prisoner. Released, said he, how are they released? I told him, by the hand of their great Creator. It seems then, said he they are dead; and the same man, said I, doth prosecute the widow of one of them, viz. William Banbury, and hath already put her into your court, for that which her husband suffered and died for; and we reckon, that in common law, when the prisoner dies in prison, the prosecution ceases. I do not know, said he, but the debt may be paid, but the charges are not; and I know not what to do with that man, for I hear he is a very covetous man, and I have no power over him but once in three years. I was lately in my visitation there, and had I known this then, I might have done your friends some kindness. I said, if thou wilt be so kind as to write a few lines to him, and let him know what complaint is made to thee of him, and how thou art informed that two of the three which he sent to prison are dead; I do not question but it might stop his rage and severe prosecution against the poor widow, if not be a means to release the other prisoner. So he bid his secretary to take notice of it, and put him in mind to write to him. Then I told him of the sufferings of William Sankey, who was there present, and desired him to give my friend leave to open the case himself to him, which he did; and when he told how cruel the said Vernon had been to him in casting him into jail, his wife being dead, and left five or six small children; and he told him, that he had taken from him goods worth about 12 pounds for about three or four pounds demand for tithe; and about twelve or fourteen pounds worth of sheep, for the like demand at another time; and several other cruelties he had done him by this unconscionable Vernon. The bishop taking it into consideration, caused his secretary to draw an order for him to come there with his accounts, that was due to him from William Sankey, and what he had taken

from William Sankey towards that account; and he gave the order to William Sankey, to deliver to the priest, and desired William to be there the day appointed, with the priest. I was informed the priest went the day before to the bishop, and William Sankey went the day appointed; and I was informed that the bishop should say, that there was no help for what was past, but he would take care he should do so no more to William Sankey. I heard since that time he hath taken it in kind from him, with more moderation than before, and that the bishop was kind to William Sankey ever since.

John Fowler, one of the three before mentioned, (Robert Grimes and Wm. Banbury being dead) was discharged, and as for the widow Banbury's case, who was severely prosecuted by the priest, intending to get it to an excommunication, that was stopped, and she was troubled no more.

Before I parted with the bishop, I told him, there was a friend of ours, William Cattril, that kept school at Worcester, who was persecuted very close by some for keeping school without a license, and they did intend to bring him under an *Excommunicato capiendo*, and if he was not pleased to be kind to him, they would put him to all the charge and trouble they could. The bishop bid his secretary take care about it. So all that I requested of the bishop at that time was friendly and kindly granted me, and care was taken that they were not troubled nor molested on these accounts. Then the bishop ordered us to dine there that day, and we parted friendly and lovingly with him; and he desired me, when I came that way, not to be strange to him. From thence I went to Worcester, and gave Friends an account of my success with the bishop—I staid with them a little while, and then went to Bromyard, and had a meeting there. So I went through part of Herefordshire to Leominster, and I can bless and praise the name of the Lord, who was with me all along on my journey, and brought me safe home to my wife and family; and when I gave them an account of my journey, they praised the Lord with me, who had been my preserver and defender.

In a little time after, I went to London, and being at the meeting about Friends' sufferings, there was mentioned the sufferings of Friends in Lancaster castle by the dean and chapter of Worcester, and they had been there for several years, though Friends had made interest to get them off, and Friends at Worcester used their interest with the chancellor, who seemed to be very kind to them; yet for all that they could not have them discharged. When I came from London I went to the bishop at Worcester. He was very free with me, and in a little time the chancellor came to us, and the bishop gave me to understand who he was. I told him I was glad to see them both together, and said, when I was lately in London we had the sufferings of our Friends in Lancashire before us, for a small matter of tithe, alledged to belong to the dean and chapter of Worcester; and I told the bishop that I thought the chancellor was not a stranger to it, for I heard he had been often solicited on their behalf. The chancellor told him, he did understand it, and that these men were there for a small inconsiderable matter; and said he was sorry that those men died in Worcester, because in conscience they could not pay that little tithe to the priest of Tredington, and he was afraid these men would die there also, except some way was found out for their release. The bishop asked how long they had been there; I think the chancellor said four or five years. The bishop said, discharge them, discharge them; and ordered them to be discharged without paying any fees. After a little time I parted with the bishop and chancellor, and acknowledged their kindness. I went to Friends in the city of Worcester, and told William Pardoe what success I had with the bishop, desired them to wait on the chancellor to get the order, that it might be sent speedily; and in a little time I heard they were discharged.

Hitherto, reader, thou hast had a short relation of some of the labours and services of our ancient and honourable friend Richard Davies, *from his own account, which he finished a little before his decease; it remains, therefore, to give some account of his last year's travels, &c. together with the time and manner of his departure, &c.*

In the year 1702, he went to London, his daughter Tace Endon accompanying him, and staid in and about the city several weeks, visiting Friends in their meetings, and had many good and comfortable opportunities among them. He, together with eleven Friends more, were appointed by the yearly meeting to go to the queen at Windsor, with an acknowledgment from Friends for the continuation of their liberty, and protection under her government; at which time he in particular spoke to the queen. When he was clear of those parts, he returned homewards, and came through Worcester, where he went to visit his old friend bishop Lloyd, who was glad to see him. That was the last time they saw each other.

After his return home he often visited some neighbouring meetings, and was at the yearly meeting of Wales the spring following.

About the latter end of the third month, 1704, he went up to London again to the yearly meeting, his grandson David Endon attending

him. He visited Friends as he passed through Stourbridge, Banbury, Aylesbury, &c. and staid in and about the city for near two months, being somewhat weak and sickly. When he was clear of the city, he returned pretty directly home, and came well to his family.

In the beginning of the year 1705, he met with some exercise; for on the 1st of the third month, his dear and honest wife died, who had been very tender and careful over him, and a woman very serviceable to Friends and truth in many respects. She was a plain, upright, and honest-hearted woman; one that loved truth in simplicity. She left a good report behind her, after they had lived together about forty-six years.

In the first month, 1706, he was at the yearly meeting of Wales, Llanidlos, in Montgomeryshire, being the last yearly meeting he was at in Wales. On the 15th of the second month following he took his journey with his grandson David Endon, towards Bristol. He had a meeting at Leominster, and at Ross in Herefordshire, and thence went to Bristol, and lodged at Charles Harford's, jun. where he visited Friends at their yearly meeting, and staid about a week; and on the 30th of the second month, set forward towards London, and came to Frenchay; and had a meeting there. The 1st of the third month he had a meeting at Sodbury in Gloucestershire; the 5th at Cirencester; the 8th at Oxford, being the first-day of the week, where many of the scholars came in, and were rude for some time; but after our friend Richard Davies had spoke a while in the meeting, they became more sober; some of them sat down, and staid till the conclusion of the meeting; and Friends took notice that the meeting was more quiet than usual. From thence he went to Henley, and had a meeting there; and so to Windsor, where he had a meeting; thence he went to London, and lodged at his friend and kinsman Thomas Lloyd's. He attended the yearly meeting, and staid in and about the city, visiting Friends at their meetings, until the 19th of the fourth month; at which time he returned homewards, and had a meeting the 21st at Chesham, where William Bingley was; the 22nd they had a meeting at Aylesbury, and went thence to their yearly meeting at Banbury, where were many Friends from divers parts. The 28th he came to Worcester, William Bingley still accompanying him, where they had a meeting. The 30th he went to Droitwitch, and had a meeting there. The 1st of the fifth month he had a meeting at Bromsgrove; the 2nd at Birmingham, and lodged at John Pemberton's; the 4th he went to the quarterly meeting at Wolverhampton, and passed thence to Stourbridge, and lodged at Ambrose Crowley's; and so upon the 9th of the fifth month, 1706, he returned safe home to his family at Cloddiccochion, near Welch-Pool, having been away nearly three months.

After this journey he continued mostly at home, in his usual health, and visited several neighbouring meetings. In the latter end of the eighth month, he was at the burial of an ancient woman Friend, Anne Thomas, in Salop, and at several other burials near home; at which times he often had very good service, and people would hear him gladly, for he had a solid and grave delivery, and was wise and sound in his matter, which was very taking with most people.

His last sickness was very short; for on the sixth-day of the week he was at Welch-Pool, and finding himself not well, went home, and the next day kept the house. On first-day following several Friends went to see him from Dolobran meeting, and had a little opportunity to wait together upon the Lord with him. He spoke very little to any; and his pain continuing upon him, the next day, being the 22nd of the first month, 1707–8, about the ninth hour in the morning, he quietly departed this life, being in the seventy-third year of his age.

The 25th being the day appointed for his burial, many Friends from divers parts, and other people, met at his house at Cloddiecochion, and his body was borne by them to the grave yard, near his own house, and there decently interred near his wife's grave. In the grave yard there was held a solemn meeting, and several testimonies were borne, in the power and life of truth, to the general satisfaction of the people.

The Testimony and account of George Whitehead, concerning Richard Davies, *and his ministry.*

In a true and living remembrance of this our dear brother, ancient and faithful servant and minister of Jesus Christ, Richard Davies, and of that dear and brotherly love which remained between us, and which he had to all faithful Friends and brethren in Christ; I am concerned to give this brief testimony in commemoration of his life, and faithful ministry.

He was not only a professor of the name, power, and spirit of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but also made a partaker of Christ, in spirit, life, and conversation: a plain, meek, and humble man of integrity; a man fearing God, and hating iniquity; a man sanctified by the Holy Spirit, unto unfeigned and constant love of his brethren in Christ; a man sound in faith, in patience, and charity; of a sound mind and judgment, being endued with

the spirit of love. He was a preacher of Christ and his righteousness, in his conversation as well as in doctrine and ministry, wherein he was exemplary to the believers. He was given up to serve the truth and Friends; and being of a tender spirit, did truly sympathize with the sufferers for the same, and used his industrious endeavours for their relief, where he could have an interest or place with such as had power.

His testimony and ministry were evangelical, plain, and sound; not in words of man's wisdom; but in the demonstration and plain evidence of the holy Spirit and power of Christ, being a minister of the spirit, and of the New Testament; the new covenant dispensation, which stands not in legal shadows, types, outward signs or figures, but in the gospel life and substance, even in Christ Jesus; in whom all the shadows, and dispensations thereof, are ended.

And this our dear brother having travelled through and beyond those outward dispensations, shadows, and veils; and understanding their cessation, removal, and end, in and by Christ Jesus, his sufferings and death; and more especially by his inward and spiritual appearance, dispensation, and work in his heart and soul; whereby he was made sensible of the power of Christ's resurrection, as being one risen with him; by the brightness and glory of whose day, the shadows naturally vanish and flee away; as this faithful minister of Christ was witness, with many more of his brethren, who were and are partakers of the inward and spiritual revelation of the mystery of Christ, and of the glory of his day.

And as this gospel minister did see and partake of the enduring substance, and end of all vanishing shadows and carnal ordinances, he well knew, that neither John's baptism with water, nor any outward washings therewith, though once commanded, could ever sanctify, or wash the inside from sin and pollution, or sprinkle and purify the conscience, or make a true Christian; much less can sprinkling infants, which God never commanded; but Christ's spiritual baptism, and washing of regeneration by the water of life, which is the one baptism *i. e.* the baptism of the Spirit, is the only saving baptism, as our said deceased friend hath testified, according to Holy Scripture.

He also likewise testified, that outward bread and wine cannot feed nor nourish the immortal soul, or inward man, any more than the legal passover; but only the body or outward man: but Christ, the living bread, the bread of life, which comes down from heaven; and the cup of blessing, which he gives to his spiritual communicants: he being that spiritual meat and drink, which all his spiritual Israel partake of, in this his gospel day, to their great refreshment and comfort in the spiritual communion, and comfortable fellowship of his Holy Spirit. To this our dear friend's ministry tended to bring people; that they might not rest in lifeless shadows, but come to know and inherit eternal life and substance, in Christ Jesus, which all that truly love him shall partake of and possess.

And I am fully persuaded, that as this our dear and well beloved friend and brother lived and died in the faith, in our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in true union and communion with his church and people here on earth; so I believe he is eternally blessed, and at rest in his heavenly kingdom; where all the faithful in Christ shall meet in the great and general assembly of Christ's triumphant church, and enjoy glorious and everlasting communion in the heavenly kingdom of glory and peace; which shall be the blessed estate and inheritance of all, who continue faithful in true love and unity, in the grace of God, while here on earth, unto the end of their days.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

London, the 10th of the Twelfth month, 1709.

A short Testimony concerning my dear and loving father, RICHARD DAVIES.

I CAN truly say, he was a dear and tender father to me in my young years; and as I grew up, I had a sense of his great love and care over me; and it seized my heart so that I often prayed to God, that he would keep me from offending so good a father. And when I was capable of travelling with him, he usually took me along with him, in his journies to London and elsewhere; many were the good opportunities that we had in travelling together, and visiting Friends at their meetings.

And as his care was to me, so was it over mine also, which makes our loss the greater; but I am satisfied it is his great gain. How often and fervently would he pray to the Almighty, that his children might become the children of the Lord, and that he might keep us from the allurements and defilements of this wicked world; and we hope the Lord will answer his petitions on our behalf.

My dear father was serviceable to most sorts of people, rich and poor, in the country where he lived, and in other places. He was ready to give his advice and counsel freely, both in things relating to the law and the gospel; he had much place and interest with several great persons, and what he requested of them was generally granted him. And I may say it to the praise of the Lord, he was well respected

by most sorts of people, and a loss of him is known amongst them.

He was very ready to serve the widow and fatherless, in what lay in his power; and many were his labours and travels of love: but now he is ceased from them all, and I question not but he has gone to his eternal rest with God for ever. It is my desire, that we may prize the great goodness and loving kindness of the Lord, in sparing him so long to us, for he had been but a weakly man these late years.

About the tenth month, 1688, my dear father was very sick and weak, so that most that saw him thought he would not recover; but the Lord, in his tender mercy, so ordered that our dear friends Robert Barrow and Robert Haydock, came into these parts to visit Friends; and they came to our house at Welch-Pool, and had a meeting there; and as they were parting with my father, they had it in their hearts to pray, and they earnestly interceded with the Lord, That it might stand good with his will, to spare him again unto us; for we were then a sorrowful family. Afterwards, I remember very well, Robert Barrow spoke, and said to my father, "Dear Richard, thou art a very weakly man in the sight of those that see thee, and not likely to live many hours, as to the natural man's thinking; but the Lord has given it me at this time to believe, I shall see thee at our next yearly meeting at London." When I heard these words it was joyful news to me, and it proved very true; the Lord in his wonderful mercy and loving kindness, restored him to his health, and next spring he went to the yearly meeting at London, where also Robert Barrow was, and glad to see my father there. This was all the Lord's doings, and his works they are marvellous in our eyes.

Much might be said; but my desire is, that as our ancient friends, fathers and mothers in Israel, have borne the burthen in the heat of the day, through many tribulations and afflictions, and now have rested from their labours, and their works follow them, and their memorial is blessed for evermore; so we also who are left, may walk in the footsteps of the flock, and tread in the path they have trodden in. It is, as to the outward, an easy way now, to what our ancients had, but the adversary of our immortal souls is the same, he is unwearied; therefore we ought to be very careful, and double our diligence, to be sober and watchful, and cry incessantly to the Lord God of our fathers, that he may be our God, and enable us to walk worthy of all his mercies and blessings every way, for they are many.

Now I shall give some account of my dear father's departure. He was taken ill on the sixth-day of the week, being the 19th of the first month 1707–8. On first-day following, he sent for some Friends of Dolobran meeting, and several of them came to him, and had a meeting with him in his bed-chamber; he desired Friends to pray to the Lord, That he might have an easy passage; adding, "That the fervent prayers of the righteous, the Lord would have a regard unto." And his time being come, he departed this life, as it were in a sleep, it being about the ninth hour in the forenoon, the 22nd of the first month, 1707–8. On the 25th following, his body was accompanied by a considerable number of Friends and people, to the burying place, near his own house at Cloddiecochion, and there decently interred.

And now it is my desire, that all of us who have had such good examples, by our parents, may follow them in purity and holiness; so that we may be such good patterns to our offspring, that when we lay down our heads, and leave this natural life, they may have cause to praise and glorify the Lord on our account, as many of us can say, we have had for our worthy parents that are gone. If we continue in well-doing, and in the fear of the Lord, there is no question but we shall die in his favour, which I desire may be the lot of the whole heritage of God. TACE ENDON.

Cloddiecochion, the 27th of the First month, 1708.

A Testimony from friends and brethren of the Quarterly meeting for Montgomeryshire, Shropshire, and Merionethshire, held at Dolobran in Montgomeryshire, the 25th of the Eleventh month, 1708, *concerning our ancient, honourable friend and elder,* RICHARD DAVIES.

HE was one of the first of Friends in these parts, who received the blessed truth in the love of it; and he laboured much in the morning and heat of the day.

He and his wife were very hearty, loving, and ready to entertain Friends, their hearts and house being very open in that respect; and they were very helpful and serviceable to Friends in this country, who were prisoners on truth's account in Welch-Pool, the place where they then lived, when there were but few other Friends of ability to assist them; until the Lord raised up several eminent instruments in these parts, who were very serviceable with them.

Our said friend was wise and prudent. He had a good understanding and capacity; a man of great experience; and was very willing to advise and counsel any in things relating to the gospel, and also to outward affairs.

And as he was discreet in his conduct among men, the Lord gave him great place and favour with several persons of note, with whom he had often good service for truth and Friends.

The Lord blessed him with a good gift in the ministry, and he was made an able minister of the gospel; sound in judgment, and well received by most people who heard him.

He travelled in divers parts on truth's service, especially in his younger years; and had good service in many places, both at home and abroad. He was often at London, where he was well esteemed by many of our elders and brethren.

He lived to a good old age, and was favoured with a short sickness at last. Some of us were with him the day before his departure; he seemed sensible that his end was near approaching, and appeared as one that was waiting for the same. He departed this life the 22nd of the first month, 1707–8, in the 73rd year of his age; and we believe he is at rest with the Lord, together with many more of the faithful followers of the Lamb.

We shall not enlarge much further, but refer to the foregoing account of his labours, travels and services for truth and Friends on several occasions, which contains a general relation of the most remarkable occurrences of his life, which was written by himself not long before his decease.

And we earnestly desire that all, who make profession of the glorious truth with us, may really know a "working out of their salvation with fear and trembling;" and that they may faithfully improve their talents, and follow the examples of the faithful elders and servants of the Lord in all things wherein they followed Christ, that we may give our account at last with joy, and receive an eternal reward with the children of the Lord, when time to us will be no more.

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." Rev. xiv. 13.

Signed on behalf of the said meeting, by us,

Charles Lloyd, Owen Roberts, Rowland Owen, William Reynolds, Robert Vaughan, Humphrey Owen, Robert Griffithes, Jacob Endon, John Simpson, Owen Lewis, Thomas Cadwalader, Richard Lewis, John Richards, Ellis Lewis, William Osborn, Thomas Oliver, Joseph Davies, Richard Evans, Edward Ellis, William Soley, Richard Bembow, Griffith Owen, Richard Ruff, John Roberts, Julius Palmer, John Kelsall, Amos Davies.

The Testimony of Rowland Owen, concerning his dear friend Richard Davies.

A weighty consideration came upon my mind, how the Almighty in his unspeakable and unsearchable wisdom, who discerneth the states and conditions of the sons and daughters of men, maketh choice of some, and calleth them from among their neighbours and relations, to be serviceable unto him: amongst whom our dear friend Richard Davies was called early, in the day of God's visitation, to serve him; and he gave up in obedience to the Lord, and took up the cross in a time of great persecution.

The Lord made him willing and obedient, in those days, to go abroad with a public testimony for the truth, and moved him to come to our country of Merionethshire, when some of us were young in years; and it pleased the Lord to make him instrumental to bring glad tidings to our ears, and his testimony was sweet and comfortable, to the edifying and tendering of our hearts and souls; many of us loved him exceedingly, and that love remained between him and us till the end of his days. He was tender and careful of us, and a nourisher and strengthener of some of us in our spiritual exercises, and was ready to assist the weak and feeble, and willing to give a helping hand, counsel and admonition to Friends, and others, that had any desires to serve the Lord.

O the wonderful wisdom and love of God! who called him, and many others in those days, and prepared and qualified them for the great work they had to do, and strengthened them to tread the way before us, that were weak and feeble. How strong and valiant instruments did the Lord God prepare to begin to strike at the great image of pride, haughtiness, &c. that was then, and yet is in the world! Indeed their memorial is worthy to be recorded, that ages yet to come might see what the Lord hath done for his faithful ones, who gave up their lives, and all they had, on truth's account.

I was acquainted with our said friend about forty years, and I can say of a truth, that his service was great in the church of Christ, especially in times of persecution; he having much interest with the magistrates, and them in authority in those days. His house was very open to entertain Friends, to the utmost of his ability; and the Lord blessed him.

The Lord, out of his treasure of grace, eminently endued him to bear a sound and seasonable testimony, when great assemblies were gathered together; and he had a skilful hand to administer unto them the way of truth, and to open it to their understandings; which many times gave them great satisfaction, and they were made to speak well of truth and its followers. O the deep sense that remains upon me, of the great want we have of the service of such as he was! The Lord who in his mercy qualified and fitted him, is able to prepare and raise up other faithful labourers.

It affects me, when I remember his gravity,

his manly presence, and lovely countenance, especially when he stood up in a meeting. Now he hath finished his course, and I believe, hath done his day's work, and is gone to his eternal rest.

Much more might be said on his behalf, but I desire that none may mistake me, I am not giving honour to man, that is but dust and ashes; but that all might see how Almighty God doth bestow his spiritual gifts upon those of whom he requireth service. And it is our duty, as our Saviour Jesus Christ advised his beloved disciples, to pray to the Lord of the harvest, which harvest is great, that he would send forth more faithful labourers into his harvest, that mankind might be gathered into the inward possession and substance of Christianity, which many outwardly profess; that the God of all our mercies, and his beloved Son Jesus Christ, may have all the glory and thanksgiving, to whom it belongs, not only now, but henceforth and for ever more. Amen.

ROWLAND OWEN.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

OF

MARY ALEXANDER,

LATE OF NEEDHAM MARKET.

"Ye when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say "We are unprofitable servants: we have done [only] that which was our duty to do." Luke xvii. 10.

PREFACE.

IN publishing this account of a dearly beloved sister, there is not a great deal, as editor to perform, more than to write a fair transcript of her own remarks; till the last few months of her life. This period does not appear to be recorded by herself; and the omission is easily accounted for. She died whilst from home on a religious visit; and having a retentive memory, it seems to have been her practice, sometimes, to commit to writing the events of a journey, after her return home.

The Editor has thought he could not better supply the defect in her own narrative, than by giving some information respecting her last exercising labours, and by adding an account of the closing scene.

In making an addition to the valuable journals which already exist, it may not be improper to say, that a peculiar interest is naturally felt, in the biographical narrations of those with whom we have been acquainted. Where the writer has held forth, by uniform conduct, the impressive language of, "follow me as I have followed Christ," this interest is doubly excited; and has also a powerful tendency to animate survivors, in the work of righteousness and salvation.

W. A.

CHAPTER I.

(From her birth to the Eighth month, 1789.)

Remarks by the Editor, including a testimony concerning her mother.—Her inducement for writing these memoirs.—A remarkable occurrence at ten years old.—Her first impression respecting a gift in the ministry.—On reading the scriptures, plays, and romances.—The death of her father, sister-in-law, and a near friend.—Further exercises respecting the ministry.

THE subject of these memoirs was born the 7th of the Second month, 1760, and was the daughter of Dykes and Martha Alexander, of Needham Market, in the county of Suffolk. Her father was in the station of an elder, and her mother in that of a minister. The decease of the latter, when my sister was about sixteen years of age, was a heavy loss to her; as maternal care and tenderness can find many opportunities of protecting the youthful mind, which, from the different avocations of the sexes, evade a father's most assiduous care.

The reader will be qualified to judge more completely of this loss, by perusing the following testimony.

A short Testimony from Woodbridge Monthly meeting, concerning MARTHA ALEXANDER:—

"Our friend Martha Alexander, late wife of Dykes Alexander, of Needham Market, in the county of Suffolk, was the daughter of John and Abigail Biddle, of Esher in Surry, both valuable Friends. Her mother dying when she was young, her father was concerned to educate her, and the rest of his children, agreeably to their station; especially to bring them up, according to the living principle of truth, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

"Our deceased friend was born the 13th of the twelfth month, 1726, and married the 18th of the twelfth month, 1747. She became early sensible of the reaches of divine grace in her own heart, and embraced its heavenly visitations. Earnestly desirous to obtain an abiding therein, she submitted to the cross of Christ, renouncing the pursuits of vanity and the pleasures of sin; and walking in circumspection, humility and the fear of the Lord, about the year 1750, she found her mind concerned to engage in the work of the ministry; wherein we doubt not but she endeavoured to discharge herself faithfully, according to her measure.

"As she felt her mind drawn in the love of truth, she visited Friends in divers parts of the nation; particularly in London and the parts adjacent, in 1752, in company with Mary Kirby; in the Isle of Ely and there away, 1753, with Margaret Marsham; in the county of Norfolk, 1771, with Mary Gurney; and with the same Friend, she attended the quarterly meetings of Lincoln and York in 1774; taking divers meetings in the way both out and home.

"She was not usually large in testimony, but very tender, solid, and weighty; a living example of the doctrines she delivered, in conversation and conduct; a shining pattern of humility and patience, piety and charity, faithful and amiable in every relation of life; affectionately united to the living in Israel; kind and courteous to her neighbours; sympathizing with the afflicted; and liberal to the needy of all denominations.

"She departed this life at her daughter Jesup's, in Woodbridge, the 18th of the ninth month 1775; and her interment was respectfully attended, both by friends and neighbours, at Needham Market, the 25th of the same. She was aged near forty-nine, a minister about twenty-five years."

By comparing these dates, the reader will find that the writer of these memoirs was about thirty-eight years old when she thus commenced them.

Eleventh month 18th, 1798.

IT is not with the smallest supposition that any thing I may have to commit to paper, can be likely to yield either edification or consolation to those who survive me, that I am induced to attempt to write down some circumstances of my life hitherto: but I am led to do it, from a belief which sometimes is the companion of my mind, in solemn seasons, that to look back and consider the merciful dealings of a gracious Creator, with one of the least in his spiritual family, (if worthy to conclude myself at all of this number) and, as events may be brought afresh to my remembrance, to pen them, may tend to my own future satisfaction and instruction. If permitted to continue a few years longer in this state of existence, I expect to experience a partaking of the cup of mixtures. Should the bitter draught be more frequently dispensed than the sweet consolations of His pure spirit, who is the All-wise Physician, and who knows best what potion is most convenient to keep the immortal part in health, and in a state of readiness to receive the crown of eternal life, may I resignedly accept it, and increasingly seek for ability to say with the great pattern of submission:—"Not my will, but thine be done." Luke xxii. 42.

At a very early age I believe my mind was, at times, visited with the heart-tendering power of the Lord; long before I knew what it was that contrited my spirit before him. This led me to feel a very great love for such as I esteemed good Friends, and enabled me to plead their cause when I heard some speak slightly of them, on account of what were considered singularities. My education did not subject me to such frequent exposures as fall to the lot of many, and perhaps of most; yet there were seasons when circumstances of this sort did occur. One in particular I remember. When about ten years of age, I rebuked a person, who was ridiculing one whom I believed to be a valuable woman; and the person's answer to me was—"I make no doubt but you will be a preacher when you grow up." I silently received what she said, and felt a secret reward, which enabled me to rejoice that I was permitted to bear my little portion of suffering for espousing the good cause. Yet sorrowful to remember, several years after, I fear I should have felt less ability to have done it, than at that early period; but, with reverent thankfulness I can acknowledge the wonderful goodness of a merciful God, who never permitted me to go long unrebuked, when I had wandered widely from his holy guidance.

About the seventeenth year of my age, as I was sitting in a meeting at Woodbridge, I saw clearly, that if I was faithful, I should, after a

time, be entrusted with a gift in the ministry. Notwithstanding my having been so favoured, I went afterwards much further from the simplicity of my guarded education, in divers respects, than I had done before; but mercy followed me so nearly and closely, that at times my heart was sad, though I was not guilty of any thing which many thought much amiss of, for a young person. I indulged however in many inclinations and propensities, which required to be slain by the sword of the Lord, before I could be brought into a state of acceptance with Him.

At length my desires were earnest to witness redemption from the world; and in the twenty-third year of my age, one first-day evening, after I came from a neighbouring meeting, in a solid frame of mind, I went into my chamber, and taking up the bible, opened it at the seventh chapter of the Revelations, and read the last two verses: "They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat; for the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes." On reading this passage my mind was so opened to view this precious state of departed spirits, and I believe, for a short space so permitted to participate their joy, that Peter like, I desired I might build a tabernacle, or, in other words, continue in this blessed situation. However I was not allowed to abide long here; for as he was instructed to hear the beloved Son of God, so it was given me to see, if ever I became of that happy number, I also must hear Him who "endured the cross, despising the shame;" Heb. xii. 2, and must experience a willingness wrought in my heart, to fill up my measure of sufferings for the precious cause.

Soon after this time, I was permitted to share largely in the gospel labours of several of the Lord's anointed messengers; who were wonderfully led to minister to my state, and proved that they were commissioned to preach the gospel of glad tidings to such as were seeking a city that hath foundations; which I humbly trust was my situation. Among those who were thus made helpful to my poor soul, was my beloved friend William Matthews, of York Town, Pennsylvania, whose fatherly attention and notice, in so needful a season, will ever render the remembrance of him dear to me; while preservation is mercifully granted to abide faithful to the requisitions of a gracious Creator.

When my mind became thus far awakened, and was seeking a better and more enduring substance than had heretofore been my experience, how was my soul often contrited before my heavenly Father, both in meetings and in retirement at home. He very frequently caused my cup to overflow, so that my heart was melted into such a state of humiliation before him for past offences, as to enable me frequently to cry unto him, that his eye might not spare, until all within me was brought into subjection to his divine will. At this time I was favoured to receive much comfort in reading the Holy Scriptures, which I often took up when alone, to my consolation and encouragement. Then, deeply did I lament that any of my precious time had been spent in perusing publications of an unprofitable tendency; such as plays and romances; and I was made sensible that nothing I had ever been in the practice of, had so much alienated my mind from the love and fear of God, or led me so far from the simplicity of the pure truth, as books of this kind. How often did I wish I could warn the whole world of their pernicious effects, and especially the young people in our own Society. Penning this remark brings to my remembrance, how in an instant, I was entirely weaned from ever desiring again to look into a book of this description. It was by a few words expressed by a beloved friend, when I was about reading to her one night after we got up stairs, and were retiring to bed. She queried with me, and I believe under divine influence, "Dear Mary, is such a subject likely to profit us upon our pillows?" The question so forcibly struck my mind, that I very willingly laid down the volume, and to the best of my remembrance, I never more read a page in that, or any thing of the like kind. I have often thought those few words were indeed "like apples of gold in pictures of silver." Prov. xxv. 11.

In the fourth month of the year 1786, my dear father was removed from us by death, after an illness of several months; during which time my mind was often favoured with the consolating presence of him, who is strength in weakness to his dependent children. This enabled me to pass through that trying dispensation in a manner I could not have expected; yet, after the final close of my beloved earthly parent, it pleased my heavenly Father to try me with the loss of spiritual enjoyment also; and for a long time, my poor mind was often in a very distressed situation, "Tossed with tempest, and not comforted." Isaiah liv. 11. Indeed this was a time of sorrow both within and without; for that day nine weeks on which my father expired, my dear sister Elizabeth Alexander, my brother Samuel's wife, breathed her last, and left a disconsolate husband and four tender children, besides many other near connections, to mourn her loss.

Thus bereaved of beloved relatives, my brother William and myself agreed to continue together in our father's house; and my brother

Samuel was favoured with the company and assistance of his wife's aunt, Mary Gurney, who, from that time, resided with him and his dear children. I believe she was made a blessing to many of us, while we were permitted to have her society amongst us; which was till the autumn of the year 1788, when, after having been out several weeks on religious service, she was taken ill at her cousin Joseph Cockfield's, at Upton, and in a few days, departed this life, I fully believe, in peace with her God, having spent her last days in advocating his holy cause.*

Though a little out of the order of time, I may here observe, that on the 7th of Sixth month, 1787, was my final parting with William Matthews and Rebecca Wright, gospel messengers of peculiar good to my mind.

To return to my own situation: My poor mind was long kept in a state of great inward want, and I was sometimes ready to conclude my God had forgotten to be gracious. In such seasons, I have been willing to offer up all unto him and his service, so that I might again taste of his goodness: and in this time of trial, I did give up many things which I believed he called for.

Whilst in this situation, I had sometimes to believe, that if I stood faithful, it would be required of me publicly to espouse that pure cause, which, notwithstanding all my exercises, I could feel was more precious to me than the increase of any outward comforts; but the removal of my before-mentioned beloved friend, Mary Gurney, at such a juncture, was so great a trial of my faith and confidence, that I was almost ready to conclude it would now be impossible for me ever to break through; though I did earnestly covet resignation to the divine will therein. In this situation of mind I attended her burial, and though, I believe, at her grave, I might have publicly borne testimony of my belief in her happy change; yet, as I did not wilfully disobey what, I have since apprehended, was a divine intimation, I did not feel much condemnation. It was some months after this before I again felt as much as I did at that time; yet, frequently was I in great doubt and uneasiness, often feeling, as I thought, something to communicate, when in religious opportunities; but fearing I should begin in the great work of public ministry before the right time, I withheld speaking. At other times, both at meetings and at home, both by day and by night, I was under very great exercise lest I should be entirely mistaken, and that what I felt should not be any right call to the ministry.

This was my situation one night in the beginning of the year 1789, when, after having lain a considerable time in close exercise of spirit, a light shined round my bed, and I heard a voice intelligibly say: "Thou art appointed to preach the Gospel." Immediately the light disappeared, and I was left in an awful, thankful frame of mind; esteeming it an intimation granted by Him, who alone knows the deep conflicts of spirit I then experienced, lest I should engage in his cause without his command. Yet, even after this mark of divine condescension to my poor doubting mind, being sincerely desirous of abiding the full time in the furnace preparatory for so important a work, it was many weeks before I opened my lips, in what I considered the work of the ministry. The first time, was in the fifth month of this year, in a religious opportunity in my brother Samuel's family, I believe, in nearly the following words: "When Peter in his vision, wherein he saw the sheet let down from heaven, with that great variety of living creatures, and heard a voice commanding him to kill and eat, refused, fearing he should do wrong in so doing; he, after his refusal, heard the voice again saying unto him, What God hath cleansed or sanctified, that call not thou common."

After I had uttered these sentences, my soul was filled with the incomes of heavenly consolation to such a degree, as I never before had experienced, which I humbly received as a token of Divine approbation for my evening's sacrifice. Indeed so quiet and peaceful was my mind for many days after, that I was ready to conclude "the bitterness of death was past;" 1 Sam. xv. 32; that I never again should feel the distressing conflicts which I had long endured; and that my having thus far surrendered my will to the divine will, would be accepted, and I never again might feel a necessity of the like nature. But I soon felt a similar engagement in meetings, though not with as much clearness and strength as that evening, and therefore did not venture to speak until it was equally strong.

About ten weeks after the before-mentioned time, on the first-day of the week, and 26th of the seventh month, 1789, in our forenoon meeting, I felt a very powerful intimation to stand up and express a few words, and put out my hand to lay hold of the seat which stood before me; but even then I drew back my hand and gave it up; for which I felt much more condemnation than I ever had done before under like circumstances; and went home in very great distress of mind, which I feared I should not be able to conceal from my brother William while I sat at dinner with him. Whether he did discover my situation or not, I cannot tell: but as soon as the table cloth was removed, I

* Among the extracts from letters, added to Sarah Grubb's journal, is one peculiarly descriptive of this valued relative.—Dated twelfth month, 1788.

retired to my chamber, and there made covenant with Him, whom I sorrowfully felt I had offended by my omission, that if He would be mercifully pleased to try me in the afternoon, with some new opening, I would give up; fearing, if it were the same as in the morning, that I might move too much from my own feelings at that time, without a sufficient renewal of life. And, oh! the unspeakable condescension of a gracious Creator, when he sees the integrity of the heart. I had not been seated many minutes in meeting, before the petition of Caleb's daughter was brought so forcibly, with such clearness, and in such a confirming manner before me, that I could not doubt its being given me for communication: but it was so early in the meeting, I thought I must endeavour to bear my burden awhile, yet earnestly begged I might be enabled to speak in the right time. While I was under these awful impressions, a Friend got up, and had a lively opportunity, though I knew not much of what he said; for indeed my own exercise at that time, seemed all I could attend to. As soon as he sat down, I stood up and began with the before-mentioned petition: "Thou hast given me a south land; give me also springs of water;" and after commenting a little upon it, I sat down full of peace.

This was twelve or thirteen years after I first saw a prospect of receiving a call to the ministry, as I sat in a meeting at Woodbridge; and after this, which I then apprehended to be a clear intimation of the divine will concerning me, it was some years before I had any further serious impressions respecting it. The transition from tribulation to joy which my mind experienced on my return home, from the afternoon meeting, was such as led me to crave of my heavenly Father, that he would be pleased to grant me ability to follow him faithfully in the way of his holy requirings, from time to time. For some weeks after my soul was often enabled secretly to praise the Lord, as on the banks of deliverance; which encouraged me to hope, notwithstanding all my foregoing omissions, that He who sees the bent and intent of every heart, knowing my exceeding great fear of going too fast, had passed by my offences, and was now confirming to my mind, that to serve him without reserve, was the way to ensure comfort here, as well as everlasting happiness hereafter. Indeed I fully believe, that while it is really a solid fear of running before the Lord sends, which keeps back any sacrifice he is calling for, especially in this important work, there is less danger in trying the fleece again and again, than in running too hastily forward; even when a living engagement is felt: but to be preserved from erring on either hand, is a blessing which can be witnessed only while the mind is engaged to keep near to its only sure director, the unerring principle of Truth, and submits to be unreservedly guided thereby.

From such considerations, I have often felt thankfulness raised in my heart, that while my mind was under the weighty exercises which preceded my appearance in the ministry, and which I believe some of my feeling friends, in the vision of light, were permitted to behold, they used such great caution in intimating the subject to me, as seldom to give me reason to suppose they had any apprehension of my real situation. I believe that minds thus circumstanced, are better left to the guidance of Him who begins the work, to carry it on, and bring forth fruit in his own season; even though, through fear or care, a state of jeopardy may be somewhat prolonged; rather than that any injudicious interference of others, should bring the poor tribulated soul out of the preparatory furnace, before the appointed baptisms are fulfilled. I am fully aware, that the doubting mind may sometimes be rightly encouraged to obedience, by the countenance of those who have had larger experience of the great Master's dealings with his humble and truly dependent followers; but I believe, beyond all doubt, that a much greater number have suffered by being injudiciously drawn forth, before the full accomplishment of all the dispensations which the Lord sees meet for them to pass through.

CHAPTER II.

(1790 to Twelfth month, 1793.)

Her condition after appearing in the ministry.—Visit to a friend.—Acknowledged as a minister.—Visit to families at Woodbridge and Ipswich.—Norwich Quarterly Meeting.—Deep exercises of mind.—Beccles Monthly Meeting.—Bury Monthly Meeting.—Woodbridge Monthly Meeting.

In the course of the first twelve months after I opened my mouth in meetings, I was permitted to experience many different dispensations. Some of them were seasons of very great desertion of all good, which led me often to a close searching of heart, to know whether I kept pace with my heavenly Guide, or whether I ran before or staid behind him in my little religious movements. I think it was not often that my heart condemned me; but when it did, it was for omission rather than for commission. My soul often coveted the blessing of resignation to the divine will, that I might be enabled to endure all the turnings and overturnings of his holy hand upon me; so that I might be

thereby prepared to accomplish the work he should be pleased to assign me, in his house and family; if worthy to be esteemed the smallest of his dedicated servants.

In the autumn of this year, 1790, for many weeks, at times, I was brought into a secret engagement, and I trust I may say, according to my measure, travail of soul, on account of a Friend in this county who, I fully believe, had been an anointed minister of the gospel; but through unwatchfulness, his brightness was much eclipsed. At length my feelings were so closely arrested, as to lead me to apprehend I should not get clear of the exercise I felt on his account, without going to pay him a visit, though many miles distant; which I made known to my brother Samuel, who kindly accompanied me, in the forepart of the twelfth month. Although I know not that the visit availed much to the individual, yet I was favoured with strength to relieve my own mind, and came home in peace.

1791. In the fourth month of this year, I was recommended to our select monthly meeting as a minister in unity. This circumstance brought a very heavy exercise over my mind, fearing Friends had not had sufficient proof of my religious movements, to warrant their noticing me after this manner; and earnest were my cries to Him, who I humbly hoped had put me forth in so awful a vocation, that he would be pleased to grant such a portion of the blessing of preservation, as to enable me to move forward without bringing any dishonour on his pure cause. And oh! may a care of this sort, be ever the attendant of my mind, under all the various dispensations of an unerring Providence; seeking more and more after ability, so to steer along through this probationary state, as that "neither principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, may be able to separate" my poor soul "from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." Rom. viii. 38, 39. Such a care is needful to preserve, from time to time, in unreserved obedience to all His divine requisitions.

In the eleventh month this year, I visited, in company with a committee of our monthly meeting, the families of Friends in Woodbridge; and, though it was not much that was required of me, yet, in a few families, I felt my heart enlarged in gospel love, beyond what I had heretofore experienced; and in the close was favoured to feel solid satisfaction. Some of the committee being about to engage in a similar visit at Ipswich, a week or two after, I thought I felt it my duty to unite with them again; yet, many were my fears lest I should be mistaken in my feelings, thinking that possibly what I then felt, might arise only from a degree of sympathy with some of my beloved friends of the committee; and not being one myself, it seemed to require a clearer evidence than if I had been under the appointment, though it was left open for any Friend of the monthly meeting to join, who felt the weight of the service. For one so little experienced in the important work to make a second attempt, under such circumstances, I thought would be looked upon to be rather forward; and indeed I sometimes feared, that my getting through at Woodbridge with a good degree of satisfaction, might too readily encourage me to go forth again, without a sufficient commission from Him who putteth forth his own, and goeth before them. I coveted permission to try the fleece both wet and dry, which I think was mercifully granted; and I joined my friends in a humble hope, that whether it should please my great and gracious Master to employ me in advocating his precious cause, or permit me silently to visit the pure seed in the hearts of his people, I might be able to say in sincerity, "Thy will be done." Abundant cause have I to acknowledge the goodness of an All-powerful Creator, who proved himself to be strength in my weakness, and granted the riches of his love to be eminently shed amongst us, in divers families; whereby he mercifully evinced that he was both able and willing to be unto his dependent children, a present help in the needful time. A portion of that peace which surpasseth every other consideration, was felt in my return home; and raised a tribute of thankfulness in my heart unto Him, to whom I desire ever to render the praise of his own works.

In the latter end of this year, in company with my brother Dykes Alexander, and two other Friends, I attended Norwich quarterly meeting; and though we were not permitted to experience any great aboundings of heavenly good, yet I trust we were strengthened by the Shepherd of Israel, to visit the oppressed seed in captivity in that city. After the meeting closed, on fourth-day afternoon, the 28th of twelfth month, we left the place in peace, and went to Yoxford that night. The next morning we went to Woodbridge, and attended the burial of our much-valued friend, Martha Steward, there that day; in the evening went to Ipswich; and on sixth-day morning I came to Needham.

For some weeks after my return home, my mind was, at times, richly replenished with the incomes of my heavenly Father's love, so that I could indeed "rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of my salvation." Hab. iii. 18. But, alas! when a very different dispensation was permitted, which was my experience by far the

greater part of the year 1792, then, oh then! I found it hard work, and many times altogether impossible to acknowledge with the prophet, that "although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flocks shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation." Hab. iii. 17, 18. Fully convinced I was of the truth of David's declaration, where he says, "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power:" Psal. cx. 3: and in that day only, I saw it was that the poor frail mind could be brought into a state of resignation, to receive its appointed portion of suffering for the precious cause sake. Yea, I was sometimes mercifully enabled to see, in this time, wherein all sensible refreshment was withheld from my soul, that great caution was necessary not to meddle with any forbidden fruit, or set up any graven image in the absence of my spiritual Moses.

Sometimes, in the anguish of my heart, I have been strengthened to cry unto Him who knoweth the secrets of all hearts, "Though thou slay me, yet will I trust in thee." Job xiii. 15. In such seasons it has been shown me, I trust, in the vision of light, that if ever I knew a full release from the present bondage, it must be by going back to the place I had once left in peace, even to the city of Norwich, and there visit my friends, from house to house; though I might thereby become a "spectacle to angels and to men." 1 Cor. iv. 9. This was indeed humiliating to the natural part; yet I can honestly say that my mind was many times brought into a state of resignation thereto, if I might but be favoured to have a suitable companion in the work; and after many months of close exercise, I believed this would be granted, when the full time should come to enter upon the engagement. Here I was permitted to leave the subject for a while, and my mind became, in some degree, relieved from its former exercises; so that I was enabled to engage in some little services at and about home. This I esteemed a mercy granted by my heavenly Father, having "lain long among the pots," Psal. lxviii. 13, cast off and useless, and often been ready to query, "Can these bones live?" Ezek. xxxvii. 3.

About this time, at our summer quarterly meeting held at Woodbridge, in the sixth month, 1793, three other Friends from the women's meeting, and myself, were appointed to visit the monthly meeting of Beccles, and the preparative meetings constituting it. A committee of men Friends having been previously nominated to visit all the monthly meetings in the county, some of them united with a part of our committee to Beccles, in the eighth month following. My friends Hannah Evens and Martha Brewster, were my female companions; and we were favoured to get through beyond our own expectation; yet, after my return home, I did not feel that evidence of divine acceptance which had sometimes been my experience, at the close of a little act of dedication. I was however desirous of dwelling quietly in this condition, believing that when He who knows best what is best for us, is pleased so to favour, he can yield the desired confirmation of peace; and to be kept in a state of waiting, is often a profitable, though to the creaturely part, a humbling dispensation. Therefore, when it is consistent with the great Master's will to withhold the precious proof of acceptance, for any little acts of obedience, it is most assuredly his servants' duty to seek after submission to him, and ability to trust in his infinite wisdom for the food convenient; remembering the counsel of the good Counsellor, where he says, "When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do." Luke xvii. 10.

As the committee of men Friends had not, previously to our quarterly meeting, held in the ninth month, proceeded in their visit further than with us, it appeared most satisfactory to the women's meeting to continue our committee, which some of us willingly acquiesced with, not feeling our minds rightly liberated from the work; and we were left at liberty to unite with the men's committee in all, or any part of the remaining engagement, as way might open for it. In the eleventh month we went through the monthly meeting of Bury: no small addition to the weight of the prospect to me, was the loss of the company of my beloved friend Martha Brewster, who was at that time very unwell. My female companions were my friends Hannah Evens and Anna Perry, and we, as well as the men Friends, were all of us striplings; yet I believe we were favoured to experience the mark of discipleship, in that we had love one to another; and we were enabled to move on harmoniously together. In the close of our visit, we were favoured to feel a degree of that sweet quietude of mind which is not at our command; and therefore, I trust, it might be received as a token of divine acceptance; and some of our hearts were filled with thankful admiration, for the goodness and gracious condescension of our Heavenly Helper.

In the twelfth month we went through Woodbridge monthly meeting, ended our mission peacefully, and carried a written report of our proceedings to the next quarterly meeting, held the 17th of the same month.

CHAPTER III.

(First month, 1794, to Tenth month, 1795.)

Visits Norwich, &c.—Decease of an individual at Needham.—William Bleckley's decease.—Burial of M. Crowley.—Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire — Lincolnshire, and York Quarterly meeting.

Very soon after the close of the visit to the monthly meetings, &c., my mind became again deeply impressed with the before-mentioned prospect of visiting the families of Friends at Norwich; and with such an increased weight, that I believed the time for entering into that engagement was drawing nigh. Ardently did I crave of my Almighty Father that he would be pleased to guide me in every step that I took concerning it, and to give me some undoubted evidence of the right time to move therein, and of my right companion in the work. And I think I did repeatedly see, when my mind, I humbly trust, was brought in some degree under his instruction, that I was to unite with a Friend herein, who about this time had a certificate from York monthly meeting, for visiting the cities of Norwich, London and Bristol. I laid my prospect of visiting the families of Friends at Norwich, before our monthly meeting in the beginning of the first month, 1794, and obtained the concurrence of my friends for the same.

On third-day, the 21st of the first month, we commenced our visits in that place, by having sittings in two families. The next day we attended the burial of a young man at Tasburgh, which proved a solemn meeting; and I believe, to some minds, it was an instructive and awfully awakening time; a day wherein the invitation of the spirit of Christ, was renewed plenteously and preciously, to some who had long been halting as between two opinions.

We dined at Thomas Broadbank's, and returned to Norwich in the afternoon, where we had two sittings more that evening. If ever I knew what it was to be "baptized for the dead," 1 Cor. xv. 29, I think I did experience it in the course of my visit through this place. It was a season of very close exercise. Sometimes I was shut up in silence for several sittings together, in great poverty of spirit; and sometimes when utterance was granted, but little relief was obtained; so that I was ready often to doubt whether all that I had ever felt, concerning this engagement, was not a delusion of the great adversary of mankind. Yea, I was fearful lest I had put my hand unbidden to the Lord's work, and, Uzza like, might fall a victim to the displeasure of an offended Creator. But, blessed be the name of Israel's God, and I humbly trust my holy Leader, when I had filled up such a portion of suffering for his pure seed's sake, as he saw meet to appoint, he was pleased to say, "It is enough," 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; and, "to proclaim liberty to the captive; and the opening of the prison to that which was bound." Isaiah lxi. 1. Then I was, in some families, enabled to tell of the Lord's gracious dealings with my soul, thereby endeavouring to persuade others, to enlist under the banner of the Lamb, who is also "the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David," Rev. v. 5, who was found worthy, and still is, "to take the book, and open the seals thereof." Thus, notwithstanding all the probationary seasons allotted me in this city, the supporting and sustaining arm of never-failing power, was experienced to be near, at times, to my humbling admiration; and, on leaving the place, I was permitted to receive a little portion of "the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." Isaiah lxi. 3.

At different times, whilst we were at Norwich, we visited three neighbouring meetings, besides the burial before mentioned, viz., on first-day the 2nd of the second month, Wymondham; Lammas week-day meeting on fourth-day the 5th; and Lammas monthly meeting, held at North Walsham, on second-day the 10th of the same month.

We left Norwich on fourth-day, the 12th of the second month, and went to Tasburgh. On fifth-day, the 13th, my brother William met us at Tasburgh, and we all attended the monthly meeting there. Next day, the 14th, we had meetings at Tivetshall and Diss. On seventh-day, the 15th, my companion, my brother W. A. and myself, went to Beccles; and visiting the meetings of Friends at Pakefield, Leiston, Woodbridge, and Ipswich, on our way, we arrived, on fifth-day the 20th of the second month, at Needham, in time for the week-day meeting. On the 21st and 22nd my companion and myself having felt a little engagement to sit with some of the families constituting this meeting, we proceeded, and were favoured to feel satisfaction in our movements therein; and had to believe, it was a time of renewed visitation of heavenly goodness to some minds, who had been long called to work in the Lord's vineyard; the vineyard of their own hearts.

After visiting a few meetings in Essex, my brother William and myself returned home, where I was favoured to receive a peaceful release from the little field of exercise and labour which I trust had been by divine appointment allotted me. And, at times, I felt gladness of heart, that I had been permitted to suffer with the pure suffering seed; and could say, with the Psalmist, "Gracious is the Lord and righteous; yea, our God is merciful. The Lord preserveth the simple: I was brought low, and he helped me." Psal. cxvi. 5, 6.

First-day, the 30th of third month. This was an awful day to me. It was the final close of poor ——. He was once of our Society, and my mind had often deeply felt on his account, believing the Lord had long been inviting him, to "give diligence to make his calling and election sure," 2 Pet. i. 10, before the solemn message was sent unto him of, "Thou shalt die, and not live." 2 Kings xx. 1. And thankful I was, that we had attended to the little pointing of duty, in stepping into some families here, after our return from Norwich; believing, to this poor man, it was permitted to be a season of peculiar visitation from the Most High; and it appeared to dwell with him to his end; which was about five weeks afterwards. He was ill only two days. His wife remarked, after his removal, that from the time of our visit, he had appeared quite an altered man; very solid and thoughtful; and that she had several times found him in his chamber with his bible, a circumstance which, I think she said, she had never before observed. When I called at his house, a little after he expired, I did believe, from the precious quiet I was permitted to feel, that his spirit was received into rest, which humbled my soul, and all within me, before Him, whose "tender mercies are over all his works." Psal. cxlv. 9. At the burial we were favoured with a solemn meeting.

In the twelfth month this year, I attended the interment of our friend William Bleckley, of Long Stratton, in Norfolk. It was a time of divine favour; many hearts were humbled, and greatly lamented the church's loss, in the removal of one, who was engaged to maintain the law and the testimony given to us, as a people, to support. I was with him several times within the last few months of his life, at different meetings, which were seasons of solid satisfaction to my mind at the time, and I could now review them with comfort. Much did I desire that those who felt their loss in his removal, and particularly his near relatives, might be willing to follow him as he had endeavoured to follow Christ. I believe it was a day of merciful visitation to several of his beloved offspring; who, I trust, have since been made sensible of the truth of David's declaration, where he says: "A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in his holy habitation." Psal. lxviii. 5.

1795. In the forepart of this year, in company with two of my brothers, I attended the burial of my beloved friend Mary Crowley. She departed this life on the 17th of the second month; and was interred after a meeting at Devonshire House, London, in Friends' burial ground, near Bunhill-Fields, on the 24th of the same month. After my return home, though it was not a journey which I considered in the line of religious duty; yet it was one, I could look back upon with a peaceful calm, and with thankfulness to the great Author of every comfort; rejoicing that I endeavoured to pay the last tribute of affection to an endeared friend, removed a little before me, from the conflicts of time, I humbly hope, to the joys of eternity.

Soon after my return from the above mentioned journey, my mind became, at times, closely brought into exercise, under the renewal of a prospect, of visiting the meetings of Friends in the quarterly meeting of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire; accompanied with a belief, that the time was drawing near, in which I must confess it to my friends, and request their concurrence; and that without any knowledge of a companion. This increased the weight of the prospect; but before I had opened the subject to any one, our friends Ann Tuke and Rachel Fowler, came into this county, on a religious visit; the latter expecting to leave Ann after attending our quarterly meeting, and that for Norfolk and Norwich, in the sixth month this year. Finding that Ann Tuke's prospect was to go from these counties directly into Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, way opened with satisfactory clearness for me to propose uniting with her. Accordingly I laid my prospect before our monthly meeting, and obtained the concurrence of my friends to join her through that quarterly meeting, and elsewhere as way might open. I met her at Bury on the 13th of the seventh month; and accompanied her to some meetings in this county, both among Friends, and in some places, where the inhabitants were generally invited. In Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, we visited all the meetings of Friends; we also had many meetings in different places with people of other persuasions; amongst whom we met with many well-disposed, serious, seeking minds.

After we got through that quarterly meeting, not seeing my way clear to return home, I continued with my beloved friend through Lincolnshire; where we visited all the meetings of Friends, and had many public meetings, as in the other counties. We afterwards continued together to York, where my brother William met me, and we staid the quarterly meeting there in the ninth month; and with Ann Tuke, visited a few meetings in that county. We also attended the marriage of Joshua and Elizabeth Wheeler, on our return to York; after which my brother and myself left York again, Henry and Ann Tuke accompanying us to Lincoln quarterly meeting; where we parted. They returned to York, and we came home, where we arrived on seventh-day the 10th of tenth month, and were favoured to meet our connexions well.

Thankfulness was raised in my heart, for the

many mercies bestowed by a bountiful giver; although many and various were the trials permitted to attend me, during this separation from my outward habitation. Some were of a nature, wherein patience and resignation were closely tried, so that I sometimes was almost ready to conclude, I had lost all power of ever again experiencing ability, even to lift up my eyes to heaven, and crave the blessing of preservation for my own soul. Yet after a dispensation of this sort, through merciful condescension, light did sometimes arise out of obscurity, and the darkness, before experienced, became as the noon day; so that through all, at my return home, I could set up my Ebenezer and acknowledge, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped me." 1 Sam. vii. 12.

CHAPTER IV.

(22nd of Eleventh month, 1795, to the 8th of Second month, 1796.)

A meeting at Walton—Debenham—Writes to a Friend imprisoned on account of tithes.

Some Friends feeling their minds drawn towards the inhabitants of Walton in this county, our monthly meeting appointed a meeting to be held there, on first-day the 22nd of the eleventh month this year. It proved a season owned in a very precious manner, by the great Master of assemblies; and some of our hearts were bowed in humble thankfulness, under a sense of his gracious goodness, and returned home in peace.

1796. For several of the latter weeks in last year, my mind was very closely tried, with an apprehension of its being required of me, to have a meeting with the inhabitants of Debenham in this county. As the impression appeared to ripen, it proved a very weighty circumstance to me, not knowing of any one who felt a similar concern. I was brought under great exercise, lest I should move in this important work, in a false zeal, unbidden by the great and good Minister of ministers; and I earnestly coveted to receive some undoubted evidence of its rectitude, before I attempted to mention it to my friends. This was mercifully granted, and the day and hour for holding the meeting pointed out with such clearness, that I could not doubt the evidence received. At our monthly meeting, in the first month this year, I laid the subject before my friends; who affectionately sympathized with me in my prospect; and feeling unity therewith, the men's meeting appointed a committee, to provide a suitable place for holding the meeting in, on the 19th of this month. The committee, with several other Friends, accompanied me there at the time fixed. My brother Samuel and my dear friend Martha Brewster, were of the number, and were fellow labourers in the gospel mission. We were favoured to have an open meeting, and I think I may say, parted with the people in much good will; some of them, I believe, having been reached, under the prevalency of the power of the great Shepherd and bishop of souls. My mind was permitted to experience, for some weeks after, a sabbath of rest; which was cause of thankful rejoicing, having previously past some time of deep anxiety; yet, I think I was not insensible, under this change of situation, of the necessity of watching, lest I should take my flight upon the sabbath day. I believe that after the mind has been strengthened to perform any act of dedication, which yields a portion of peace, there is great need to guard against erring on this hand. Yea, surely! under every dispensation of a gracious and all-wise providence, there is occasion to crave ability to maintain a constant dependence upon Him, and on the guidance of his good Spirit.

When at York in the autumn of last year, I visited several Friends, imprisoned in the castle there, for refusing to pay priests' demands. Not fully clearing my mind, at that time, of the sympathy and solicitude I felt for them, and after my return home, receiving an acceptable letter from one of their company, I wrote an answer; from which the following is an extract, dated the 8th of the second month this year.

"Dear Friend.—Having frequently felt my mind bended towards thyself, and thy companions in outward bonds since I passed a little time with you in your prison house, it was very grateful to receive thy token of kind remembrance. It renewed my sympathy towards thyself in particular, believing thou art often secretly coveting that the precious cause, for which you suffer, may not be let fall, in the smallest degree, through unwatchfulness, in any of those who have so avowedly espoused it, as to submit themselves to be separated from their nearest outward connections, rather than baulk the testimony given them to bear to the great Minister of ministers; without whose divine aid, none can really profit the people by their ministry. And oh! that all you who have thus given up your names to reproach, may be willing to remember, that there is need to seek after daily bread, even in your obscure dwelling; and to feel the sustaining arm of never-failing power to be near, not only to support the mind in a cheerful submission to the present trial of faith and patience, but also to afford a portion of strength to go in and out before the

people, within the walls of that place. Many of them, I am ready to believe, from my past and present feelings, are looking towards your little company; and if all are concerned singly to eye the Captain of our salvation, your suffering may tend to the exaltation of the precious name of Jesus in the hearts of some of them. I have also believed, dear Friends, that it is the gracious design of our Holy Head, if this is your individual concern, so to sanctify this afflictive dispensation to some of you, as thereby to enlarge your inward acquaintance and communion with Himself; yea, to increase your store of durable riches and righteousness. And thou, my friend, with whom I am particularly corresponding—situated as thou art, amidst such a mixture of irreligious characters, as inhabit the different apartments in your prison; I make no doubt but thy feeling mind is, at times, introduced into spiritual bondage; and perhaps darkness may be the covering thereof, in sympathy with the pure seed in the hearts of others; and thy conflicts and exercises may be many and various. Notwithstanding this may be thy frequent experience, I trust thou art, at other times, admitted to that peaceful retreat, where the Lord's table is spread with the dainties of his own house, and which is an ample compensation for many deep probations. And I believe thou wilt be favoured with a continuance of the like sustaining power: for truly he is not wanting in compassion to his depending dedicated children; but, unto such, a morsel of food will be handed in due season."

[Of this friend Joseph Browne, the following account is given in Piety Promoted.]

"In the present day, when it may at least be said, that liberality of sentiment, and mutual allowance for difference of jugdment, on religious matters, prevail in a degree unknown in the times when our pious forefathers first engaged the attention, and drew upon themselves the abuse of their countrymen, it is rare to find any one suffering imprisonment for ecclesiastical causes. But as in the life of Joseph Browne we have an instance, and not a solitary one, of such being the case, a concise sketch of the attendant circumstances may not be improperly introduced in this place.

"Joseph Browne was an inhabitant of that retired part of the West riding of Yorkshire, called Lothersdale, where he endeavoured to maintain a wife and a large family of children,* by the laborious trade of constructing dry stone fences, so common in that and other rocky parts of England. He also occupied a small quantity of land; but with all his efforts, was but little, or scarcely above want. He was a man generally respected, and about his thirty-first year had come forth in the ministry, with the acceptance of his friends. Notwithstanding his poverty, he was nearly a constant attender of his monthly and quarterly meetings, generally performing the journey on foot. He twice attended the Yearly meeting in London, where I remember to have observed with pleasure the simplicity of his manners and appearance.

"In or about the year 1781, he, with several other Friends, was summoned, at the suit of the Vicar of Carlton, in which parish he lived, for not having paid his small tithes, which amounted, as appeared by a subsequent inquiry, to about thirty-four shillings annually, and were consequently far within the limits of the power of a warrant from a justice. The magistrates before whom he appeared, judging the alledged demand exorbitant, recommended a more moderate claim; but the prosecutor refused to abate, and commenced an Exchequer process. This, after long delays, produced a decree which determined the average amount of nine years tithe to be nearly as above stated.* The costs were above half as much more. For not complying with this decree, in the fifth month 1795, he was committed to York Castle, together with seven others, his neighbours and partners in the defence of the suit, as also at length in imprisonment. The names of his fellow prisoners are, John Wormall, John Stansfield, Henry Wormall, Henry King, John Wilkinson, William Hartley, and James Walton; most of them in low circumstances, and all of them dependent on their own industry for support: the withdrawing of which threw the families of some of them upon the charity of their friends for relief.

"How long they would have remained prisoners, is hard to say. I do not recollect that any attempt was made to sequester their property; and had this been attempted, it is probable that the property of some of them would not have been sufficient for the demand, costs, and expenses. At length, however, in consequence of a representation to the king, stating the suffering case of several of his peaceable subjects, and the continued delay of the plaintiff; a clause was inserted in an act of parliament, empowering certain magistrates to terminate this oppressive case; by which means (except John Wilkinson, who had died in the jail) they were liberated after something less than two years confinement; and distraints were made on their property, to the satisfaction of the examining magistrates. It may be proper to add, that they

* At the time of his commitment he had ten children; but they were not all dependent on him for support.

* Viz. nine years, 15*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* 1*q.*—One year, 1*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* 3*q.*

were kindly treated in the castle, and generally pitied by most that heard the case.

"The Friends of the quarterly meeting of Yorkshire, in their testimony concerning this Friend, observed that, though he was much afflicted with infirmity of body (for he laboured under a pulmonary complaint,) and various deep exercises of mind, both before, during, and after his imprisonment; yet he was enabled through all, to evince much patience, and resignation of spirit. In the course of his religious labours, say they, he had frequently to encourage others to a like dependence on the arm of everlasting help, as well as to strengthen Friends in the support of their various testimonies, particularly that for which he had so deeply suffered. He departed this life the 28th of the sixth month, 1803, aged about fifty-two years, having been a minister about twenty-one years.

"A few days before his departure, some Friends called on him, previously to setting out for the quarterly meeting. He told them that he also had thought of attending it; 'but,' added he, 'we are short sighted creatures.' He desired his dear love to Friends, and remarked that he never felt more love to them than at that time; and that he was easy, and resigned to the will of Providence, who had been wonderful in goodness, and had supported him through many difficulties, to his own admiration: so that he had to rejoice, even in tribulation. He added, that whether it should please the Lord to take him at that time, or to restore him again, he was easy as to the event.

"Thus it appears that peace and love attended his close; and where peace and love take up their abode, it would not be an irreverent strain of expression to say, that heaven is begun.

"Oh! that every awakened soul would daily seek after the sweet influences of gospel love! It sweetens society; it begets its likeness in others; it excites gratitude; and even if bestowed on the ungrateful (as saith our dear Redeemer, love's holy and exhaustless fountain, the rain falls on the just and on the unjust), it brings its own sweet reward with it; for it attracts the approbation of God. Where then will be contempt? where the indulgence of evil surmisings, and hard thoughts? where, either studied or careless detraction? where, even the needless disclosure of real failings? where the least place for any enmity?

"These hurtful practices, and pride, the promoter of many of such practices, will fall before the prevalence of pure Christian love; and surely, when these are exterminated from the heart, is it not so far prepared for its best and most sacred purpose, to be a temple of the holy Spirit? Amen!"

CHAPTER V.

(Ninth month, 1796, to the Third month, 1798.)

Her brother William's marriage, &c.—Visits some meetings in company with S. Harrison and S. Birkbeck.—Deep conflict of mind.—Visit to the Principality of Wales, &c.—Yearly meeting at Welch-Pool.—Coalbrook Dale.—Left her sister Ann at London yearly meeting.—Joined her again at Plaistow.—Visits Herefordshire, &c. — Macclesfield quarterly meeting, Wrexham in Wales.—Account of their visit to the Principality.—Melksham—is ill there—goes to Cirencester and returns home. A dream.—Settles in her new habitation.

In the ninth month this year, 1796, my brother William married my beloved friend Ann Tuke. Previously to their marriage, they kindly proposed my continuing a resident in their family after it; but, on considering the subject, I felt most easy to decline their affectionate offer: though not without an intention of staying with them for some months after their union; which I accordingly did.

Our friend Sarah Harrison, of Philadelphia, accompanied by Sarah Birkbeck, of Settle, in Yorkshire, was, in the latter part of this year, in our county. Besides visiting all the meetings of Friends, she had many among other people, and divers of them where no Friends meetings had been remembered before. Having looked towards some of the places with a similar prospect, before her coming this way, it was relieving to my mind, to have the opportunity of accompanying her, and her companion, to several of the said meetings; and also to a few in Essex. In the third month, 1797, I met them again, in Essex, was with them at two or three more public meetings, and was favoured in the close to feel peace.

Very soon after these engagements, my mind had to experience much inward want, indeed to pass through a season of deep conflict, and of sore exercise; wherein it seemed to me as though my soul's enemy was let loose, with an unlimited power to buffet me at his will. Never had I known my faith and confidence in Infinite Goodness so nearly overcome before. Almost continually, for several weeks, was my mind in a state comparable to being "Tossed with tempest, and not comforted," Isaiah liv. 11, and left without one grain of lively hope, which might have been as an anchor to the soul. Some of my near connections were sensible that my situation was a trying one, yet none knew how bitter was the anguish I felt, but He who knows all things. My health became impaired, and at times, I was ready to conclude

I should sink away under the exercise I felt; though without any degree of cheering hope that my sufferings would end with my natural life. Could I have onee believed this, oh! how should I have eoveted such a release. But, peradventure, had this belief been experienced, I might have felt less ability to have sought after patient resignation to bear the present trial; though I am fully convineed, I was often too apt to cast away my confidenee in holy help; and not enough careful to abide at all times on the watch-tower; nor always willing enough to stay in the ward this whole dark night. Alas! how hardly does the ereaturely part bend to suffering.

During this season of close exercise with me, my sister Ann at our monthly meeting in the third month, opened a prospect she had, of paying a religious visit to the Principality of Wales, and eounties adjaeent. For several years, I had had a similar prospect, and some months before, had believed we should unite in this journey; yet, now, all former views were closed, and I could see no way to move forward; and earnestly did I covet to be preserved from warming myself by the sparks of my own kindling, or putting forth my hand unbidden in so important a work. Yet having passed through some very trying seasons, I was made willing thereby to be any thing or nothing, so that I might again experience, "the Lord to lift up his eountenance upon me, and give me peace." Numb. vi. 26. When I felt any thing like a willingness of this sort, oh! how did the cruel aecuser endeavour to insinuate, that I had already overacted my part, in being too forward to lend a hand in what I had thought the Lord's work; and thereby had incurred his displeasure, wounded my friends, and brought this state of spiritual death over my own mind. But boundless mercy was pleased now, sometimes to afford a little portion of his ealming influence, whieh, in some degree, stilled the boisterous waves and enabled me, at times, to look forward with hope, that I should again be permitted to experienee the animating rays of "the Sun of righteousness," Mal. iv. 2, to dispel the thiek darkness in whieh my poor mind had been, and still was enveloped.

In this situation I went to our monthly meeting in the fourth month, where I ventured to inform my friends what my former views had been, and that within a short time they had appeared to be reviving, but I thought them still so faint, I desired to cast myself entirely upon them to judge for me. This I did under a greater sense of weakness than I had ever opened any thing of the like nature before; yet it so far made its way with the meeting, as to get a liberation at that time, for me to visit the Principality of Wales, and eounties adjaeent.

My sister Ann and myself, left home together, accompanied by my brother William, on the 16th of the fourth month, and went to Bury; intending for the Weleh yearly meeting, to be held the following week, at Weleh-Pool, in Montgomeryshire. On our way we passed through Kettering, in Northamptonshire, and Coalbrook Dale, in Shropshire, and attended meetings there. On third-day the 25th of fourth month, we got to Welch-Pool; and on fourth, fifth, and sixth days, was held the yearly meeting there. At the elose thereof, not seeing our way as we had expected, to proeeed in our visit to the Prineipality, we eoncluded to return to Coalbrook Dale, and aceordingly got baek to Shrewsbury on seventh-day. My sister stopped by the way to have a meeting that afternoon, at a small village we passed through in going; but, finding myself very unwell, and not feeling any thing in my own mind for the meeting, I went on; and left her in eompany with our dear friends Deborah Darby, Rebeeea Young, and others.

On first-day we attended a morning meeting at Shrewsbury, in whieh I was favoured to feel a little strength, to relieve my mind, of an exereise I had felt for some individuals then present whom I had seen, and felt for before at Welch-Pool. In the evening we had a public meeting, whieh for a eonsiderable time was very exercising, yet in the elose afforded some satisfaction. On seeond-day we eame back to Coalbrook Dale. Third-day, we attended the week-day meeting there, in which neither of us had any thing to communieate; but in the eourse of the meeting I thought I saw clearly, that we must go from house to house among them; and after meeting, I mentioned it to my sister, who I then found, had had a similar prospeet.

This evening we had a publie meeting at a neighbouring village. From fourth-day the 3rd of the fifth month, to fourth-day the 10th of the same, in company with our beloved friend R. Young, we visited the families of Friends in the meetings of Newdale and Coalbrook Dale, in which my brother, who was still with us, united; and his eompany and help were very aceeptable to us. A few sittings I was prevented attending from indisposition; and in some others I sat under great suffering, both of body and mind, so mueh so that I was, at times, ready to doubt the reetitude of my having left home; yet I had, at others, the satisfaetion of seeing my beloved eompanions were rightly engaged, which tended to bear up my drooping mind; having been in some sort the means of encouraging them to give up to this serviee. Though, in the performanee thereof, I was but of little help to them; yet, in the close, I believe none of us had cause to repent giving up to what we had apprehended to be a required duty. Fifth-day the 11th, I staid at Coalbrook Dale,

being very unwell; and my sister had a public meeting at a place at a short distance, and returned to me after it.

Sixth-day. We had not, either of us, been able to come at any satisfactory clearness respecting our future movements, till this morning, when I thought a little light arose in my mind, with a pointing towards Cheshire, which we were glad to accept. Our dear friends D. Darby and R. Young intending to set out this afternoon for London yearly meeting, and having appointed a public meeting to be held this evening at Bridgenorth, we accompanied them there, expecting the next day to part with them at that place; and take meetings from thence in our way into Cheshire, and so into Wales. But my sister not feeling easy to part with them there, we went on with them till second-day, and parted with them at Campden.

After this we again moved on towards Wales, and for a few days pretty satisfactorily; till my sister's mind became so closely arrested for the approaching yearly meeting to be held in London, that it seemed safest to turn about, and endeavour to get there as early as we could, with taking meetings in our way.

[To be thus led about, and so frequently turned from the object at which they were aiming, as was on several occasions, their experience in this journey, proved no small trial to my beloved sister; yet, I have reason to believe, this humiliating dispensation, was peculiarly and lastingly instructive to her mind. To move in a feeling of weakness, and with such a portion of light, as could not reflect its beams on distant objects, but only just mark the present step with a safe degree of clearness, though very trying to the creature, teaches humble and full dependence on the Creator.]

We arrived in London two days after the commencement of the yearly meeting; but I did not feel my mind at all bound to it, and still found my health, at times, much affected, therefore, after staying one day in London, I returned home, where I passed about ten days in peace, and found my health much recruited.

On second-day the 5th of sixth month, I left home again and went to Colchester, where I met my brother William, who had parted with sister Ann that morning, at or near London, and was then on his way home. On third-day evening I met my sister at Plaistow. Sixth-day we left the neighbourhood of London, and went into Hertfordshire, agreeably to a prospect I had before I left home this time: having expected it might be right for us to take a few meetings in that county, and from thence proceed pretty directly for Wales. But our views were again protracted; for after we got into that quarterly meeting, my sister felt her mind engaged to go through it, and also to visit some other of the midland counties, previously to our entering Wales.

Though I did not feel my mind so much bound to this prospect, yet I could not see my way to leave her; and therefore thinking it most consistent with gospel order, we unitedly addressed our monthly meeting for further credentials, and obtained the concurrence of our friends at home, to proceed as in the openings of truth might appear right.

[Their peculiar situation excited much sympathy in the monthly meeting; and being attended with a feeling of near unity with their extended concern, their friends were induced to give them such a certificate as would fully liberate them to any service in this land.]

After visiting divers counties, on the 13th and 14th of the ninth month, we attended the quarterly meeting held at Macclesfield, for Cheshire and Staffordshire. There we opened our prospect of visiting the Principality of Wales; hoping some of our brethren might feel bound to accompany us; expecting to be engaged in public meetings in many parts very distant from any Friends. And our much-valued friend Joseph Storrs, from Chesterfield in Derbyshire, being present, felt a willingness to accompany us; as did two friends of that quarterly meeting, George Jones and Olive Sims, who all met us at Chester on the 23rd.

On the 25th we entered Wales, at the place I had had a prospect of more than four months before, when we were at Coalbrook Dale; and that evening had a meeting there, viz. Wrexham in Denbighshire. This meeting was large, and I believe there was a great variety of states among the people then gathered; some of whom were seriously disposed. Indeed, I think in the future movements through this Principality, in a more general way, we met with a larger proportion of religious, seeking minds, than in most of the counties we visited in England. Yet many even of those, we had often to fear, were too much seeking the living among the dead; not enough inward in their search after durable riches; nor enough acquainted with the one essential baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire; which, if suffered to operate, would consume all that is of an unsubstantial nature. However, to meet with here and there one who was so far submitting to bear the cross of Christ, as to become willing to follow him, not only out of many of the vanities of the world, but also out of many unsubstantial rites and ceremonies, and who was seeking him, where alone he is to be found, in the secret of the heart; was consoling to our often drooping minds. I trust, some there are, who, if they are faithful to the day of small things, will, in due time, be made rulers over more; know their spiritual borders enlarged, and their acquaintance with the Beloved

of souls increased. That this may become their happy experience, is what I often coveted when with them, and oft-times since, when far distant from them.

We were in Wales about eight weeks, were in all the counties both of North and South Wales; and besides visiting the few meetings of Friends, had upwards of forty public meetings, many of them in places where it could not be remembered that any Friends meetings had been held before. We very generally met with civil treatment from the inhabitants; and travelled nearly eight hundred and fifty miles in that mountainous country.

Soon after we got into Wales, for nearly two weeks, at times, I was very unwell in my health; whereby I was prevented attending two public meetings on the Isle of Anglesea, and two meetings of Friends on a first-day at Llwyndw in Merionethshire. Here our whole company was detained several days at the house of our kind friend Henry Owen, on account of my indisposition; but after a little rest there, I was enabled to go through the remaining part of this close travel in good health. My dear sister was favoured to experience a continuance of health during the whole time; but, near the close, she was permitted to know a very trying depression of spirits, so much so as nearly to disqualify her for any public service, which greatly added to my trials. Yet I was mercifully strengthened to keep up both in body and mind, to the end of our engagements in that Principality.

When we had finished our visit in Wales, I believe, in sympathy with her, I soon got into the same situation; so that it seemed safest for us to leave a few meetings we had once expected to take in Herefordshire, and go directly from Leominster, in that county, to Melksham, in Wiltshire. Our dear brother Samuel and his daughter Lucy, were there, on a visit to his daughter Martha; who a few weeks before had been married so Thomas Jeffreys of that place. We arrived at their house on first-day evening, the 26th of the eleventh month. Our kind companions left us at different times; O. Sims at Caermarthen in South Wales, on the 30th of the tenth month; G. Jones at Leominster, on the 23rd of the eleventh month; and J. Storrs after we got to Melksham.

Very soon after we got to Melksham, my mind was much relieved from the deep depression I had felt for some days previously to our getting there: but my sister was rather longer before she experienced the same relief; yet, in a few days, she was favoured also to feel the depression much removed, and a pointing in her mind towards Warminster, a place in the neighbourhood, at which she had missed having a public meeting when she was in the county a considerable time before. The meeting was appointed on sixth-day evening, the 1st of the twelfth month, which I attended, and we were accompanied by our dear brother S. A. In this meeting and after it, I was very unwell. We got back to Melksham the next day, where I took some suitable medicine; which did not afford so much relief as to enable me to attend their meeting on first-day.

In the evening my brother finding me more unwell, was desirous of my taking some medical advice; which I submitted to for his and the rest of my relations' satisfaction.

That night I was very ill indeed; sometimes I was almost ready to conclude it might be the final close of all things here; especially when I considered the deep conflict of mind which both my sister and myself had lately experienced; and that my mind had been entirely relieved from any further prospect of religious service ever since I left Wales; not only during that very trying dispensation, but also now, when favoured with a very different one; wherein all was serenity and peace. In this situation, had it not been for the trial I apprehended it would be to my dear niece, Martha Jeffreys, to have a circumstance so awful take place under her roof, so soon after her settlement there; I could willingly, yea, I think I may say, gladly have exchanged mortality for immortality at that time; if it had been consistent with the good pleasure of Him in whom is all power. He is able to cause even a sick bed to become pleasant; yea, desirable, if in that situation the poor finite understanding is more expanded, and the mind more quickened to behold the marvellous dealings of an all-wise Creator! This I think I can with humble gratitude acknowledge was, at times, my experience on this bed of sickness: and I was enabled to desire, whether life or death should be my portion, that His will might be done. However, after a few days I got so much better, as to think of moving from Melksham, when my brother and sister were at liberty so to do, who, during my illness, had engaged together in visiting the families of Friends there.

After taking an affectionate leave of our kind relations, who had very tenderly cared for me in my illness, we all left their house on fourth-day the 13th, and went to Cirencester in Gloucestershire; where we were kindly received by our friends Samuel and Sarah Bowley. The next morning my brother Samuel and his daughter Lucy set off for home, and left my sister and myself there. Though I was favoured to bear travelling the day before, twenty-seven miles, with less fatigue than might have been expected; yet, after having parted with my brother and niece, I was that day very unwell. Continuing so, and not feeling any command to

go forth again into the field of labour, I believed it was safest for me to decline attending any of the meetings in that neighbourhood, with my sister, who left me for a few days, and accompanied by Ann Bowley, visited some places adjacent and returned to me again.

As I did not improve in my health by longer rest, but rather grew weaker, we thought it best to inform our relations at home how we were circumstanced; and my brother William came to us at very short notice, intending to continue with his wife till she saw her way clear to return home. My dear brother and sister D. and H. Alexander very kindly came to us in a few days after him, intending to accompany me home as speedily as my very weak situation would admit of my travelling. On fourth-day, the 3rd of the first month, 1798, my brothers and sisters, and myself, all left Cirencester, where I had been very affectionately nursed for three weeks, at the house of my kind friends before mentioned, and went to Burford. The next day W. and A. A. left me there; and the day following, accompanied by my brother Dykes and his wife, I went twenty-nine miles further on my way home. On the 9th we reached Walworth, where I was taken more unwell again, having rather mended in travelling till this time: and was detained there till seventh-day the 13th, at the house of our friends Richard and Jane Harris: who, with their whole family, manifested much affectionate kindness, of which I desire ever to retain a grateful remembrance. On third-day the 16th, we reached Needham; where my mind was favoured to partake of a portion of enriching peace; and a tribute of thankful acknowledgment was raised in my heart to the great Dispenser of every good.

My health gradually improved from this time; yet it was some months before I fully regained my usual strength.

One night while I was ill at Cirencester, I dreamed that I had departed this life, and was admitted into happiness; but I met with only one whom I knew or had ever known in the body, and she, I was told, was just admitted, and was to continue there, for she had finished her day's work; but as I had not, I must return to the body, and if faithful to what was manifested from time to time, I should be admitted again when the work appointed me to do was fully accomplished. My mind being awfully impressed with what had occurred in my sleep, in the course of the next day I told it to Sarah Bowley. Very soon after, we heard that the Friend whom I had seen in my dream was very dangerously ill; and before I got home, I was informed of her decease; and I have no reason to doubt but she is admitted into everlasting rest and peace. Oh, that the blessing of preservation may be my experience, that so the place prepared may be happily mine, when time to me shall be no more!

At our monthly meeting in the third month, my sister Ann and myself gave up our certificates. And the day following, viz. on fourth-day the 7th of the third month, 1798, I entered into my present habitation; which was mercifully permitted to be a very peaceful home, for some weeks after I first settled therein.

CHAPTER VI.

(Fifth month, 1798, to the Eleventh month, 1800.)

London yearly meeting.—Sundry meetings in Suffolk.—Endures a very trying dispensation. — Visits Tivetshall monthly meeting, &c.— Joins Elizabeth Coggeshall in visiting sundry places in Norfolk, Suffolk, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire.— Returns home.

At our monthly meeting in the fifth month, 1798, I mentioned a prospect I had of appointing a few public meetings in my way to or from London yearly meeting; in which my sister Ann united with me; and we were liberated by our friends, to proceed therein as way might open.

In the seventh month, I accompanied my brother Samuel in some public meetings on the eastern side of our county; and at the close was favoured to feel much solid satisfaction.

Oh! how has my soul longed that the inhabitants of this highly-favoured land, even many of those who have been made willing, in some good degree, to seek the Lord for themselves, might become more and more acquainted with him, through a willingness to centre unto the pure Spirit placed in the secret of their own hearts. Thus they might sensibly experience the privileges of the glorious gospel dispensation; and know an establishment on the unchangeable and invincible rock Christ Jesus; and then they would also know him to go before them, and to be their rearward.

1799. On the 2nd of the first month this year, our friend Sarah Harrison, from America, who was then on a religious visit to Europe, and who had, a few weeks before, returned from Germany, came to my house, and was confined with me, by indisposition, till the 9th of the fourth month following; except going to Ipswich for two days. Great part of the time she was much tried, not only with bodily suffering, but also with spiritual poverty: yet, I believe there were seasons in which she experienced the Shepherd of Israel, the great Bishop of

souls, to arise for her deliverance, whereby she was renewedly enabled to praise his holy name. I was permitted to be her close companion in suffering, but not in rejoicing; for, I think, from the day after she first came under my roof, until the day I parted with her at Ipswich, I was not once made sensible of the smallest degree of divine consolation. Indeed, such a total cessation, as to any visible appearance of spiritual life, I have but very seldom experienced; though my mind was not so deeply exercised as at some other times. Often did I fear, lest I should dwindle into a state which might be compared to that which the church of the Laodiceans was described to be in, " neither hot nor cold," Rev. iii. 15, and that consequently I must be in danger of receiving the same awful sentence. But, just before we parted, which was on the 11th of the fourth month, at Ipswich, I was permitted to know the veil, which had long eclipsed the Sun of righteousness from my view, to be removed; and ability was mercifully afforded to offer a tribute of thanksgiving and praise to the great Author of all good, and to implore his divine protection over us when far separated; and I was favoured to return home in peace. Sarah Harrison left Europe within a few months, having been from home, I think, nearly seven years.

In the latter part of this year, I was exercised for some months, under the weight of a religious prospect of visiting the families of Friends in Tivetshall monthly meeting, with some other engagements in that neighbourhood; and in the first month, 1800, finding my mind more closely arrested with this concern, accompanied with what I believed a clear intimation of the time to move in the same, I ventured to mention it to my friends, in the second month, and obtained their concurrence to proceed in my visit, as, in the pointings of truth, way should open for it.

On the 12th of the second month, accompanied by my dear brother Samuel, I went to Long Stratton; the next day attended Tivetshall monthly meeting held at Tasburgh, when I opened my prospect to Friends, and in it found much relief. After meeting we went to Thomas Broadbank's, whose house was my agreeable lodging during my stay in that meeting. Sixth-day the 14th, my brother went to Norwich, and accompanied by T. B., I began the arduous engagement in prospect. Seventh-day, I continued the visit to families, and my brother returned from Norwich. First-day he staid with me, and in the evening I had his company very acceptably in two families. Second-day he left me, and returned home.

From this time until fifth-day the 27th, I was closely engaged in going through the remaining families in Tasburgh meeting, and those in Tivetshall. First-day the 2nd of third month, I was at Tivetshall meeting. Second and third-day, I sat in the few families constituting Diss meeting. Fourth-day attended the week-day meeting there, and after it, contrary to my expectation, I felt full liberty to return home, which I did that afternoon. I was favoured with a peaceful ride home, and felt thankful for the present unexpected release from further labour.

The next morning my mind became renewedly exercised concerning the inhabitants of some villages where I had been, in the course of the family visit; with a clear prospect when and where to appoint the first meeting, though without any uneasiness at coming home as I did. However, I kept my feelings to myself, until the day following, and then acquainted my near connections, that I had a prospect of appointing a meeting at Yaxley, the next first-day evening; which did not appear to be any surprise to them, they having had reason to expect that some further engagements than had yet taken place, might be required of me. Accompanied by Thomas Broadbank, my brother Samuel, and other relatives, on first-day afternoon, the 9th of the third month, I went to Yaxley, where we were met by several Friends of Tivetshall monthly meeting, and were favoured with a large and solid meeting. After it, T. B., my brother Samuel, and myself, went to Diss.

Next evening we had a meeting with the inhabitants of Scole and Dicklesburg; and after it went to the house of our kind friends John and Ann Holmes. On third-day, a meeting at Shottisham, to my own mind, was a very relieving opportunity, feeling divine support in a very precious manner to be near, which was cause of thankfulness. After it, we went to Thomas Broadbank's. On fourth-day we attended Tasburgh week-day meeting, which, though small, was a relieving and strengthening season to my mind. I was very unexpectedly, in the latter part of the meeting, led to address an individual present whose family I had been in, when in that meeting before, but did not at that time feel any openness to express any thing to him; though my mind was closely exercised on his account. He was in this meeting, much humbled, and I covet for him that through faithfulness to known duty, his last days may be his best days.

That evening we had a meeting at Hempnall, where was a great variety of states; a few solid people, and many of a very different description. To the latter in a very remarkable manner, the extension of divine goodness and mercy was evidently manifested, to save them from destruction, if there was but a willingness to accept of the means of purification. " Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord," Isaiah i. 18, was awfully sounded amongst them. On fifth-day the 13th, we attended Tivetshall

monthly meeting, which was a season owned by the great Master of all rightly gathered assemblies.

After the last meeting, my brother Samuel and myself returned home in peace. And I have cause to bear in remembrance my heavenly Father's goodness, in supporting and carrying me through those engagements; having to acknowledge, that although I did go out weeping, I was permitted to return with joy. I have reason to believe my coming home before I had those public meetings was right, in order to have my dear brother's company; yet, if I had seen before I got home, with clearness, that I was to return so soon, it would, I suppose, have felt rather trying in prospect. To be enabled to go on day after day, just moving in the present ability afforded, without being unprofitably anxious to see more of the work at once, than is consistent with the great Master's will to unfold, I have always found, is not more the duty than the interest of his truly dependent servants, if I have ever known this happy state of mind; though for want of "letting patience have her perfect work," James i. 4, I have oft-times increased my trials and exercises, I believe beyond what might have been designed for me to endure for the work's sake. After such feeble efforts to promote the cause of truth, what a mercy it is, to be favoured with any sensible evidence of the approbation of the great Minister of ministers! Yet I humbly trust that such was my consoling experience in the close of this visit; and under the humbling influence thereof, I was enabled, renewedly to acknowledge, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped me." 1 Sam. vii. 12.

In the eighth month this year, Elizabeth Coggeshall, from Newport, Rhode Island, in the course of her religious visit to Europe, came to Needham, accompanied by Abigail Pimm of London, who left her here and returned home. When I first heard of their arrival, and that A. Pimm was likely to leave E. Coggeshall immediately, it very forcibly impressed my mind, that it would be right for me to unite with the latter, in some part of her future prospects; and before I saw her, it was, I apprehended, pretty clearly manifested to my mind, that I should join her in Norfolk, and continue with her until she reached Yorkshire. This I kept to myself wholly, for a few days, while she remained in this neighbourhood; and before she left it, I found my sister Ann had a prospect of accompanying Elizabeth for the present: but upon our opening our views to each other, her's appeared to close where mine began.

In the ninth month, I informed my friends of my prospect of joining our friend E. Coggeshall for a while, and received their concurrence. On seventh-day, the sixth of this month, accompanied by my brother Samuel, I went to Tasburgh. Next morning, at Wymondham, we met E. Coggeshall and my sister Ann; also my brother William, who went to meet his wife a few days before. After attending the meeting there, we all went to one held at Mattishall in the evening.

After this meeting, my brother William and his wife went towards home; and my brother Samuel, E. Coggeshall, and myself, accompanied by our friend Thomas Broadbank, went on to Dereham. On second-day my brother left us, and returned home, and Thomas, Elizabeth, and myself, went to Holt, where we intended having a meeting with Friends that evening. The Friend's house where we were to take up our quarters, being out of the town, and a contrary way to that which we entered, we were obliged to ride quite through it; and my mind became so much interested on account of the inhabitants at large, that it did not appear right to conceal my prospect from my dear companion, and she uniting with it, public invitation was given, and we had a satisfactory meeting, in which we were favoured with the overshadowing wing of divine mercy; and under the influence thereof, ability was afforded to minister to divers states and conditions present. The greatest part of the public labour devolved upon Elizabeth: but I felt my mind in a peculiar manner engaged for the welfare of some individual, who, like the prodigal son, had "wasted his substance with riotous living;" Luke xv. 13; believing our heavenly Father was still graciously disposed to receive such a one in mercy, if there were a willingness to return unto him. At the time I was speaking, I had not any knowledge who it was I was addressing; but after meeting, I thought I could have lain my hand on the head of an individual, and have said, "Thou art the man;" 2 Sam. xii. 7; but as it did not appear a divine requisition so to do, I believed it best to leave him to the unflattering witness in his own mind.

On third-day, the 9th, we were at Wells monthly meeting; fourth-day, Swaffham week-day meeting; fifth-day, Lynn monthly meeting. Sixth-day we had an appointed meeting at Wareham in the morning; and one in the evening at Brandon; and on seventh-day, an appointed meeting at Mildenhall. First-day, 14th, we attended Thetford meeting; and afterwards went to Bury. On second and third-day, the quarterly meeting was held there.

After our quarterly meeting, my dear E. Coggeshall, not seeing her way from Bury into Leicestershire, I mentioned a place we passed through in Norfolk, which had dwelt pretty much with me during my stay at Bury, believing it would be right for me to have a meeting with the inhabitants there, viz., Stoke. This

acknowledgment from me, soon cleared her way; and we made it known to our friends, and had a meeting appointed at that place on fourth-day evening, the 17th, which proved a memorable opportunity. I believe it was a time of precious visitation to many of the inhabitants of that place and neighbourhood. And though it was somewhat more than usually trying to me to propose this meeting, considering myself set out with one, who, I expected, would generally have to lead the way; yet, after it was over, the reward I was permitted to feel in my own mind, was a very full compensation for what I had passed through before it: indeed I think I have but seldom felt such an uninterrupted flow of peace, as was my happy experience through that evening.

Fifth-day, 18th. We went this morning to Wareham, with my brother Samuel, who had kindly accompanied us the preceding day from Bury. After breakfast, we had a precious season of solid retirement in the Friend's family there; and after it took leave of them and my dear brother, he returning home from this place. We proceeded towards Leicester; and on sixth-day evening, had a meeting at Oakham, in Rutlandshire. First-day, 21st, we were at Leicester, to good satisfaction; my mind was nearly bound to some exercised minds in that place. Second-day, we had a meeting at Hinkley, and afterwards returned to Leicester.

On third-day evening, the select quarterly meeting was held there; and next day the quarterly meeting. A mournful time it was to me; occasioned, I believe, by my withholding more than was meet, which tended to poverty, and distress of mind; yet I think it was more from a preference I felt for others, whose public labour I esteemed before my own, than from any unwillingness to offer the food given me to hand, though it might have appeared but as the barley loaf; for that with a little of the divine blessing, doubtless would have proved sufficient to have fed those, for whom it might be designed; which was my painful reflection when too late. After a time of sore conflict before we left the family there, where we had been very kindly entertained several days, a little ability was mercifully afforded me, to intercede for them and ourselves, that we might all be enabled so to pass our time of sojourning here, as at last to know an admittance where sorrow is no more. And matchless goodness was pleased, in the close, to convey intelligibly to my secret feeling, "It is enough:" and I left Leicester in peace.

On fifth-day we had a meeting at Loughborough; and in the afternoon went to Castle Donington, to the house of our valuable, ancient friends George and Ruth Fallows, where we enjoyed a peaceful evening with them, and were much comforted and encouraged by dear Ruth's instructive company and conversation. On sixth-day we had a meeting at Castle Donington, in which Elizabeth had some public labour amongst a people, many of whom appeared to be too much strangers to the precious privileges of these gospel days, although most of them were professing to be worshippers of the great object of adoration in spirit and in truth; so that it proved an exercising season; but a little opportunity of solid retirement in the family after dinner, enabled us to leave the place with relieved minds; and that evening we had a meeting at Derby.

On first-day the 28th, we were at Nottingham meeting in the morning, where, after sitting a while in close exercise, a little ability was afforded me to cast off my burden. I was permitted to feel relief when I took my seat again, and my dear E. Coggeshall had a very lively testimony afterwards, much to my comfort; and as far as relates to ourselves, I believe we were both favoured to partake of a portion of peace at the close of the meeting; yet, I had much to fear that the word preached, to some states in particular, would prove altogether unavailing. Yet, oh! what a mercy, amidst the many discouraging circumstances which we are liable to experience, when passing along from place to place in gospel bonds, to know that the reward of our labour is not confined to the reception our mission meets with from man, but is proportioned to our obedience to Him, who sees and knows the hearts of all men.

At Nottingham, Joseph Marriage, who had accompanied us from Bury, left us, and returned home. That evening we had a meeting at Mansfield. On second-day morning we went to Chesterfield, to the house of my much esteemed friend Joseph Storrs, and in the afternoon we had a meeting there; which to me was a very gloomy season; but dear E. Coggeshall had acceptable service both in testimony and supplication. On third-day we had a meeting at Furnace, where my mind was pretty closely exercised for two individuals who came into the meeting rather late, and had but little appearance of being members of our Society. Upon their entering into the meeting-house, I thought I felt a flow of gospel solicitude raised in my mind on their account; particularly did I feel for the female, and believe it was a time of humbling instruction to her mind: I wish it may prove of lasting advantage to her.

On fourth-day we had a meeting at Breach, which was measurably owned by the great Shepherd of Israel. On fifth-day, we travelled through a mountainous country; and in the course of this day, as we passed through some small villages, my mind was so attracted towards the inhabitants of them, that I believe,

had we been free from previous engagements by other meetings being appointed for us, I should have felt best satisfied to have acknowledged it to my dear companion; but as that was the case, I kept my feelings to myself. In this instance I believe it was needful for meetings to be fixed a little beforehand, on account of the particular situation of some places thereabouts; but, in general, I have found, in any services of this sort, in which I have been engaged, that it was safest, and indeed was my incumbent duty, as much as possible, to live as it were one day at once.

On sixth-day we had a meeting at Mony Ash, and after it returned to Chesterfield. On seventh-day morning, before we left the hospitable roof of our kind friends Joseph and Mary Storrs, we were permitted to experience a little season of retirement, wherein, I trust, our minds were humbled together before Him, whose tender mercies are over all his works. Joseph Storrs went with us to a meeting at Retford that evening. On first-day, the 5th of the tenth month, we went to Blyth in the morning; and in the evening had a meeting at Barnby Moor, a small village we had passed through in the morning. It was a considerable trial to me to give up to appoint this meeting, finding some friends were apprehensive it would not be likely to prove satisfactory. One objection appeared to be the smallness of the place, though I wished invitation to be given beyond the village, if a situation large enough could be procured to admit of extending it further; but what weighed more with me than any other obstacle, was the difficulty which our kind friend Joseph Storrs felt about its accomplishment; yet, unless he could have said he believed it best for us to give up the meeting, I did not feel it safe to do so, without making some attempt to have one, my dear E. Coggeshall being fully resigned to it, though she felt nothing towards it herself. We had, in the end, to acknowledge the goodness and mercy of our heavenly Father, who, blessed be his great and glorious name, does not send his children and servants a warfare at their own charge, but is mercifully pleased, sometimes when they appear to be reduced to the greatest extremity, to prove himself to be strength in their weakness. Our dear friend J. Storrs, before he parted with us this evening, told me he was glad he had been at that meeting; which acknowledgment, added to the peaceful serenity before felt, caused the rest of the evening to be a season of humbling gladness.

On second and third-day, we travelled to York; but before we got there, E. Coggeshall began to be apprehensive it would be best for us to attend a monthly meeting to be held at Warnsworth the fifth-day following; and after we got to York, the weight increasing, we concluded to return. After the meeting at York on fourth-day, accompanied by Henry Tuke, we went part of the way; and on fifth-day morning we got in seasonable time to the meeting at Warnsworth, which was a low time with me; but dear E. C. had acceptable service, in the meeting for worship. When I found that Elizabeth had a prospect of attending this monthly meeting, as I began now to feel very near the end of my present mission, I thought it probable some friend amongst them might find, at least, a religious liberty to join her for a while; and, therefore, in the women's meeting, I mentioned how I was circumstanced, and wished Friends present to endeavour to feel whether the lot did not fall amongst some of them, to unite with our beloved friend; but no one appearing to see it their place so to do, I returned with her to York.

We were at York on first-day the 12th; and I was able to rejoice, in ability being afforded to my dear friend to labour in her great Master's cause, though it was a very low time with me. As no companion offered, I did not feel satisfied to leave her, and therefore I concluded to set out with her again on second-day morning, in order to take some meetings in that county; expecting we should return the following first-day.

We had meetings at Pickering and Malton; were at Pickering monthly meeting, and afterwards had meetings at Hutton in the Hole, Helmsley, Bilsdale, and Kirby, and so returned to York. We left it again and went to Thirsk, Borrowby, and Masham. At this latter place our friend Mary Tate, of Cottingwith, near York, met us, for the purpose of uniting with Elizabeth, and that day, the 24th of the tenth month, I parted with them, after a religious opportunity to be remembered with gratitude. My soul was poured forth in supplication to the Father of Mercies, for the blessing of preservation, through the remaining part of our pilgrimage here, whether we should ever be permitted to meet again in this mutable state or not; that so we might be prepared to join the just of all generations, whenever the midnight cry should be heard, of, "Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him." Mat. xxv. 6. My beloved friend and her new companion, went to a meeting appointed for them that evening at Leyburn, and I returned to Thirsk; and on the way, by the food received before we separated, was sweetly sustained, to the gladdening of my heart. Indeed for some days after, my mind was preserved in such a state of tranquillity, as was cause of thankfulness.

On sixth-day I returned to York; where I staid until fifth-day the 30th, and left in company with several Friends. Eleventh month 2nd, first-day, we attended Friends' meeting at

Derby, where we were joined by J. and E. Hoyland, and with them we travelled to Hitchin, which place we reached on fourth-day evening, the 5th. Here I was met by my brother Dykes, who accompanied me home on third-day, the 11th of the eleventh month.

After parting with my beloved companion E. C., I thought it a privilege to have the company of my much-valued friends before mentioned: and that my dear brother was disposed to meet me when I parted with them. After I got home, though I left it this time more from an apprehension of duty to unite in sympathy with a beloved friend, than from a prospect of any religious engagement on my own account, I felt peace. And I humbly trust there were seasons experienced, wherein my dear friend and myself could feelingly acknowledge, we were bound together in gospel unity; harmoniously labouring for the advancement of the most noble cause, which can be advocated on earth. May it be our happy employ to celebrate it in a joyful eternity, through an unreserved dedication of heart during our stay here, to the whole will of Him, who has a right to dispose of us as he sees meet.

CHAPTER VII.

(Twelfth month, 1800, to the Ninth month, 1802.)

Concern for the youth, &c.—Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire.—Religious prospects.—Visit to Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire quarterly meetings, &c. — Returns home. — Visits sundry villages in her own county.—Burial of Isaac Brightwen.—Decease of —— ——.

Previously to our quarterly meeting, held here in the twelfth month this year, and during its sittings, my mind was dipped into a state of mourning on account of some of its members, who, I was ready to fear, through unwatchfulness, had of late declined, rather than advanced in the way which leads to enduring felicity. Many of the youth appeared on the wing, soaring above the pure simplicity of the truth; and having the company of divers of these at my own house, I apprehended I felt a necessity laid upon me to intercede with the Father of mercies on their behalf. I was engaged to desire that they, with many more, might be prevailed upon to choose him for their portion, and be willing to follow him in the path of unreserved dedication, which yields more substantial comfort here, than any sublunary enjoyment can possibly do; and affords a well-grounded hope of an admittance hereafter into unmixed happiness. I think I have not often felt more solid satisfaction result from an engagement of this sort, than I was permitted to feel that evening.

1801. In the forepart of this year I was often closely tried concerning an individual in the station of an elder, for whom I had long entertained a sincere regard; but who now seemed in danger of making shipwreck of faith. At our quarterly meeting in the third month, my painful apprehensions increased, so that, in the bitterness of my soul, I was almost ready to utter the mournful language, "Who shall stand?" Psalm exxx. 3; when a ray of holy confidence in the never failing arm of divine sufficiency, was mercifully vouchsafed, after this season of deep discouragement. It proved the eve of a precious day in the quarterly meeting at large, wherein we were graciously owned by the great Father of his people, and some of us had cause humbly to acknowledge his fatherly dealings with us, and that to Him, with his beloved Son, our blessed Saviour, belong all thanksgiving and praise.

In the sixth month, my brother Samuel and myself were a few days in Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, with a friend who was then in these parts on a religious visit, and was going into Scotland. The time we were together was short, but feeling the uniting bond of gospel fellowship, I think we were permitted to be as a threefold cord.

We parted with this friend, after a meeting at Huntingdon, in which I trust, I may say, truth gave us the victory. Though it was but a small gathering, there appeared to be many different states among them, a few I believe humble travellers for the prosperity of the pure cause. May they be strengthened in every good word and work, by the mighty power of Him, who can still enable "a little one to become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation." Isaiah lx. 22. After meeting we were favoured with a baptizing time in Hannah Evens' family; and a little season of retirement in Phebe Fuller's, before we separated. Brother Samuel and myself reached home the next day, the 24th of sixth month. For some days after, my mind was permitted to experience an uninterrupted tranquillity, which I desire to acknowledge with humble thankfulness to Him, with whom are all the blessings both of time and eternity. It afforded a morsel of nourishment for many days, during a season of close exercise and trial; which it was my allotment to experience very soon after this time.

First-day, 23rd of eighth month, 1801. A weighty religious prospect, of which I have had a distant view, at times, for several years, has been the close attendant of my mind for many weeks past, and occasioned me much deep, though hidden, exercise; not feeling liberty to disclose it to any one; though I have sometimes,

of late, been almost ready to apprehend I must make it public at our next monthly meeting. Whilst I was awfully contemplating the subject in meeting this morning, with my mind entirely resigned to do so, if permitted to see clearly that the time for moving therein was come; I heard a voice distinctly, to my spiritual faculties, declare, "A ram caught in a thicket;" Gen. xxii. 13, accompanied with an evidence that, at least, for the present, the will was accepted for the deed.

Immediately after it, another prospect opened to my view with great clearness, viz. to attend the ensuing quarterly meetings for Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire; and to visit some particular meetings and places in those counties, which appeared as a sacrifice that would be accepted, and therefore might be compared to "The ram caught in the thicket."

First-day, 30th of the eighth month. This prospect has continued with such unclouded clearness, that I dare not doubt its being right to move therein, if my friends are free to set me at liberty. And whether the more important concern, because more extensive, ever should be opened again, I desire to leave with Him, whose wisdom and knowledge cannot be searched; for assuredly his ways are past finding out.

At our monthly meeting, in the ninth month, I laid before my friends the above religious prospect, and obtained their concurrence to move therein as best wisdom might direct. My brother Samuel was, at this time, under an appointment from the yearly meeting, to visit, with several others Friends, the quarterly meetings of Sussex and Surrey. His daughter Lucy feeling an inclination to accompany her father to the above quarterly meetings, we all left home together on the 14th of this month, and went to Bury, in order to attend our own quarterly meeting to be held there; intending to proceed on our journey after it.

In our way to London, we had a meeting with the inhabitants of Boxford, to pretty good satisfaction. On seventh-day evening, the 19th, we got to Ryegate in Surrey, where my brother met his companions. The next day we attended the two meetings held there, and in the evening, the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders for that county; and on second-day, the quarterly meeting. We likewise attended the quarterly meeting for Sussex, and that for Hampshire.

After this last quarterly meeting, a part of the yearly meeting's committee went directly to London. But my brother Samuel and some others, accompanied me a day or two longer. On seventh-day evening we had a meeting with the inhabitants of Issington and another village, in the neighbourhood of Alton. On first-day, the 27th, we were at Godalming, attended both the meetings, and had a relieving opportunity in a Friend's family in the evening. On second-day morning, my dear brother and the rest of the yearly meeting's committee, with his daughter, left me, and went to London, in order to attend the quarterly meeting there, that being a part of their commission.

As I did not feel any thing to draw me there, I was most easy to stop in Surrey; and on third-day, I attended Guildford monthly meeting. Fourth-day morning I went to Esher, to the week-day meeting; where I had the satisfaction of meeting my brother Samuel, who had returned from London, and he continued with me through the journey, to my comfort and help. On fifth-day we attended Kingston week-day meeting, and after it returned to Esher. In the evening we were at a meeting at the meeting-house there, to which the inhabitants of a neighbouring village were invited, no situation nearer appearing so suitable to hold the meeting in with them. If one could have been obtained at the place, it would, probably, have proved more relieving to us; yet, I trust, we had cause to acknowledge, that divine assistance was mercifully afforded to minister to several different states amongst them. On sixth-day we had a meeting at Dorking with the Friends of that place and Capel; and in the evening had a public meeting at Capel.

Tenth month 2nd, first-day. We attended Ryegate meeting in the morning, and Ifield in the afternoon. In these two meetings, and in a sitting in a Friend's family this day, we had cause to acknowledge the continued support graciously extended, from the bountiful dispenser of his own precious gifts; which, we are oft-times permitted to know, are in no wise at our own command; and therefore they ought to be accepted with gratitude and thankfulness, when they are dispensed to us.

On second-day we had a meeting at Horsham: third-day attended a monthly meeting at Chichester; and in the evening had sittings in two Friends' families. Fourth-day we sat with the rest of the families there. Fifth-day attended Arundel week-day meeting. Sixth-day, we had a large meeting with the inhabitants of Petworth, which was an exercising season, but I think ended to a good degree of relief to our tried minds. On seventh-day, we went to Brighton, and on our way had sittings in two families. On first-day, the 11th, we attended the meetings at Brighton. In the forenoon, I sat under a silent exercise; and in the afternoon, for a considerable time, the same situation was my allotment; yet I felt much for divers states among them; and at length was permitted to see the way open for a little casting off my burden, in testimony to them, and inter-

cession with the Father of Mercies on their behalf.

On second-day we went to Lewes; and on third-day we had a meeting there. After it, I could not see, for some hours, which way we should be likely to move from thence; but, after a relieving opportunity in a Friend's family in the evening, it clearly opened to leave these counties, after having a meeting with the inhabitants of Bletchingly. On fourth-day morning we returned to Brighton, where we parted with our dear friend Sarah Hack, who had very acceptably accompanied us from Chichester. That afternoon we went to Ryegate. Fifth-day evening we had a satisfactory meeting at Bletchingly, and after it, went home with our kind friend Thomas Dann of Nutfield at whose house we rested the next day, expecting to go thence to Rochester; in order to attend a quarterly meeting there, to which my beloved brother felt bound, and I felt full liberty to accompany him.

On seventh-day, in company with Thomas Dann and his daughter, we went to Rochester; and were at a meeting there, on first-day, the 18th. On second-day, we attended the quarterly meeting. Third-day went to London, to our kind friends John and Tabitha Bevans. Fourth-day morning we left them, after a solid opportunity in their family, and went to Grace-Church-street week-day meeting, where my dear brother had a lively, and to some faithfully exercised minds, an encouraging testimony. In the afternoon we went to Upton. On fifth-day we went to Tottenham, and on sixth-day proceeded homewards; and reached Ipswich on seventh-day evening.

On first-day, tenth month 25th, we attended the meetings there; and in the evening, had a humbling season of awful retirement in our friend Isaac Liversedge's chamber, who was then very ill, of an indisposition from which he did not recover, though he lived several weeks longer. . We returned home after it, well satisfied that we went round by Ipswich to visit him, that being our principal motive for going there at that time. After my return home, I had renewedly to acknowledge the goodness and mercy of Him, who is still graciously pleased to reward the sincere, though feeble endeavours of his little ones, with a portion of that peace, which can come only from his boundless treasury, and therefore, I humbly trust, may be received as a mark of divine acceptance; and is a jewel worth toiling long to obtain.

In this little journey I experienced many different dispensations. Sometimes, when I believed it to be my duty to appoint meetings, weakness has been so much the covering of my spirit, in getting through them, that I was often led to fear lest I should have run, without being sent by him who alone can qualify for his own service; yet at other times, I have humbly and thankfully to acknowledge, I never was more sensible of divine support and qualification to perform what appeared to be required of me, both among Friends and others.

Under a humbling consideration of my heavenly Father's goodness, my soul was, after my return home, many times bowed in reverence before him; craving his protecting care, both in heights and in depths; that under every dispensation of his unerring Providence, there may be ability to say, "Thy will be done." Mat. xxvi. 42.

Very soon after our return home, we had an account of the departure of dear Mary Ann Smith, who closed this life the day after we left Tottenham. Though there appeared but little, if any probability of her recovery when we parted with the family; yet it was unexpected to us, so quickly to receive the intelligence of her awful change; but as I believe her spirit was happily prepared for it, it is a great mercy to her, that Infinite Wisdom hath been pleased to cut the work short in righteousness; and to admit her to a full enjoyment of that precious communion with himself, the foretaste of which, I verily believe, she accounted her choicest blessing, whilst here.

1802. I had not been long at home, after my return from the foregoing visit to the counties of Surrey and Sussex, &c. before another religious exercise revived in my mind, which I had felt at times for several years; viz. to hold some meetings in small villages on the western side of this county. Very early in this year, the time for moving therein appeared clearly to open, and I found my dear friends John Kirkham and Martha Brewster, had similar prospects; and that the former had felt his mind particularly impressed to make known to me his concern, without any previous information of my having any such prospect. I informed him and my friend Martha Brewster of the time I had in view; which, after solid consideration, they felt easy with, and we applied to our different monthly meetings in the fourth month, and obtained the concurrence of our Friends respectively to unite, and proceed agreeably to our prospects laid before them.

We met at Bury, on seventh-day, the 10th of the fourth month; and on first-day attended the morning meeting there. In the evening we had a meeting with the inhabitants of Horningsheath, a village in the neighbourhood of Bury. From this time, until fourth-day, the 21st, we were in a similar manner engaged, holding meetings within a short distance of that place. And in most, if not at all of them, amongst a people who were very much strangers to us as

a religious Society. Many of them appeared also much strangers to all true religion, and to that divine influence which only can quicken the soul, to a lively sense of the goodness and mercy of our great and gracious Creator; and enable us to perform acceptable worship unto "Him, who is a spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth." John iv. 23. Yet, in some places, we met with a few seeking minds, to our comfort; and amongst them, at times, we were enabled to renew our strength in the Lord, who from day to day was pleased to give us to know that he was sufficient for his own work; though when with a people who were so much unacquainted with his spiritual assistance, it was sometimes humiliating labour. However, some of these seasons were succeeded by a degree of that solid satisfaction, which compensated for the suffering of the day. Where the great Master is not admitted to reign, his faithful servants cannot but suffer; and they ought to esteem it a favour to be found worthy to abide with him, even in tribulation.

The last mentioned evening, viz. fourth-day 21st, we had a meeting at Bottesdale, with the inhabitants of that place; and after it set off with several Friends who accompanied us thither, intending to return to Badwell-Ash. We had not got out of the town of Bottesdale, before we experienced a very close trial, occasioned by one of our Friends receiving a very alarming hurt on his head, by a fall from his horse, which ran away with him immediately after he had mounted. As soon as we could get him taken back to the inn which we had just left, we had a surgeon's assistance, who appeared to be a man of good judgement in his profession, which was an alleviation to our tried minds. After staying with him till all was done for him that we were able to do under his then circumstances, most of us proceeded, as we had before intended, to Badwell-Ash, leaving two Friends with him for the rest of the night. On fifth-day morning, Martha and myself felt most easy to go back to Bottesdale, to see the Friend who had been hurt, whom we found quite as well as we could reasonably expect, which was cause of heartfelt gratitude to the great Preserver of his people. We staid with him until that afternoon, when his wife, who had been sent for, came to him; and she accompanied him home the next day. We had one meeting more before we returned to Bury, and got back there on seventh-day, the 24th.

Though our absence was but for a few days, we had experienced some deeply proving seasons, wherein our faith had been closely tried: yet we had abundant cause to acknowledge, that our minds had been graciously favoured with divine support in the time of need, to our humbling admiration.

The next day we attended the morning meeting at Bury; and in the evening had a large number of the inhabitants. Invitation was particularly given to the lower class of the people, and it proved a relieving opportunity to our minds; which we esteemed a gracious mark of divine condescension, after some deeply trying baptisms. After this meeting was over, we all felt the weight of our present mission so lightened, as to believe a release was near approaching. After visiting a few Friends in their families on second-day, the way was clear for our coming to Needham on third-day, the 27th of fourth month; and that evening my beloved companions had a public meeting here, invitation having been given to the inhabitants of Barking, at John Kirkham's request.

On fourth-day, after a solid opportunity together, with our very kind helpers, John Marriage, jun. and John Perry, we parted; the former accompanying John Kirkham home. At the time of parting, my mind was permitted to feel a degree of peaceful quiet; but, I think, I have seldom, if ever, experienced the same stripped, tried situation so soon after any engagement of this sort, as was my allotment, with but little exception. Although I could not but believe we were right in parting when we did, yet an apprehension was prevalent that it remained an unfinished work. Earnest have been my desires, that on whomsoever the lot may fall to be again engaged in it, we may be enabled to keep our eye single unto the Shepherd of Israel, who, I humbly trust, did put us forth, go before us, and granted a present release from that field of labour; then he may be pleased to unfold to us the further discovery of his holy will, and enable us to be resigned thereunto.

On first-day, the 2nd of fifth month, I accompanied my brother Samuel to Diss, to see our friend Isaac Brightwen, who, we had been informed, appeared to be very near his final close; and when we got there, we found he was not sensible, and in such a situation as to leave no reason to expect his surviving many hours. We attended a meeting there, which was a solid opportunity, and after it returned to the house; and his wife requesting our going into his chamber to them, we did so, and sat until we saw the awful conflict finished; when we were permitted to feel a precious covering, accompanied with a belief that the deceased had quitted mortality, for a glorious immortality. Before we left the house, we were favoured with a humbling uniting season with his widow and children. The following first-day, the 9th, we attended the burial, which was a memorable meeting to me, and I trust to divers others who were present: yet I fear such opportunities are too frequently soon forgotten.

Ninth month 30th, fifth-day. The remains of —— —— were interred in Friends' burial ground here. He was one over whom I had many times lamented, from a firm persuasion that if he had been faithful to the pure manifestations of truth in his own mind, he would have been dignified thereby, and have been made useful unto others. But instead hereof, it is to be feared, for want of keeping watchful and faithful in the day of small things, to the discoveries of the divine will concerning him, the enemy of all righteousness prevailed so far over his once enlightened mind, as to induce him to let fall divers testimonies to the pure principle of truth, which, I verily believe, in his youthful days, were precious in his view. Yet I am willing to believe, that through much tribulation he has obtained mercy, and is admitted into holy rest. In the last few days of his life, I repeatedly sat by his bed side, and was sometimes favoured to feel a consoling belief that this would be his happy experience.

CHAPTER VIII.

(Twelfth month 1802, to the Seventh month 1804.

A season of withdrawing, and trial.—Hitchin.—Visit to Friends' families, &c. in Suffolk.—London yearly meeting.—Her sister Ann's visit to America.—Reflections.—Renewal of a religious prospect alluded to, in 1801.*—Cast before the monthly meeting.—Remark on her feelings upon such occasions.*

The latter end of this year, and most of the first month 1803, I was at Ipswich, with my dear sister Hannah. Though I was well satisfied therewith, believing it to be my duty to do what I could to alleviate a time of trial which she was permitted to experience; yet, as to myself, it was a season of peculiar withdrawing of all substantial comfort. Sometimes I could not but secretly mourn my destitute state of mind; and had there not been a little cheering ray of holy confidence, mercifully vouchsafed, in that All-sufficient Power, who is still able to "open," at his pleasure, "rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the vallies; to make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water;" Isa. xli. 18, I think, it seemed almost as if I must have sunk into irrecoverable sadness. But, blessed be the name of Israel's God, he was pleased to sustain through this long winter season; and at times, to afford a grain of living faith, that when his wisdom saw it was enough, the cloud should be removed from the tabernacle. I was sometimes ready to conclude, my present suffering was intended as a preparatory dispensation, for an arduous and important engagement, which towards the latter part of the time revived and spread in my mind; though not with sufficient clearness to satisfy me, the full time was come for opening it to my friends.

In the latter end of this month, I accompanied my brother and sister W. and A. Alexander to Hitchin, where, on fifth-day the 27th, we attended the interment of dear Joshua Wheeler. It was a solid meeting, and divers lively testimonies were delivered therein; as there were likewise in an opportunity in his family in the evening. Though, as to myself, I experienced, through the day, much poverty of spirit, yet I was well satisfied in being there, and glad to be witness to the gracious support mercifully vouchsafed to dear Elizabeth, who was strengthened to bear testimony in the evening, to the goodness and sufficiency of that divine power which had supported her under the present deeply afflictive dispensation.

After my return home, I went again to Ipswich, and staid about ten days longer with my sister Hannah. During that time I felt more closely the weighty prospect which had revived before I left her. After I got home, it so much increased in weight, as to induce me to believe it was right for me to open to my friends, in the third month, a prospect I had of visiting the families of Friends throughout our quarterly meeting; and also of holding public meetings; particularly on the western side of the county, in some villages which were left unvisited when I was joined by John Kirkham and Martha Brewster; and I obtained the concurrence of Friends to proceed therein.

To give up thus far without any knowledge of a companion, was a sacrifice which cost me many hours of close execise of mind, and many fears for the honour of the pure cause I was about to espouse. To be so engaged amongst divers who were not strangers to me, increased the arduousness of the work in my view; believing it would be in a peculiar manner needful to stand resigned, to renewed baptisms, in the course of such an engagement; in order to experience all inferior judgment removed, and to feel an entire reliance, from hour to hour, on the guidance of unerring Wisdom.

My mind for a short season was permitted to receive consolation, from an acknowledgment of my beloved brother Samuel's to the monthly meeting, that he felt most easy to inform his friends, he believed, if no other companion offered, he should feel bound to accompany me through some part of the visit. He had their full concurrence so to do, and in the course of our religious engagements together, I had good cause to believe, that his willingness to sympathize with me, and as far as was consistent with the great Master's will, to become a fel-

low-labourer in the arduous work, was not all he was called to, but that he was separated for a similar work, within the compass of our own monthly meeting.

We left home on seventh-day, the 19th of the third month, and went that evening to Woodbridge, and the next morning to Leiston, in time for meeting. In the afternoon and evening we had four sittings in the families there. On second and third-days we sat with the rest of that meeting in their families. Fourth-day morning, we began a visit to the families at Woodbridge; and finished the next evening. On sixth-day morning, we had a meeting with Friends there; and in the afternoon were favoured to leave them in peace.

In the evening we had three sittings at Ipswich, and there we were in a similar manner engaged, until fourth-day evening, the 30th of this month. During our visit in that place, I underwent the deepest baptisms, I ever experienced. For several days after we got there, it seemed as though every day they grew heavier, so that sometimes I was almost ready to feel dismayed, lest I had begun a work, which I should not be able to accomplish. But, to the praise of our Holy Head and High Priest, I was favoured to witness, that, sufficient for the day, was the strength he was pleased in mercy to dispense. That evening, after the close of the visit, and through the greatest part of the night, I was favoured to partake more largely of the foretaste of enduring felicity, than ever I had done before. It was a night which I desire may ever remain in my remembrance, with reverent thankfulness to the blessed Author of all good. I thought to feel what I then felt, uninterruptedly, would, without augmentation, constitute a joyful eternity.

The next day, at a meeting with Friends there, I was renewedly plunged into close exercise, though not without some ability to cast off my burden, by ministering to them, and interceding with the Father of mercies for them and ourselves. But I did not feel a full release from Ipswich, without submitting to invite all my brother Dykes' workmen, and such of their families as inclined to attend, to come together that evening; and it proved a solid opportunity. After it was over, I was favoured to experience a renewal of the precious peace, which had been my allotment the preceding evening.

On sixth-day morning, the 1st of the fourth month, after sitting with a young woman who attends meeting, but is not a member of our Society, we came home; and a happy day it was to me, feeling the incomes of enriching peace.

On first-day the 3rd, I attended Mendlesham meeting, and afterwards sat with the few Friends in their different families. On third-day the 5th, I was at our monthly meeting held at Ipswich. Fourth-day, accompanied by my brother Samuel, I visited the families in our own particular meeting: but my mind was under too heavy a load of discouragement, in looking towards the future, to get relievingly through the present engagement. However, I have reason to apprehend that the close of this day might have proved more satisfactory, had I attended more to the great Master's injunction of, "Take therefore no thought for the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself." Mat. vi. 34. This I was favoured to see verified the next day, the 7th of fourth month. In the morning I took my leave of my beloved brother Samuel, who expected to set out in a few days for the half year's meeting in Wales. It was a pinching separation to me, as we had been very nearly bound in gospel fellowship, in the course of our late arduous engagement. My brother William kindly accompanied me to Bury, where I informed my friends, in their monthly meeting, of my prospect in coming amongst them. When I had done so, my dear sister Hannah, who was then on a visit to her sister Martha Brewster, in a weighty manner, proposed to unite with me therein, which met the cordial approbation of her friends, and was truly comforting to me. After meeting, I was favoured to feel such a degree of tranquillity, as was cause of humble thankfulness.

On sixth-day, we visited three families, and travelled thirty miles. We continued visiting the families in the country meetings round Bury, until third-day. That afternoon and evening we had four sittings there; which I got through under much bodily suffering. From that time, for several days, I was much indisposed from a complaint then very prevalent, the influenza; and my dear sister had something of the same disorder; so that, visiting the remaining families in Bury, was all we were able to accomplish in the course of that week.

Under this unexpected detention my mind was mostly favoured to feel peaceful; and it was a great privilege to us, that we were so favourably situated as under our beloved M. B.'s hospitable roof, at a time when we were unable to proceed in the prospect before us. On first-day evening the 17th, I had a meeting at Cockfield, for some of the inhabitants scattered thereaway; and after it we returned to Bury. On second-day we parted with our dear M. B. and went to Haverhill. There we sat with the few families of Friends; and afterwards attended a meeting with them. On sixth-day the 22nd, I had a meeting with the inhabitants of Withersfield, and another village in the neighbourhood of Haverhill.

On seventh-day we went to Sudbury. With Friends there, and a meeting with the inhabitants of an adjoining place, we were engaged

until third-day the 26th, when we came to Needham. On the way home, my mind was so strongly attracted towards some of the inhabitants of these parts, that I did not feel a full release from this field of labour, until I had invited them to come together, the following first-day, 1st of fifth month, when a large number were collected in a barn at Hitcham. Amongst them, I believe, was a great variety of states; some, I trust, awakened seeking minds, though they seemed, as it were, almost lost in the crowd. Quietness and peace were mercifully vouchsafed to me on my return home that evening: though I think my mind was never more humbled under a feeling sense of being but an unprofitable servant, if at all worthy to be esteemed one in my Heavenly Father's house.

My beloved sister Hannah's sympathy, and secret exercise of mind, many times proved strengthening to me, in the course of our moving along: and I earnestly covet she may reap the reward of solid peace, for this act of dedication to the precious cause; which will ever be found enough to recompense for many deeply baptizing seasons. I trust we may with thankfulness acknowledge, that although such were sometimes our experience, yet, the Author of all good was with us at other times, and refreshed the visiters and visited together, to our humbling admiration.

Though it has been but seldom that I have had any reason to believe it was right for me to attend our annual meeting in London, having much oftener apprehended my allotment has been to tarry at home, while others of our little company in this meeting were so employed: yet, this year, after the close of the foregoing engagement, I was unusually led into feeling respecting the approaching yearly meeting; and my mind was nearly bound in gospel sympathy with my beloved sister Ann, who was going under a prospect of casting before the select meeting, her concern to visit the continent of America. I made some efforts to go which did not succeed, and the time being very short, I gave it up. Though I do not know that I can say I felt condemnation, yet I have not had that clear evidence of being in my right allotment at home, which, at many other times, I have been favoured to experience.

On fifth-day, the 14th of the seventh month this year, my dear sister left home for America. On seventh-day, the 13th of the eighth month, she embarked at Liverpool, on board the Francis Henrietta, bound for New York. She was favoured to arrive in safety on sixth-day, the 16th of ninth month. The loss of her society is great to many of our little circle in this place; yet the undoubted persuasion that she is led forth by the great Shepherd of Israel, tends to enable many of her near connections to feel resigned to His unerring will; consigning her to his fatherly protection, under every dispensation which he may see meet to appoint or permit her to pass through for his glorious cause sake; humbly hoping, in his own time, to be favoured to see her restored to us again in peace. That her beloved husband, in a peculiar manner, may be a sharer with her in the precious reward; and their tender babes know the blessing of preservation, I feel at the present moment nearly interested, may be their individual and united happy experience.

Twelfth month, 31st. For some weeks, near the close of this year, my mind was tried with much deprivation of divine consolation. But within a few days, it has pleased infinite Goodness, a little to unveil himself to my comfort, and though it has been but of short duration, yet enough to renew a degree of living faith, and holy confidence, in his All-sufficient power, and inscrutable wisdom. And as it is the frequent humbling experience of his servants, that it is consistent with his divine will they should live by faith, it is a mercy which calls for thankfulness of heart, when any ability is felt in sincerity to utter the submissive language, under those dispensations, "Not my will, but thine be done." Luke xxii. 42. Humbled in the consideration of how frail I am, and unable in the smallest degree to come to such a state of resignation without renewed help from time to time, from the holy sanctuary, oh! may my mind more and more seek after ability to become sanctified throughout, in thought, word, and deed. In reviewing this year, I perceive that although many deep exercises have been permitted for me to pass through, yet the Lord hath sustained me in the midst of them all; and I have had some seasons of sweet consolation, in which my heart hath been knit to the beloved of my soul.

First month 1st, 1804. My mind this afternoon has been led to consider, that many may be the changes which the present year may produce; many the trials and exercises I may be permitted to experience. And oh! may there be a centering to the source of all pure instruction, for counsel to move according to divine appointment; that whether suffering or rejoicing, that part destined for immortality, may be preserved in a state of acceptance with "the High and Lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy," Isaiah lvii. 15, and who still condescends to dwell with them that are of "a contrite and humble spirit."

Fifth month, 11th. In the forepart of this year, I became renewedly exercised in the prospect of a religious engagement, which for many years, even from my first appearing in a public testimony in meetings, has, at times, weightily attended my mind; and particularly in the sum-

mer of 1801, when, for a considerable time, I was ready to apprehend it would be consistent with my peace to endeavour to move therein. But infinite Wisdom was pleased at that time to order it otherwise, as already remarked in these memorandums. And now, when it first opened with weight, I felt solicitous that whatever was right in his sight, might be done; though many have been my fears, as usual under similar impressions, of being deceived by the great adversary, who cares not by what stratagem he can betray. At length such became the state of my mind, under the deep discouragement which I have felt, that I but seldom possessed any capacity to put up even a secret petition, to the Father and Fountain of life, for ability to know and do his will: though, day and night, in company and alone, I had not long together, felt liberated from an awful consideration of the important subject. This morning I ventured to unfold to my beloved brother Samuel a little of my tried situation; having long looked towards him as a companion, if ever the way should open for engaging in the prospect in view, though I knew not that he had ever felt a similar concern. After speaking to him, my mind, for a short time, was relieved from a very heavy load, which leads me to believe, let the matter issue as it may, whether I ever see my way to move further in it or not, that I have not done wrong in disclosing my feelings to him. Though he said but a few words on the subject, yet, from the manner in which he received it, and the weight which accompanied us at the time, I do apprehend his mind has been somewhat similarly exercised.

Fourth-day, 16th of fifth month. My brother Samuel revived the foregoing subject to me; and at the same time acknowledged, to my comfort, that he had for some years felt an apprehension, that a similar engagement would sometime be allotted him; but he had not seen the time for moving therein was fully come, though since I opened my feelings to him, he has looked more than heretofore towards an early entrance into it; yet not with sufficient clearness to give me much expectation he shall be likely to see his way to join me in next eighth month; which has very much fixed with me as being the right time for my leaving home. Much do I desire we may both be enabled to move under the direction of Him, who remains to be, "Great in counsel, and mighty in work." Jer. xxxii. 19.

After many anxious hours, and some deep conflicts of spirit, on this important subject, I was enabled, at our monthly meeting in the seventh month, to open my prospect of a visit to Friends and some others in Scotland, some of the northern counties of England, and the inhabitants of the Isle of Man. It was received by my friends in a manner that raised humble admiration in my deeply tried mind; and casting the burden before them, afforded a precious portion of tranquillity, to which I had long been much unaccustomed. I think I never was so sensible of divine help and support, under a similar circumstance, as in the women's meeting at this time, though I did not feel altogether the same strength in the men's.

Indeed I have but seldom felt as much ability in communicating in this way to my brethren, as when among my sisters: and I believe, the necessity there is, in such cases, of repeating pretty much the same thing, does in degree lessen the weight of what is expressed.

My dear brother Samuel, at the same time, informed Friends how he had been circumstanced, and that he felt most easy to propose to unite with me. Certificates for us were ordered to be prepared for next monthly meeting, to be held on fourth-day, the 1st of the eighth month.

CHAPTER IX.

(3rd of Eighth month, 1804, to the 1st of First month, 1805.)

Sets out on the visit to Scotland, &c.—Bury.—Little-port.—Chatteris.—Derby.—Cockermouth.—Parton.—Isle of Man.—Whitehaven.—Dissington.—Cockermouth.—Mary Port.—Cockermouth quarterly meeting.—Graysouthen.—Dundee.—Kinmuck.—Balhalgardy.—Old Meldrum.—Aberdeen.—Stonehaven.—Montrose.—Dundee.—Perth.—Glasgow.—Edinburgh monthly meeting.—Newcastle.—Shields.—Darlington, &c.—York.—Wellbourn.—Northampton quarterly meeting.—Chatteris.—Returns home.

Sixth-day, the 3rd of the eighth month. After so long a time of deep exercise, it has been cause of humble admiration that I have been enabled to look forward towards the weighty engagement in view, with so much serene satisfaction, as, for the last few weeks, has frequently been the happy experience of my thankful heart. Under these feelings, I left home, and we went this evening to Bury. The next day my mind was permitted to know a different dispensation, and I was ready to fear we must part from our dear friend Martha Brewster, under a sense of the deprivation of that substantial comfort, which, my soul longed to feel. But just before we left her hospitable roof, we were favoured to know a little of the renewed loving kindness of our gracious Helper, who, through our beloved friend M. B., was pleased to open

for us a little brook by the way, and we bid farewell to her under its tendering influence.

On first-day the 5th, my dear brother Samuel and myself were at Littleport meeting, which was a very small gathering; but we were permitted to experience the fulfilling of the divine promise that, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Mat. xviii. 20. It was a humbling baptizing season; to be remembered with thankfulness to Him, in whom are all our fresh springs.

We went that evening to Chatteris, and lodged at our friend John Bateman's, who was from home on a religious engagement with John Abbott, with a view to visit the Isle of Man; and it now looks likely we may cross the water together. Before we left this family, we had a humbling opportunity of religious retirement. In the course of this week we travelled to Sheffield; taking a week-day meeting at Loughborough, and another at Derby. At the latter, in the evening of the same day, we had a meeting with the richly visited inhabitants of that place. On first-day the 12th, we were at Sheffield meetings. And thence, on second-day, we went to Huddersfield. On fourth-day we attended a week-day meeting at Settle; sixth-day, one at Kendal; and on seventh-day, the 18th, we got to Cockermouth, where we met our friends John Abbott and John Bateman. We all attended the meeting there the next day, and had one in the evening for the inhabitants of that place, appointed by John Abbott. Though we passed through some close exercise, we had cause to be thankful we were there. The evening meeting was a time greatly owned by the Shepherd of Israel.

On second-day, we went to our friend Henry Bragg's, at Parton, near Whitehaven; and were informed, on our arrival there, that the packet for the Isle of Man would sail that evening about ten o'clock. This was intelligence that brought my mind under deep exercise, especially finding all my intended companions were willing to go at that time, though my brother gave a preference to staying over the monthly meeting at Whitehaven, the next day. When I found him so circumstanced, I also endeavoured to look at going with them, but after a close conflict, I felt best satisfied to inform my beloved brother and fellow-labourer, that, before I left home, I thought I saw we were to attend that monthly meeting, and sail the next day; and that the prospect so continued with me, as to lead me to believe it was safest to give up going by the packet; though there then appeared but very little probability of our getting conveyed to the island on the day I had in view. My dear brother, when he heard this acknowledgment, felt fully resigned to stay with me. We then informed our friends J. A. and J. B. how we were situated, desiring them to pursue their own prospect, if they continued to feel most easy to go that evening; but they likewise concluded to stay the monthly meeting next day. It proved a season of divine favour; and three Friends that day were separated to accompany us, who proved truly sympathizing helpers many ways, viz. Henry Bragg, John Fletcher, and Ann Fletcher, the latter as a female companion to me, whose affectionate attention I have cause to remember with gratitude. In the afternoon of that day, Henry Bragg and some other Friends made much inquiry for a vessel to take us over, but could not succeed; and late in the evening it seemed needful to give up the expectation of going the next day. This was another close trial of my faith, having so fully believed that we should meet with something suitable for the next morning. Very soon after it appeared given up by my companion as a hopeless case, Henry Bragg came in again and informed us he had just met with an offer of a vessel to take us either that evening or the next morning. We soon concluded to take the morning's tide; and I went to bed with a heart filled with thankfulness and peace.

Fourth-day morning, the 22nd, we sailed from Whitehaven with a fair wind, and very fine weather, which continued until we got about two-thirds of the way over; then it became almost a calm; and when a little wind did spring up, it was nearly a-head of us, which made it slow getting on. However we were favoured to land safe at Ramsay, thirty-four miles, that night; and had cause to feel our hearts humbled in thankfulness to Him whom wind and waves obey.

We had a meeting at Ramsay the next morning, and another in the evening; in both which we experienced Holy Help to be near. At this place we met with great kindness from a family who accommodated Ann Fletcher and myself with a bed; and manifested other acts of benevolence to our little company, which bound them to our affectionate and religious feelings. With them we had a solid season of retirement before we set off on sixth-day morning, in which they were recommended to seek more and more after an inward acquaintance with the Father of spirits, who is the sure reward of all his faithful people, and worthy to be served both by the aged and the youth. Intercession was also made unto Him, that, as they had handed much more to us than a cup of cold water, in the name of disciples, they might receive their reward; and that he would be pleased to grant us, his pilgrims, the blessing of preservation under all our movements, in passing along through this little island, a very small part of his foot-stool.

On sixth-day evening, we had a meeting at

a place called Kirk Andrews. On seventh-day evening, one at Kirch Michael. On first-day morning the 26th, we had a meeting at Baliff; and in the evening, one at Peeltown, where we met with divers solid people among the society of Methodists; with whom we were permitted to experience, in a very precious manner, the overshadowing wing of divine regard; under the influence whereof, ability was granted, to espouse the truths of the gospel, given to us as a people, in a peculiar manner, to bear unto the world. Under a humbling sense of his goodness, and of our unworthiness of his multiplied favours, the tribute of thanksgiving and praise was offered unto his glorious name, who is for ever worthy of all that can be ascribed unto him. After meeting we sat a while with one family of the aforesaid people; where we were again permitted to know, that our Holy Helper is confined neither to time nor place; but is condescending to deal out his bread to the hungry, when and where a due preparation is made to receive his bounty.

On second-day morning, I arose under an awful apprehension that it would be right for at least a part of our company to go again into the family we had visited the preceding evening, and into some others among that people, before we left the place. After breakfast I mentioned this to my companions collectively; and I had the satisfaction of finding my beloved brother had received somewhat of a similar impression. After solid deliberation, part of our band concluded to accompany us, while Henry Bragg and John Fletcher went to a place a few miles distant, in order to provide a meeting for the evening.

We went first to the family we had been with the evening before, where we again met a very cordial reception. We had also the company of their parents, who resided at the next house; and of a solid young man, their preacher. With them altogether, we were favoured to have a truly solemn and profitable opportunity; at the close of which, apprehending we were with some of the heads of their tribe, my brother felt it safest to remark to them a custom we had observed in many places, and particularly on this island, which was of those in their society, when they attended our meetings, kneeling down on their entrance into the room. He pointed out the difference we felt towards different individuals under this ceremony; some we had cause to believe felt an awful sense of the object of our meeting together; but with respect to some others, their manner was so irreverent, as to cause us to feel deep lamentation on their account; and in some meetings, we had believed it right at the close of them, to give a caution against complying with such an outward form, while the attention of the mind was far from the great object of adoration and worship. Under a feeling of near regard, we parted with them all, except the young man, who kindly conducted us to the other families which we visited: wherein also we experienced the gathering arm of Israel's Shepherd. The more we saw of this young man, the more we felt bound to him in gospel love, in a sense whereof we bade him farewell.

That evening we had a meeting at Malinaclig. On third-day evening one at Darby, with some solid people, but among them we apprehended there was a great diversity of states. It proved, however, a season wherein divine mercy appeared to be near to do the people good. Even some such as had been too much in danger of resting satisfied with former experience of the great Master's gracious visitation to their souls, without endeavouring to maintain the watch against a situation, comparable with that of those who thought themselves rich and increased in goods.

As there was not a place of public entertainment in this village, we were here for several hours taken in by a man and his wife, John and Eleanor Ellison, who appeared to be of truly religious minds. With this family, after a meeting held in the place, we parted, under evident marks of affectionate esteem; and had a beautiful moonlight ride, several of us in an open cart; but tranquillity covering our minds, though it was past midnight before we arrived at our proposed lodging place, we enjoyed our situation. On fourth-day, we had a meeting at Castletown in the morning, and one in the evening at Ballamodda; fifth-day, at Ballanorrass; sixth-day, at Ballasalla; and on seventh-day evening, the 1st of ninth month, we had our last meeting on this island, expecting to sail that night for Whitehaven.

This meeting was held in a large assembly-room at Douglas, and for some time after we met, it was the most unsettled opportunity we had known since our landing on the isle. Indeed, it was so much so, as to plunge my mind into deep discouragement, considering that we could not have another meeting with the inhabitants of that place, without missing our conveyance by the packet. I think it was a season of as close exercise as I ever remember to have experienced. John Bateman and my dear brother, had each a little matter to offer to the people, I thought very pertinent to the situation of divers amongst them, whose states, as to religious sensibility, I believe, were very different; some of them appearing awfully aware of the intention of our gathering together. However, so little place did the foregoing testimonies appear to have with those of another description, that soon after my brother had taken his seat again, I was ready to apprehend it might

be best to close the meeting, but my companions did not feel at liberty to do so. After endeavouring to bear my burden the appointed time, I at length believed it would be safest for me to at least get upon my feet, which I did in much fear and trembling; but with an earnest desire, to be rightly directed by Him, who only knows the food convenient for his people. Probably the novelty of a female's appearance in such a manner, might have place with some of them, so that in a short time they became much quieter, and more attentive; and I was enabled to minister to many different conditions present, to the relief of my own mind. After this, some further communications were offered by my fellow-labourers; and the meeting ended in solemn supplication to our universal Parent, for a blessing on the present opportunity: and in humble acknowledgements for his gracious assistance unto us, mercifully vouchsafed at that time, as also on many similar occasions in our passing along, among the little handful of his people situated on that small spot of ground. We took an affectionate leave of many after meeting; and on our way to the inn, called at a house where we had that afternoon taken tea, with a very valuable young woman and her aged father; with whom we now had a solid and truly memorable season of religious retirement.

When we reached the inn, we were immediately told the captain had been there to inform us he was ready to sail. We were therefore obliged to leave the house without sitting down, or partaking of any refreshment for the body; but our minds being richly replenished with a portion of peace, and feeling a full clearance of that part of our mission, it was of but very little consequence to us.

We went on board about ten o'clock, and after a good sail, with a fair wind, were favoured to land in safety at Whitehaven, at nine o'clock on first-day morning. After breakfast, my brother and myself went to our friend H. Bragg's, at Parton, to get a few hours rest. In the afternoon we assembled with our friends at Whitehaven. That day, before we parted with our friend John Abbott, he informed us of a prospect he had, of a meeting with the inhabitants of a village between Whitehaven and Cockermouth, querying if we had had any view towards the same place. As it had attracted my attention, so much as to lead me to apprehend we should not be likely entirely to leave those parts without a similar engagement, it seemed, we thought, very desirable to unite with him and John Bateman; though I felt so fatigued and in want of rest, after our close travelling and exercise on the island, as rather reluctantly to submit to joining them in the appointment of a meeting there, Dissington, on second-day evening; which appeared the most suitable time for them. It proved to me a particularly exercising meeting, wherein I thought I had to labour in the gospel, in as much weakness and mortification to the creaturely part, as at any time since my leaving home. Indeed I was almost ready to call in question the rectitude of our being there; but, after we left the place, and returned to Parton, I was permitted to feel a degree of the calming influence of divine love, as a canopy to cover my mind, so as to raise reverent thankfulness to Him, who is pleased to accept the feeble, if but faithful endeavours of his humbly dedicated children.

On third-day we all attended the week-day meeting at Cockermouth, where we met our three kind fellow-helpers, who had accompanied us across the water. In the afternoon we had a precious parting opportunity together; in which we had to acknowledge that the sustaining arm of divine sufficiency had been with us in our going forth, and mercifully supported throughout; sweetly uniting our little band in gospel fellowship. We had also to acknowledge that many circumstances respecting our union, had been marvellous in our eyes, and claimed the tribute of gratitude and praise to our Holy Director, who remains to be unto his people, "Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God;" Isaiah ix. 6, and who was condescending, at that time, to bestow a portion of enriching peace; though we could truly, with abasedness of spirit, adopt the language, "We are unprofitable servants;" Luke xvii. 10.

On fourth-day, John Abbott and John Bateman went to Kendal; and my dear brother and myself to a meeting at Setmorthy. In the afternoon, in our way to Broughton, we visited a very afflicted Friend, I think the most pitiable object I ever beheld; but we were comforted in believing his sufferings would terminate with his existence here; and we also were ready to believe that it would not be very long ere the gracious call would be in mercy extended to his soul, to leave the shackles of mortality, for an abode in durable happiness.

From fifth to seventh-day, we attended meeting at Broughton, Pardshaw, and Grey-Southen. On first-day the 9th, we were at Maryport. In the morning meeting there, I very soon felt my mind under exercise, and divers states present were brought before me with what I apprehended clear openings for communication; but I had not been sensible of the full time being come for it, when another stepping in, closed up the way, and we had no public labour there.

In the afternoon meeting we were permitted to experience a good degree of relief, although I do not suppose we were endowed with as much strength, to warn some, and encourage and sympathize with others, as we might have

been, had we met with no impediment in the foregoing meeting. However, we had renewed cause, through all, to thank our gracious Helper, and to confide in his all-sufficient power.

On second-day morning, after a season of divine favour, in the Friend's family where we lodged, we left Maryport. In the remaining part of this week we visited the meetings at Allanby, Holm, Wigton, Bolton, Kirkbride, Coldbeck, and Mosedale. On first-day the 16th, we were at Carlisle, in the morning; and had a meeting in the evening at Scotby. On second-day, we travelled over some very mountainous road to Aldston; where we had a meeting the next day. Fourth-day, we were at monthly meeting at Allondale; and in the afternoon attended a select meeting there, held in a Friend's house, to accommodate an ancient woman who was not able to get to the meeting-house. On fifth-day, we had a meeting at Derwent, and returned to Allondale. Sixth-day evening we had a meeting at Cornwood.

In the course of the last two weeks, many have been our exercises. In some of the meetings we have attended, within that time, we have been favoured to feel, concerning a few individuals, that the pure cause which we are engaged to espouse, is lovely in their view. But, alas! by divers others it hath appeared to be professed only by tradition. They hardly seemed sensible of the lamentation we were constrained at times, to utter in their hearing; and in one meeting in particular, we had cause to fear from the impressions we felt, that the enemy of all good, had so far prevailed with his temptations, that some were not clear of all unseemingly and immoral conduct. May the God of all grace, still be pleased so to plead with these his poor bewildered children, as, by his powerful and delivering arm, to preserve them eventually from the jaws of the devourer; through a timely obedience to his gracious precepts and invitation: "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." Isaiah i. 16—18. Even unto such as these, his subsequent promise is, "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land." Isaiah i. 19.

On first-day the 23rd, we were at Sykeside meeting in the morning; and in the evening attended one at Solport; after which we returned to Sykeside. On third-day we had a meeting at Moorhouse; which concluded our visit to all the particular meetings in the quarterly meeting of Cumberland and Northumberland. This week the quarterly meeting was held at Cockermouth; and after many days of considerable thoughtfulness on the subject, it seemed best for us to attend that meeting before we proceeded for Scotland, which we accordingly did on the 27th and 28th of ninth month.

On seventh-day morning, after a solid opportunity in J. and D. Ritton's family, where we had been divers times entertained with much kindness and affectionate attention, we left Cockermouth for Parton, and there, in the agreeable society of our dear friends H. and M. Bragg, and their children, we spent a quiet afternoon. On first-day morning, we attended Whitehaven meeting, which proved a season of relief and consolation to our minds, not having felt fully clear of Friends there until now. In the evening we had a very large meeting with the inhabitants of Workington, and went after it, though late, to Grey-Southen, to our kind friend John Fletcher's.

Tenth month 1st, second-day. This evening we had a meeting with the inhabitants of Brigham, at the close of which we parted with several Friends who met us there, to whom we had been nearly united in gospel fellowship; expecting the next morning to leave those parts, and go directly for Scotland.

On third-day we were accompanied one stage on our way, by our dear friend John Fletcher. On the road we were overtaken by H. Bragg, who intended to accompany us to Edinburgh. We got that night to Carlisle; and on fourth-day morning, after a little season of retirement, we parted with our kind friend David Carrick and his family.

A few miles from Carlisle, H. Bragg proposed our calling to speak to a Friend's family by the road's side, with which we complied; and were well satisfied in doing so.

This afternoon we entered into Scotland; and on fifth-day we reached Hawick, where there are two families of Friends, who sit down together in one of their houses. That evening we had a public meeting there; and the next morning sat with the two families in that place separately, in which we felt satisfaction; and under a feeling of gospel love, we parted with them, except one Friend, who went with us to Edinburgh, where we arrived before dinner, on seventh-day.

On first-day the 7th, we attended the meetings there. In the morning sitting I was dipped into close exercise, without any opening for communication, and the watch word which deeply impressed my mind, appeared to be like the injunction given by our Great Master, to his immediate followers, when they were about to enter upon his mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." Mat. x. 16. This was accompanied with an awful impression, that to do our proper business, we must

submit to visit from house to house, amongst our friends in that place. Before the afternoon meeting, I felt a necessity to unfold to my beloved brother, how I was circumstanced, who, I found, had been in somewhat a similar situation, but did not appear to be come at full clearness in his mind respecting it. This I much desired he might be favoured to do, before any such prospect was opened to our friends; though I apprehended it might be right for us to commence our visit that evening, and thought I saw with what family we should begin; yet I could not feel satisfied to divulge it further, until his way was perfectly clear. However, after I had informed him what I did, I experienced a degree of relief from the weight of exercise which had rested with me, previously to my speaking to him on the subject. But it was otherwise with him, for he found the matter increase, and fix so much, that at the close of the afternoon meeting, in a very desirable manner, he informed friends of our prospect.

From some of them we received expressions of sympathy, and encouragement to pursue what we had in view; and it was by them proposed, as we should need some assistant to conduct us from one family to another, that our friend Henry Bragg, who had kindly accompanied us many miles, should, if he felt freedom so to do, aid us a little longer, by continuing with us through the impending engagement. To this he readily assented, and that evening we sat with two families. Second, third and fourth-days, were employed in this way. On fifth-day, we attended a monthly meeting at Edinburgh; and in the evening had one sitting. At the close of that day, we felt, at least, a present release from this place; and had cause to testify that the Lord God Omnipotent, is worthy to be sought unto, and trusted in, by his children and people. And, oh! may we prove humble and grateful receivers.

On sixth-day and seventh-day, we travelled to Dundee, accompanied by Alexander Cruikshank, our kind landlord at Edinburgh; we had also the company of our friend Henry Bragg, who did not yet appear prepared to bid farewell to us. On first-day the 14th, we attended two meetings at Dundee, and had two sittings in Friends' families. On fourth-day we got to Balhalgardy, to our friend John Cruikshank's, under whose quiet roof I felt it a peculiar privilege to shelter that evening, being very unwell with a close cold, and much depressed in mind in the prospect of the remaining engagements in this land.

On fifth-day we rode five miles to Kinmuck, in order to attend a monthly meeting there that day; but I was too ill to go to meeting, or to keep out of bed much of the time Friends were sitting; yet, obtaining a little relief in the afternoon, we went five miles further to Old Meldrum. On sixth-day we had a meeting there; and after a religious opportunity with a friend before dinner, and an opportunity after it with the family where we lodged, we essayed to leave that place; but I could not, with satisfactory clearness, see our departure thence, without visiting the rest of the little handful of professors under our name, belonging to that meeting; with which my brother united. We got through them that evening and the next day; and afterwards returned to Balhalgardy. On first-day the 21st, we were at the meeting at Kinmuck, which I think was in some good degree owned by the great Shepherd of Israel, and ended to satisfaction.

As I continued to feel very unwell, after meeting we went back to Balhalgardy, and rested there the remaining part of that day. Indeed I was ready to suppose, I must tarry there many days, before I should be well enough to move forward, with what still remained to do thereabouts. But I recovered so far, as to get to a public meeting appointed for us at Old Meldrum, on second-day evening; and though it was very wet, without taking any fresh cold. On third-day we had several sittings with the families within the compass of Kinmuck meeting; and the remaining part of them, we sat with before their meeting on fourth-day, which we attended. In the evening we had a public meeting at Inverary. The latter proved a season of some encouragement to my mind, feeling Holy help to be near, which remains to be a rock of defence to the truly dependent in all their exercises.

After this meeting we went to Balhalgardy. The next day we parted with our kind and much esteemed friends of that family, with whom we had a solid season of retirement when about to separate, which to us felt a comfortable close to our little services thereaway. On sixth-day we had a meeting with Friends at Aberdeen, where some of the few professing with us, appeared very much strangers to the pure truth. It was an exercising meeting; but some ability was afforded to labour; and in it we had peace. We felt much sympathy with one individual, in whose family we had a religious opportunity, before we left the place, in the afternoon. That evening we visited, at Stonehaven, the only remaining member of Ury meeting—a very ancient woman; but it was comforting to our minds, to find, in her very lonely situation, she was favoured, in her old age, to retain a lively sense of the pure principle in which she had for many years professed to believe. This was now her comfort and support; and we had a comfortable hope would be mercifully vouchsafed to the end of her pilgrimage here; and that at the close

thereof she would obtain an admittance into the kingdom, where sorrow and sighing are no more.

On first-day the 28th, we had a meeting with the inhabitants of Montrose, which to me was a very trying one, believing but a small number, in a large gathering of people, were heartily engaged for their own eternal interest.

On third-day the 30th, we had an open and satisfactory meeting with some of the inhabitants of Dundee; in a part of the town, where no meeting of our Society had of late time been held.

Eleventh month 1st, and fifth of the week, we attended a meeting at Perth, with a small number in profession with us, amongst whom we had some exercising labour. My mind was led much to fear for an individual in particular, who, I believed, in days past, had known a beginning in the spiritual warfare; but who appeared in considerable danger of cherishing a propensity to be "now made perfect by the flesh." Gal. iii. 3. This Friend coming to our inn, I had an opportunity with him which proved relieving to my mind. The word preached did not appear to have much entrance into the hearts of some; but blessed be the name of Him, whom I desire to serve, not the fruits of our doings, but the faithfulness of our hearts, commends his dedicated servants to his divine acceptance.

On first-day the 4th, we attended two meetings with our friends at Glasgow, besides sitting with them in their preparative meeting. In the evening we had a solid opportunity in one of their families, when divers others of them were present. On second-day morning, the way did not appear clear to leave them, neither could I see enough light upon visiting their separate families, to admit of my proposing it to my dear brother; but I soon found he had more fully received the word of command to go amongst them in that way. Having felt so much as to enable me cordially to unite with him, we, without delay, entered into the work, that we had cause to believe was assigned us. On fifth-day the 8th, we attended a second monthly meeting at Edinburgh, where we were renewedly led into much exercise. Both our minds were so closely arrested in our separate apartments this day, as to lead us to suppose we should not be clear, without attempting to dip a little further into their situation, than we could do in their monthly meeting. This we did in much fear, and with an earnest desire to be preserved from hurting the pure cause, if we were not permitted to promote it, or help our friends; to all of whom we felt much love. On third-day morning the 13th, my dear brother and myself left Edinburgh, after a little season of retirement, in which we had the company of dear H. Bragg, who had continued with us until this time, and was particularly helpful to us in the late arduous engagement.

On sixth-day evening the 16th, we got to Newcastle, and the 17th, rested there; which was the first day we had spent since we left home, without either religious engagements, or travelling, or both. On first-day the 18th, we attended two meetings there; wherein some ability was afforded to sympathize with the rightly exercised in that place; and to hand a word of encouragement unto such, to hold on in the line of manifested duty, for the promotion of the blessed cause in themselves and others. A caution was extended to some amongst them, to guard against a disposition which might lead to procrastination, in the very momentous concern of preparing for a future existence: and some other states present were, I trust, ministered to in the love of the gospel.

On second-day we had a meeting at Benfield-side. Third-day, after some religious opportunities at Newcastle, whereto we returned the preceding evening, we went to Shields. On fourth-day, we attended the week-day meeting; and before we left the place in the afternoon, had a solemn season of retirement in Henry Taylor's family, whose daughter I had felt deeply for, she being in a very delicate situation; and I was apprehensive, not likely to be again restored to stronger health. My brother was led to address both her and her father in an affectionate, and I thought, a very suitable manner, after which I felt my mind strengthened to supplicate at the footstool of Divine mercy, that whether it might be consistent with the will of Him, who does all things right, to lengthen the thread of life to more advanced age, or cut it short in the bloom of youth, her way might be clear to the glorious abode of sanctified spirits.

The five following days we had meetings at Sunderland, Durham, Auckland, Staindrop, and Cotherstone. On third-day the 27th, we attended a monthly meeting at Staindrop; and on fifth-day the 29th, were at the week-day meeting at Darlington, which we sat throughout in suffering silence, except a short sentence, delivered by my brother, at the close of the meeting. After some deep wading, and heartfelt exercise, we both apprehended the way to obtain a litte relief, pointed towards visiting the most active members in their separate families. This engagement occupied sixth and seventh-days. On first-day, the 2nd of twelfth month, we attended the meeting there, which with three private religious opportunities that day, opened the way for our liberation from thence on second-day; and that evening we went to Stockton. The next and two following days we were at meetings at Norton, Stockton, and Yarm.

In the course of this journey I have experienced many very trying, and in some sort new exercises; and I think those which I have passed through, in these parts, have sometimes been as deeply distressing as any I have ever yet known: but so it must be, where the pure seed is in captivity in the hearts of the people; and a favour it is to be found worthy to suffer with a crucified Lord. However, some rightly exercised travellers, I believe, are preserved amongst them, for whom I feel near sympathy; much desiring they may hold fast their confidence in Him, whose arm of all-sufficient power is still able to support his humbly depending little ones, under all tribulations which they are permitted to pass through for his pure cause sake. Such indeed may be comforted in the gracious promise, that "though a woman may forget her sucking child, yet the Lord will not forget" (Isaiah xlix. 15) those, who are rightly concerned for Zion's prosperity.

On first-day the 9th, we were at Whitby; and on fourth-day the 12th, after a meeting at Malton, we went to York. Here we staid two days with our relations and friends. On seventh-day the 15th, accompanied by Henry Tuke, we went to Doncaster. We staid first-day there, and attended the meetings, which by me were passed in silent exercise. The next morning we parted with Henry Tuke, he returning home, and we going towards Lincoln. There, on fourth-day the 19th, we attended a quarterly meeting, with a small number of Friends, to some solid satisfaction. On fifth-day, we called and spent two or three hours with our kind and valuable friend Alice Burtt, at Welbourn; and before we parted, we had renewed cause to acknowledge that the presence of the Most High is not confined to time or place; feeling, with her and her family, such a degree thereof, as, I trust, will enable the visiters and visited to retain a lively remembrance one of another.

On seventh-day evening the 22nd, we got to Wellingborough. On first-day we attended the meeting there. In the afternoon we went to Northampton. That evening we attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders there; and the next day the quarterly meeting for worship and discipline. This to me was a low time; yet it did not appear right to withhold communicating a little of my small stock of spiritual bread to others, though not to much relief. But, in the afternoon, just before we left the place, in a religious opportunity, in the family where we lodged, several other Friends being also present, I obtained an increase of that substantial food, which enabled me to leave them in thankfulness and peace.

We returned to Wellingborough with our much-esteemed friends B. and T. Middleton. On third-day we attended a week-day meeting at Finedon, and after it, and a season of retirement in a family there, we went to Thrapston. On fourth-day we reached Chatteris, where we spent a very pleasant evening, with our late ancient companion on the Isle of Man, John Bateman; who, we thought, appeared to be reaping a reward for his evening's sacrifice.

On seventh-day evening the 29th, we were favoured to get well home; and had the satisfaction of meeting our relations and friends in usual health, and from them a very cordial welcome to Needham again; which, with the merciful preservation dispensed to us in our long travel, calls for humble thankfulness to the Author of all our blessings.

On third-day the 1st of first month, 1805, we attended our monthly meeting at Woodbridge, and returned our certificates; which as far as related to myself, was under the humiliating sense of unfitness, and incapacity for the great work in which I had believed myself required to engage, for the promotion of the most dignified cause which can be espoused on earth. Yet in retiring from the field of labour, and settling down at home, my mind, at times, has been favoured to partake of a degree of peaceful tranquillity. This is not at our own command; and therefore, when it is graciously vouchsafed should be accepted with gratitude and praise, as from the treasury of Him, who is a rich rewarder of them that diligently seek and serve him, with integrity and uprightness of heart.

CHAPTER X.

(First month, 1805, to the Ninth month, 1806.)

E. Gibson's burial, and that of another individual.—Her sister Ann returns her certificates.—Quarterly meeting.—Accompanies W. Forster, Jr.—Quarterly meeting.—Earith.

Within a week after my brother and I had returned from our journey into Scotland, we left home again, accompanied by our dear brother Dykes, to attend the interment of our much beloved friend Elizabeth Gibson, of Saffron Walden, who was removed after about a week's illness. She was far advanced in life, being in the seventy-sixth year of her age. Her faculties, both spiritual and natural, remaining very bright to the last, she will be much missed in the militant church; yet, as there is no doubt of her happy admittance into the church triumphant, we have no cause, on her account, to mourn; believing she was ripe for a glorious transition from the troubles of time to the joys of eternity. She was permitted to put off mor-

tality in a remarkably easy manner, without the least apparent suffering at the final close.

Many friends from different parts attended, and the meeting, in the early part of it, was solemn. Under this precious feeling, dear Mary Pryor of Hertford, delivered a very lively and heart tendering testimony; but for want of all keeping their proper ranks, I believe we lost, in some measure, the favour designed for us by the great Head of the Church; yet the meeting was permitted to end under a covering of good. And at the grave side, an awful silence prevailed, and two short testimonies were there delivered, before we quitted the remains of the dear deceased.

In the twelfth month this year, my brother Samuel and myself attended the interment of ———, and had cause to believe, that after all the vicissitudes he had been permitted to experience, during his long pilgrimage here, both in spiritual and temporal concerns, he was mercifully favoured to know his transgressions to go before-hand to judgment, and to obtain a seat within the glorious confines of eternal felicity. We had a solid meeting on the occasion, and I believe divers minds present were led seriously to consider their latter end. And some of us were enabled to feel a tribute of thankfulness raised in our hearts unto Him, whose "mercy endureth for ever." Psalm 136.

At our monthly and quarterly meetings in this month, my beloved sister Ann Alexander, delivered up the certificates she had received from these meetings, in order to visit America, and produced several testimonies from thence of her acceptable services in that land. She also spread before us a humble, lively, and animating account of her exercises, merciful preservations and divine support; acknowledging to the sufficiency and goodness of that power, who had enabled her to leave all and follow Him, and who had brought her home in peace.

Sixth month, 1806. For a considerable time past, my mind has mostly been permitted to know a season of deep depression, and great deprivation of religious comfort. In this state I went to our quarterly meeting held at Ipswich, this week; where I was favoured, in some of the sittings thereof, to experience a revival of gracious communion with the Father of spirits, which, in my drooping condition, was a renewed mark of his merciful condescension, that calls for humble gratitude. In our women's meeting, I felt strengthened to advocate the noble cause we were met to promote; and towards the close of it, my heart and knees were bowed in awful thankfulness, to the great Master of all rightly gathered assemblies. I apprehend we were favoured with rather an unusual covering of good; under this we closed, and I trust many of us were enabled to separate one from another with a tribute of praise to the bountiful Dispenser of his own precious gifts. In a more than common manner, has the consolation of that day been permitted to continue uninterruptedly with me. Oh! that I may prove a grateful receiver of this most desirable visitant; and stand unreservedly resigned to all the future dispensations of his unerring wisdom and goodness, saith my soul, Amen.

In the forepart of the seventh month, I accompanied Wm. Forster, jun. to several public meetings within the compass of our monthly meeting; and towards the close of it, I met him at Tivetshall, and was with him a few days while he was in that neighbourhood, engaged in the same weighty service. This I had reason to believe he was favoured to feel very important; in an especial manner for one so young in years, and so recently called to a public espousal of the cause of righteousness and peace. Though the meetings he appointed were not all owned with the same degree of Divine influence; yet, I think, there was not one, either about us, or in Norfolk, that I could doubt the rectitude of his holding. Some of them were in a very precious manner sanctioned by the presence of the glorious Shepherd of Israel. Yea, it sometimes rejoiced my heart to see and feel one in the days of youth, so dedicated to the most noble cause, and so strengthened to espouse it. Humbly do I crave that the blessing of preservation may be his happy experience. May ability be granted to keep near to his holy Director, that thereby he may be favoured to detect our common enemy, in all his appearances; and so the good work begun in his heart, may be carried on to the praise of Him, "whose reward is with him, to give every man according as his work shall be;" Rev. xxii. 12. The "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." The all in all to those who serve him with integrity.

In the retrospect of the time we spent together, my mind has sometimes been permitted to possess such a portion of tranquillity, as leads me to hope I was not moving out of my right allotment, in endeavouring to hold up the hands of this my junior friend, under the exercise which I believe he was called to bear by the great Father of the spiritual family.

Ninth month, 27th. At our quarterly meeting last week, very different was my situation, to that which I experienced in the foregoing one. I think I have not often, if ever, sat through the several sittings of a quarterly meeting with so little truly religious feeling. But I believe many others were permitted to obtain a morsel of spiritual food; both immediately from Him, who is to his people, "meat indeed," John vi. 55, and through the ministry of some right-

ly qualified servants. Many the are dispensations expedient for some to pass through, in order to become altogether sanctified and meet for the kingdom undefiled. Oh! gracious Father, suffer not thy hand to spare, until all in me is removed which is contrary to thy pure and blessed will!

After the quarterly meeting, though in a tried and stripped state of mind, I went with my brother Samuel in order to attend the marriage of Lovell Squire and Sarah Brown, at Earith. There, on the day of their union, I apprehended I received some small commission to espouse the good cause; but in so much feebleness as to lead me to fear the rectitude of my movements: however, at the close of the evening, I was mercifully favoured to believe I had done what was my duty to do, and no more, which afforded a ray of comfort to my drooping mind. Since our return home, though still low and poor, I feel satisfied that I complied with my brother's request to accompany him. Much do I desire the dear young people, who are just entering into life, and whom I much esteem, may be disposed to "seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness;" Mat. vi. 33, unto which state is subjoined the gracious promise, that, all other necessary blessings shall be added.

CHAPTER XI.

(3rd of Twelfth month, 1806, to the 8th of Fourth month, 1807.)

Reflections on a prospect of visiting London and Middlesex quarterly meeting, &c.—Tottenham. — Plaistow.—Tottenham.—Southgate.—Grace-Church-Street monthly meeting.—Colchester.

Twelfth month 3rd, 1806. Yesterday I found strength to unfold to my friends, at our monthly meeting, a religious prospect which has long been weightily before me, to visit the families of Friends in three of the monthly meetings, constituting a part of London and Middlesex quarterly meeting, viz. Grace-Church-Street, Tottenham, and Barking; extending also to some other services, particularly to visiting the families of Friends at Colchester.

Awful indeed has been, and still continues to be, the view of this very important engagement. The prohibition which I feel to take any thought about a help-meet for the work, has, at times, added to the weight thereof; yet, at some other seasons, when I am enabled to attain to that state of pure submission, wherein I can say to Him who is infinite in wisdom and goodness, "Not my will, but thine be done," Luke xxii. 42, I have sweetly felt ability to adopt as my own, an expression of Job Scott's: "Quietness, as a canopy covers my mind." When this calming influence prevails, I feel an unshaken persuasion, that all things needful will be provided. Oh! that my mind may be preserved so steadily fixed on the immovable Rock, that whatever adverse gales may be permitted to blow, my trust and hope therein may prove "as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast," Heb. vi. 13, I can hitherto acknowledge the goodness of Him, who, I humbly trust, hath called for this surrender of my will to his all-wise disposal, in having granted me a little portion of peace, since disclosing to my friends a willingness once more, in this way, to prove my attachment to that cause, which I sometimes feel dearer to me than my natural life.

At present, it is my expectation to commence the visit with attending Tottenham monthly meeting, at Waltham Abbey, on fifth-day the 8th of the first month, 1807.

Tottenham, second-day, 12th of first month. This evening I have parted with brother Samuel, who, in his wonted kindness, accompanied me from home last third-day, and the next afternoon we reached this place. On fifth-day we attended the monthly meeting at Waltham Abbey, where I produced my certificate, and I trust, obtained the sympathy of some of my brethren and sisters in this part of the vineyard. I had also the satisfaction to find my friend W. Forster, jun. was bound to a part of the families thereabouts. We commenced our visit on sixth-day morning, when my brother left me for two days, and we met again at Winchmore-hill on first-day. We all attended the meeting there, and in the evening had a large assembly of those not in profession with us. This morning we were all at the meeting of ministers and elders in London, and came to Tottenham to dinner. With so weighty a prospect before me, it feels pinching to part with one, who, both in natural and religious bonds, is so near to my heart, as my dear brother Samuel. But on that Arm of Power which hath hitherto supported, I desire to rely. Humbly craving his holy aid, quietly to endure every dispensation of his gracious Providence, both in heights and in depths.

Plaistow, third-day, 20th of first month. Though I had not got through my engagements in Tottenham quarter, I felt bound to attend a monthly meeting here to-day. After the reading of my certificate in both meetings, a committee was appointed in each, to render the needful assistance in the performance of my engagements in Barking quarter; and in a conference which I have had with the joint committee, I ventured to open a little prospect I have for some time seen, of having the company of my friends John and Tabitha Bevans,

in the families hereabouts. I also then informed my friends, that I expected to visit this monthly meeting before I returned to Tottenham, and to commence the engagement to-morrow morning. My proposals were cordially received, and united with by the committee; J. and T. B. being of the number, and acquiescing with the part which more particularly applied to them. All this proved relieving for the moment: but, alas! my mind, this evening, is so reduced and brought into deep exercise, that I scarcely am able to believe that I ever was acquainted with the voice of the Good Shepherd. I am almost ready to conclude that all I have felt concerning my present awful engagement, and every thing of a similar nature, have had their origin in the grand deceiver of mankind, who cares not by what bait he prevails over the children of men to follow him, thereby alienating the soul from the bountiful Source of all substantial good. Oh! thou who canst search the secret recesses of every heart, permit me to know thy blessed will, before I get so entangled with the power of darkness, as, in any wise, to bring reproach on thy precious cause, which thou knowest is more dear to me than my natural life; for this I could willingly surrender this night, rather than remain here to harm the pure testimony of truth.

Tottenham, third-day, 3rd of second month. Yesterday I closed my visit to Barking monthly meeting, and returned here, accompanied by my very kind friends, John and Tabitha Bevans, whose company and help in the work, together with the great kindness I experienced under their hospitable roof, both from themselves and their three daughters, I hope long to retain in grateful remembrance; and as I believe my beloved friends, parents and children, were much disposed to aid me, a poor pilgrim, in the name of a disciple, may they be permitted to receive a reward for the work's sake. Though I feel indeed but an unprofitable servant; yet, with a humble heart, I can acknowledge that notwithstanding some of the closest baptisms I ever passed through, were permitted me whilst with them, I also knew some seasons of heavenly favour; I think some, wherein my mind was as nearly united to the beloved of souls, as at any time in my life. Yesterday morning, after a religious opportunity with the two handmaids in J. Bevans' family, who are not in profession with us, my mind could rejoice in believing, beyond a doubt, that the allotted portion of labour in that part was finished. Then I thankfully felt it to be an eternal truth, that though many are the afflictions of those who are sent forth on the Great Master's errands, yet as the heart is kept singly dependent on his arm of power, he will most assuredly deliver out of them all; and grant a crown of life, as a reward to all who are faithfully engaged to hold out to the end, in doing his will. Thus, after the various conflicting seasons hitherto permitted me to experience, I am enabled to thank thee, Oh Father! for thy mercies past, and humbly hope for thy gracious protection, under every future dispensation of thy will.

Fourth-day, 4th. To-day is the monthly meeting at Grace-Church-Street; and for some days past I have been endeavouring to know whether it would be right for me to attend it; but I have not been able to see any light upon going; and feeling much indisposed in my health, a day or two of rest under this roof, my cousin William Forster's, is very salutary to my enfeebled frame. As I have not seen my way to go to London to-day, I have forwarded my certificate to J. G. Bevan, to present it to the monthly meeting; though I undoubtedly believe it will be right for me to finish my engagements in this part before I leave this place again; and as my friend Alice Chorley, an elder of this meeting, has kindly proposed accompanying me for a few days, I hope to be enabled to enter afresh into this field of labour after the monthly meeting here to-morrow.

Thus far, in the accomplishment of the arduous prospect with which I left home, I have had abundant cause to acknowledge, that all things needful have, to my humbling admiration, been provided; and therefore, I dare not distrust the bountiful hand which hath already dispensed so liberally. However, awful indeed does the approaching engagement appear, of going amongst the largest body of Friends I have ever visited, in this individual way, without the most distant expectation of a companion in the work; but I marvel to find the calm resignation, which my mind is mercifully favoured at times to experience, in looking towards this important part of my present mission. Yea, I am ready to believe, that nothing short of the sustaining Arm of everlasting mercy, could uphold me under what I now have in view. I therefore feel bound to adore Him, committing myself once more to his holy guidance.

Fifth-day morning, 5th of the second month. J. G. Bevan has just been here, and informed me, on returning my certificate, that their monthly meeting is adjourned till next fourth-day, which gives me concern, having no expectation of being liberated from these parts, so soon as that time; but, for the present, I wish to leave much thoughtfulness on this subject, endeavouring to do what appears right in my allotment in this part of the work.

Evening. At the meeting-house to-day, I met a letter from my friend Mary Pryor, in which she expresses herself in these words;—"Believing a necessity laid on me, I venture to offer accompanying thee on thy visit to the

families of Grace-Church-Street meeting." So unexpected a proposal, and one so truly acceptable, raised a tribute of thankfulness in my heart to Him, who I humbly trust, has bound this, my dear ancient friend, again to evince her attachment to his pure cause, and unite with a little sister in this great work.

Tottenham, fourth-day, 11th. To-day I have attended the adjourned monthly meeting at Grace-Church-Street, where I informed my friends of the prospect I have of a companion, who is not likely to be at liberty from her own monthly meeting, before this day week; and also that I did not feel myself at present fully clear of this quarter. My information was cordially received, and Friends kindly adjourned again until fifth-day, the 19th, for our accommodation; which feels relieving to my mind, believing by that time I shall be favoured to see my way to depart hence; where I have for a long time been very affectionately cared for, by my much esteemed friends and relatives of this family.

Southgate, fourth-day, 18th. I have now visited all the meetings and families of Friends in Tottenham monthly meeting, except two or three individuals, who are not at home, and a few others, who do not incline to receive such a visit. I have also had a few public meetings; the last was held yesterday evening at Mimms, in a meeting-house belonging to Friends.

In the course of my engagements in this quarter, mourning and lamentation have been much more frequently the covering of my spirit, than any thing like rejoicing. Yet, I verily believe, there is a precious few, who are sweetly preserved loyal to the King of kings. May their hands grow stronger and stronger in the holy warfare; and may the number of upright hearted standard-bearers, be increased amongst them.

Fourth-day, 4th of third month. We have now been nearly two weeks very closely engaged in our arduous service of visiting the families of Friends in Grace-Church-Street monthly meeting, and my beloved and honourable companion and myself, have hitherto been enabled to move along in much harmony and concord. I feel it very relieving to my exercised, and often deeply tried mind, to have the company and help of one whose religious experience has been much larger than my own. One who, after so long a warfare under the banner of the Captain of salvation, can frequently testify that he is worthy to be obeyed to the utmost of our ability; that verily his "yoke is easy, and his burden light:" Mat. xi. 30. I think I never could more feelingly subscribe to the same gracious truth, than since the commencement of the present engagement; for though, at times, the faithful labourer must be brought into a state of bondage, when and where the pure seed is kept in captivity; yet it is a favour to be found worthy to suffer with a suffering Lord. I believe all the exercises which dedicated minds may be permitted to pass through, for themselves and for others, are not so great as those which are often imposed, by the enemy of all good, upon such as are pursuing the vain and delusive pleasures of the world.

Second-day, 16th of third month. Yesterday my much beloved companion left me, after our attending the morning meeting at Grace-Church-Street, and having a solid season of religious retirement, at Joseph Savory's, where we were nearly a month very kindly cared for, by him, his wife, and daughter Mary. Mary Pryor went that evening to Hertford, in order to attend the select quarterly meeting there, in the evening. We were favoured to part under a feeling of that unity, which had been mercifully vouchsafed to us during our late engagement. A tribute of humble gratitude was raised in our hearts to the bountiful giver of every blessing, for the support which had been from time to time granted us; and for the holy aid which, in a peculiar manner, was in some families dispensed to us, to advocate his precious cause. This, on the bended knees, was vocally acknowledged by my dear friend, and heartily subscribed unto by myself, in prostration of soul before the Most High: and a song of praise lived in my heart through the remaining part of the day.

To-morrow I expect to reach Colchester, where, the next day, I hope to meet my dear friend Martha Brewster, who is liberated by her friends at home, to accompany me through the families in that monthly meeting, and to visit some other meetings in Essex.

Colchester, seventh-day, 28th of the third month. We have nearly got through our visit to the families of Friends in this monthly meeting. And my beloved companion M. B. and myself, have harmonized in our feeble endeavours to promote the holy cause among our fellow professors hereabouts; many of whom we cannot but covet may know an increased dedication of heart to the pure unfoldings of heavenly love. By this means, they would become strengthened to stand faithful to the various testimonies given us as a people, to uphold to the world. We have felt our minds animated and comforted in beholding the upright zeal, which clothes our ancient and honourable friend and father in the church, dear John Kendall, under whose roof we have been kindly accommodated during our tarriance here.

On second-day the 30th, we left Colchester, and went to Dunmow, where, the next day, we attended a monthly meeting, and taking meetings in our way at Stanstead, Bardfield, and

Sudbury, we reached Ipswich on second-day, the 6th of fourth month. On third-day, we attended the monthly meeting there, when I delivered up my certificate; and had cause to acknowledge, that although I had passed through some very pinching trials, and some seasons of close exercise; yet, that Holy help has been near in the time of need. In the remembrance thereof, my soul feels renewedly bowed in thankfulness to the great Author of every blessing.

I returned home on fourth-day the 8th; and though the sensible enjoyment of divine acceptance is much withheld, I feel, at times, ability to adopt the language of the psalmist, where he says: "Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits;" Psal. ciii. 1, 2.

CHAPTER XII.

(21st of seventh month, 1808, to the 27th of eighth month, 1809.)

Parts with her nephews W. H. A. and J. A.— with her sister Ann and brother William.— Visit to heads of families in her own monthly meeting. — York. — Returns home through Lincolnshire.

1808. Fifth-day, the 21st of seventh month. This day William Henry Alexander, and his brother Joseph, left Needham for Broughton. A separation which, to my affectionate feelings, is very pinching, having no expectation of ever seeing much more of them. They have always been exceedingly dear to me for their beloved parents' sake; and at present, there is much in the precious boys also to attach me closely to them. The prayer of my heart is, that whatever may be their future allotment in life, if they should be permitted to arrive at a state of maturity, they may be preserved within the limitations of the pure truth, and so dedicated to the most noble cause, as to be found worthy to become standard-bearers in our Israel, when many of those, who now feel the weight of the Ark of our testimonies resting on their shoulders, shall be called from works to rewards. Amen.

At Bury, on the 21st of the ninth month, I took leave of my beloved sister Ann Alexander, under a feeling of very near regard; she intending to go forward thence towards York. This was another parting which very closely tried my tenderest feelings; but a degree of quiet which I believe was not at my own command, accompanied my mind in my journey home, which was cause of humble gratitude to Him, who is able to say unto the troubled sea, "Peace, be still;" Mark iv. 39. It is a pleasant reflection, that during the time of our residing in the same place, a precious harmony was uniformly maintained between us; and much do I desire, that though we are now likely to be far separated in body, we may know that durable cement, true unity of spirit, which is the bond of lasting peace.

On fifth-day afternoon, the 13th of tenth month, my beloved brother William Alexander left Needham, his native place, with a prospect of settling at York. This was to me a closely trying separation, from one to whom by the ties of natural affection, and the still more uniting bond of religious kinship, I have, from early life, to the present time, felt very nearly attached. His removal with that of his endeared companion in life, and their precious children, has made a chasm in our domestic circle here, which I cannot expect ever to see filled up to me; yet, as I believe, my beloved brother and sister, are entrusted with qualifications adapted to their new situation, I feel something which forbids my repining at the loss, which, as an individual, I have sustained by their departure; though I have felt, and still do feel, so intimately bound to them, that the separation is one of my most bitter cups. But though these dear objects of my love are so far removed, as to preclude all probability of much more sweet and social intercourse with them, I am fully aware that I have cause still to number my remaining blessings, both in a religious and domestic point of view. And my heart's desire is, to stand so unreservedly dedicated to the Author of them all, as to feel a capacity to know, what I shall render for his multiplied favours.*

1809. Third-day, the 10th of the first month. I have lately been engaged with divers other Friends, by appointment of our monthly meet-

*As her own memorandums furnish but few remarks on the period contained in this chapter, the following extract from a letter to a near relative, dated 21st of twelfth month, 1808, may be acceptable to the reader. After stating that a heavy fall of snow had prevented many Friends from getting to the quarterly meeting, particularly from the western side of the county, she says, "We had not one from that quarter in the select meeting, and not a representative in the women's meeting, though four were appointed. Thou wilt suppose such a deprivation just now, must prove particularly trying to some of us. Indeed I cannot describe what my feelings were, when I found how our little company was likely to be deserted: but, with thankfulness we may acknowledge, though we were deprived of divers of our friends, whose presence would have gladdened our hearts, yet the great President of our assemblies condescended to afford a renewal of his ancient goodness, and enabled some of our spirits to bow in reverence at his sacred footstool, and implore the continuance of his fatherly protection."

ing, in compliance with a recommendation of the last yearly meeting, in paying a visit to the heads of families, on the important subject of the fourth query.* Though I have not felt the weight of the work so to rest upon my shoulders, as I believe it has rested on some of my fellow-labourers; yet, since the close of the engagement, I have been permitted to review my movements with them, in a degree of humble confidence that it was my desire, when I could do nothing for the promotion of the cause which I love more than life, I might be preserved from doing any thing, that could, in any wise, weaken the hands of those with whom I have been banded, and to whom I felt bound in near gospel fellowship. And I believe, in the close of our visit, we have, individually and unitedly, had cause to acknowledge that a portion of solid satisfaction has been the recompense of our resignation to this delegation of the church.

Fourth-day, 21st of sixth month. Though my present motive in leaving home is a social visit to my endeared relatives at York, yet I feel desirous of dwelling so near to the pure spring of eternal excellency, as to be permitted to accompany with the incorruptible seed of the kingdom; whether in suffering or rejoicing: and I crave the blessing of preservation both in heights and in depths.

First-day, 27th of eighth month. Last fifth-day evening I reached home, after an absence of nine weeks and one day. Greatest part of the time has been spent with my dear brother and sister at York. My brother S. Alexander, met me at Ackworth general meeting, and I returned with him to York; after which we left the county by Hull and Thorne; and from the latter went into Lincolnshire, where we visited all the meetings except two, which were taken by my brother, in his way into Yorkshire. In leaving home, I had no expectation of engaging in religious service; yet my beloved brother going out with a prospect of visiting the above meetings, and intimating it to our monthly meeting, I have felt well satisfied with the opportunity of accompanying him therein. I trust some of the little flock, where our lots have been cast, have been encouraged to pursue the one thing needful, with increasing vigilance; and our own minds strengthened renewedly to acknowledge the goodness and mercy of a faithful Creator, who is ever ready to uphold in every season of trial, his humbly dependent children.

* This query, which is the third to Women Friends, is as follows, viz.—"Do Friends endeavour, by precept and example, to train up their children, servants, and those under their care, in a religious life and conversation, consistent with our Christian profession, in the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel?"

Supplement by the Editor, containing some account of her last journey, also of her illness and decease.

The reader will probably have noticed a considerable chasm between the two last chapters; for concerning this period the Editor does not find any memorandum of her own. This might arise from her not being particularly engaged in advocating that cause which she evinced to be so dear to her; yet there is reason to believe, that during this, and the remaining time, of which she relates but few occurrences, her mind was preparing for the engagement in which she closed her faithful labours.

Although much gospel service was not her allotment in these periods, yet she was very usefully occupied; many times, and on divers occasions, in kind assistance to some of her near relatives, whose situation claimed her skilful care, as an affectionate nurse and attendant. One of these was our beloved neice, Lucy Barton, whom she attended at the time of her decease, in the summer of 1808.*

I come now to relate some particulars of her last religious journey, the sequel of which deeply affects my heart; yet, I hope, with resignation to unerring Wisdom, who has seen meet to cut her work short in righteousness.

She left home with the full unity and concurrence of her friends, on the 26th of the tenth month, 1809, under a concern to visit the families of Friends at Worcester, and to hold some meetings in those parts. She was accompanied to Worcester by her brother and sister Jesup. In a letter to her brother Samuel, from Warwick, after speaking of two Friends calling on her at Bury at Martha Brewster's, she says, "Before we left that quiet dwelling, my beloved M. B. in a little season of solid retirement, had a morsel to hand, which proved to my deeply discouraged mind, for some hours after, truly consoling: yet, I have repeatedly, since that time, experienced my faith to be, as it were, smaller than the grain of mustard seed; and I have been almost ready to doubt the rectitude of my present undertaking. At some other times a portion of holy aid has, in mercy, been so far extended as to lead me to hope I have not run without being sent."

"That evening we reached Hannah Evens' hospitable habitation in good time for tea; and were not entirely unexpected. We staid the meeting next day, and left Godmanchester about two o'clock, for Wellingborough; where, from a letter I hope thou receivedst from Elizabeth Wheeler, I suppose you had anticipated an awful meeting with our beloved friends Benja-

* For an account of Lucy Barton, see the 10th part of Piety Promoted.

min Middleton and his daughters. We had not obtained the smallest intimation of the situation of the family till we got into the house, when we were met by cousin Wheeler, whose countenance plainly indicated something important. Greatly surprised we were, on being informed that, after two weeks' illness, our much esteemed friend, Tabitha Middleton, had, last fourth-day, closed her valuable life. Dear Benjamin and his children received us with much composure, and we spent a very interesting evening in the house of mourning. Before we left them this morning, I felt bound to yield to a season of retirement, and in it to offer the tribute of sympathy which lived in my heart towards them, accompanied with a persuasion, that not only a glorious mansion was prepared for the dear deceased; but that those who remained to lament her departure, were in a particular manner under the protecting wing of ancient Goodness."

At Worcester she was joined by William Forster, Jr., (then in those parts on religious service) with a view of entering upon the arduous engagement of visiting Friends of that city in their families. At a monthly meeting held there the 26th of the tenth month, they presented their certificates, and opened their prospects, which met the concurrence of Friends. The next morning they entered upon the work; and proceeded without intermission, as to any other religious engagement, till the first-day week following, the 5th of the eleventh month; when they had a large public meeting in Friends' meeting-house, appointed with a view, principally, to the lower class of the inhabitants of that place. The next evening they had a meeting in a parish on the other side of the river; and on third-day morning the 7th, attended another public meeting in Friends' meeting-house appointed under a concern for the higher classes of the people. That evening they finished the family visit in Worcester. The testimonial sent from that monthly meeting to the monthly meeting of which she was a member, may be the best criterion, by which to judge of the satisfaction this visit afforded to her friends. An extract from it will be found at the close of this account.

As her labours, at this period, were hastening to a close, perhaps a minute recital of the occupation of her time, though sometimes unattended with any particular observations, may be acceptable to the reader.

On fourth-day morning, the 8th of the eleventh month, W. Forster, Jr. and herself, attended a public meeting at Malvern, and one in the evening at Upton on Severn; and that night went to Tewksbury. On fifth-day forenoon, they were at a meeting of Friends of that town; had a meeting at Pershore that evening, and reached Evesham the same night. On sixth-day evening they had a meeting on the premises of a Friend at Netherton, about four miles from Evesham. The next morning they returned there, and called upon several Friends in their families; and that evening were at a public meeting, a mile and a half out of the town.

On first-day morning the 12th, they were at a meeting with Friends at Evesham; and in Friends' meeting-house, in the evening, they had a very crowded meeting with the inhabitants. Before she went to bed, my dear sister felt herself much indisposed, but did not make much complaint. The next day her companion thought her very unwell; but in the afternoon they went to Alcester, and in the evening, attended a large and satisfactory meeting in the Town-Hall; towards the close of which, she was engaged in solemn supplication. They walked nearly a mile to a Friend's house to lodge. There she appeared much exhausted with fatigue, went to bed very unwell, and passed a restless night. The next morning the 14th, they returned into the town, and had three sittings among Friends in their families, in which, although very unwell, she took an acceptable part. In the afternoon, they returned to the Friend's house at which they had lodged; and in the evening, had an opportunity in the family, in which she was strengthened to labour under considerable exercise of mind. She was rather more unwell before she went to bed, and had another poor night. Two meetings were appointed for the following day, the 15th, and it was pretty much concluded, over night, for her to give up that in the morning at Broomsgrove, and to meet William in the evening at Droitwich. On arriving at the latter place, however, he was surprised and affected to find that, accompanied by Candia Burlingham, who had been her companion since leaving Evesham, she was gone on to Worcester in a post-chaise; finding herself so ill, as to wish to get on as fast as she could. They arrived at Worcester in the evening, where she was violently affected with sickness, but her complaint was deemed bilious, as she was subject to such a disorder. The night she passed without much sleep; and the next morning an eruption appeared. She first discovered it herself and said, "Surely I have got the small-pox," adding, "I believe I know when I took it; from a little child whom I met in the street previously to leaving Worcester." An apothecary was called in, who pronounced the disorder to be the small-pox. He thought she had treated herself judiciously, and spoke very encouragingly of the symptoms. Her sister Jesup, who was returned to Worcester from a visit in Wiltshire, also thought it of a large and favourable sort.

She did not appear at all alarmed at finding

the disorder was the small-pox; although, in early life, she had felt much dread of it; but expressed great concern at the trouble she was likely to bring on her cousins Thomas and Eliza Burlingham's family, feeling very tenderly for them. That afternoon William Forster, Jr., who was about to write to one of her brothers, at her request, went up and sat awhile with her. She desired her very dear love to her brother and sister, and wished William to say, "That although she had passed through a greater degree of exercise and suffering than ever she had experienced in the same space of time, accompanied with less evidence of divine acceptance; yet, that afternoon, she thought she had been favoured with a precious evidence, that she had been there (alluding to her late visit) in better wisdom than her own. This, she said, had tended to quiet the anxiety with which she was at first tried, in considering the difficulty and perplexity she might occasion to others; and she humbly trusted it might prove as a little anchorage to her mind in seasons of future tossing."

She further remarked that it looked probable she might get through the disorder; but added, "I feel no wish respecting it." On William Forster, Jr. asking her, just before he left the room, how she was, she replied, "I am as comfortable as I can be." At that time she was quite free from pain, except a little fulness in her throat.

In the evening, speaking of the public meeting at Alcester, she remarked what a comfortable one it was, and said, "I little thought it would be the last." Then pausing awhile, added, "Probably." She then observed that it was trying to her to be so far from her relations; but added, "The cause is dearer to me than my natural life."

As soon as her complaint was determined to be the small-pox, her cousins T. and E. Burlingham left their house and went over the way to his father's, on account of their infant son. The next morning, sixth-day the 17th, some family arrangements were made, which in addition to the kindness and cheerfulness with which her dear relatives gave up their house for her accommodation, appeared quite to relieve her mind from all anxiety.

After this her head and throat became very painful; and the difficulty of swallowing, and even of breathing, was very alarming; and she herself thought she should never be able to swallow again; but, by proper application, these symptoms were much relieved.

At different times, in the course of her deeply trying illness, she would say, "It would be a kindness to let me sink quietly away, rather than keep me in this state of suffering;" yet she frequently expressed herself very gratefully to those who nursed her; sometimes saying, "she hoped they would be rewarded for their tenderness and care, better than she could reward them." She was favoured with much serenity and resignation throughout, and appeared to have nothing of importance, either of spirituals or temporals, to claim her attention.

Four days after the crisis of the disorder, she told her medical attendant she got no better; and on the following day, she desired that her relations might be informed, with her dear love, that she felt her weakness daily increase, and thought she should hardly be likely to see them any more. Her weakness not being greater than the apothecary expected, and no unfavourable symptoms appearing, he did not apprehend any cause for alarm; on the contrary, on being interrogated, at different times, he had always expressed himself favourably as to her getting through.

The next day, the 29th, her disorder put on a very unfavourable appearance, and further advice was immediately procured; but the physician did not think so unfavourably of her as the surgeon. That evening and the next morning, by the means used for her relief, there was so much improvement, that her medical attendants, and those around her, flattered themselves with hopes of her recovery. She passed through fifth-day night, the 30th, as favourably as could be expected; but did not appear so well the next morning as such a night led her attendants to hope for; and in the forenoon, she seemed to be sinking fast, and thought herself going. She asked the hour of the day, and being told it was half past twelve o'clock, she wished to know if the doctor had been there, and what he thought of her. Being informed that he found her not so well as he had hoped for; after a short pause, she said: "There is no probability, no probability, of my struggling through: what a favour it would be to be taken now, rather than suffer as I have done, day after day, and night after night." She then asked her sister if she was willing to give her up, and added, "What a comfort it has been to me that thou hast been with me." Upon her sister asking her if she had any particular message to any one, she replied, "No! My dear, dear love to all,—to all," adding, "and to all thy children; I love them all very dearly." She then further said, "I hope my poor soul will be saved. A place in the smallest mansion is all I ask. A place in the smallest mansion is all I ask."

She was fully satisfied with the doctor and apothecary; and that afternoon, having revived again about the time of their coming, she told them she hoped they would be rewarded for their kindness towards her, both in this world and that to come. On account of the disorder, her relations T. and E. Burlingham, had been

obliged to keep from her till their infant child had been vaccinated. That evening, Thomas came to her; she knew him, took him by the hand, and expressed herself very affectionately to him.

On seventh-day morning early she relapsed again; and in the forenoon of that day, she asked the apothecary if he thought her close was near. He replied, "he thought it was." She answered, "What a favour!" In the afternoon she said, "It is marvellous to me I am so long in dying; it is not common, I think." Some time afterwards, she said, "The spirit cannot depart; the spirit cannot depart. Blessed —blessed." At another time: "It will not do, the time is not yet come." After that, to the admiration of her medical attendants, and all around her, she revived again and took nourishment freely.

On first-day, the 3rd of twelfth month, she changed several times in the course of the day; and in the evening, being informed that her brother Samuel was come, she wished him to come to her; but desired he might be informed she was a poor creature to visit, and could say but little. Going to her, she took his hand and turned her face towards him, seeming to try to look at him, (for she had been several days blind) and spoke affectionately, but only a few words intelligibly. She was soon informed that her brother Dykes, and her niece Lucy Maw, were also in the room. She spoke to the latter, and seemed to intimate her wish to speak to her brother Dykes, but her weakness so increased just then, that she could not articulate; yet she gave afterwards several clear proofs of knowing that her relations were present. In the course of the evening she laboured under great distress from the load of disease, and often said, "Dear, oh dear," arising from the extremity of her suffering; yet these expressions were evidently under a sense of care, to avoid, either in word or manner, murmuring at the last trying conflict of nature.

Her brothers and niece were thankful in being permitted to see her living; not only for their own satisfaction, but from a secret belief that her knowing they were there, afforded her mind a little comfort under her deeply trying conflict. During this last struggle of nature, at several different times, she held up her hands as in the attitude of prayer; and about half past three, on second-day morning, the 4th of the twelfth month, she quietly breathed her last.

Her remains were interred at Worcester, on the fifth-day following. She was about 50 years of age, and had been a minister about 21 years.

Perhaps I cannot more suitably close these memoirs, than by the concluding words of the testimonial sent from Worcester monthly meeting to her own; and which were adopted by the latter monthly meeting in the testimony addressed to the yearly meeting:—"We may weep over her as a friend or as a relation; we may mourn the loss which the church has sustained of one of her upright pillars; but, on her account, there appears no cause for sorrow. She was, we believe, favoured to finish all she had in commission; showing herself therein a good and faithful servant. The great reward of faithfulness was permitted to follow, in quick succession, her allotted portion of labour; and we doubt not she is entered into the joy of her Lord, and into her Master's rest."

SOME BRIEF MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

DAVID HALL;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF HIS FATHER, JOHN HALL.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, DIVERS OF HIS EPISTLES TO FRIENDS, ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS.

Pursuant to the direction of Christ our Lord,—Gather up the fragments that nothing be lost, it is in my mind to commit to writing some remarks of the Lord's gracious and gentle dealings with me, David Hall. I have above fifty years kept a boarding-school at Skipton in Craven, Yorkshire, and apprehend it to be inconsistent with the said divine precept, that any thing blessed and broken, by the hand of Jesus, should be trodden under foot in the dust, though it might appear ever so diminutive in the eyes of some.

I was born at Skipton, aforesaid, the 22nd of the tenth month, 1683. My father and mother, John and Elizabeth Hall, were signally owned and blessed by good Providence. They

were both convinced of the truth in their youth, and received the same in the love of it, having had their education in the way of the church of England.

Soon after my father had joined himself in society with the people called Quakers, he received a dispensation of the everlasting gospel of peace, even a living testimony to the truth, of which, as he often said, he was thoroughly convinced in a silent meeting.

In the times of persecution they freely suffered the spoiling of their goods for truth's sake, whereby they were reduced to a low ebb, as to their outward circumstances; but the Lord, who blesseth the provision of Zion, and satisfieth her poor with bread, and supports his faithful servants in all their sufferings, wonderfully blessed the little basket, and the small store, and the poor endeavours of this pious couple; of whom it may be said, as in Isaiah, "So he was their Saviour. In all their afflictions he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them; in his love and in his pity he redeemed them, and he bare them and carried them."

But it is observable, and hath by many been taken notice of, that those persons who were the officious agents in spoiling these two religious Friends, seemed to be remarkably blasted, as to their temporal affairs; which observation hath also been made concerning the rigid persecutors of the Lord's innocent people in divers places.

They had five children; the first and fifth whereof being sons, died in their infancy; the second and third were daughters, who in two days time both died of the small-pox, and were buried in one grave on the 23rd of the seventh month, 1693, the one aged about eleven, and the other about twelve years. At this time, I being in the tenth year of my age, their only surviving child, lay grievously afflicted with the small-pox also, insomuch that my life was despaired of by most that saw me. Yet He, who can raise the dead, restored me, a poor miserable creature, a moving object of the pity and commiseration of all that beheld me, through unaccountable difficulties, far beyond expectation, from the very brink of the grave; yea, by degrees, to a pretty good state of health, and constitution of body. Some of the relics of that dreadful contagion have attended me to this day, and I expect will to the end of my race, viz. something of a nervous disorder, not much unlike, in its appearance, to a palsy, which at first was so strong that I could scarcely, for a considerable time, either plainly speak one word, or distinctly discern any object; neither could I stand or walk alone, my aspect and appearance being nearly like that of an idiot. By little and little, I recruited, and somewhat recovered my depraved senses; so that, after my piteous manner, I walked and rode about home for the space of five years, or thereabouts, not likely ever to be capable to follow any business, whereby I might get a livelihood.

About the fifteenth year of my age I assayed to resume and open my grammar, which I had abruptly closed and thrown by, when attacked by this sore distemper, which through the blessing of God upon my diligent application, and almost incessant and indefatigable studies, I did, with so good success, under the instruction of my beloved master, George Croft, master of the free-school at Skipton, that in five years time, I attained so much of the knowledge of those called learned languages, that I was judged by my said master to be fit for Cambridge or Oxford. With this good success, and through the mercy of kind providence, I was, in a good measure, mercifully preserved in the aforesaid school, from running into the liberties which pupils at such places are very liable to be drawn into. Yet I must, from real experience of a case of this kind, say, considering the many bad examples, undue liberties, difficulties and dangers that Friends' children may expect to meet with, that are imprudently and unadvisedly put to such schools, all Friends, who have their children's welfare at heart, should be very careful not to expose them to those dangers.

I may give three reasons for my being put to such a school: first, I had no probability of getting my bread if I should not attain to a good share of learning, being unfit for mechanic or servile labour; secondly, we having no Friends' school near us, I was not in such a state of health or strength as to be sent abroad as a boarder; and in case I had been fit; thirdly, my father's circumstances in the world, I suppose, would not have been sufficient to answer the expenses of board and schooling. Therefore I was excited to exert all my faculties, though small in comparison, to attain so much literature as might in some sort countervail the disadvantages I laid under on the score of my bodily weakness; and by my unwearied sedulity, under the blessing of Providence, I outstripped my fellows that were endowed with larger parts than myself: so was the maxim once more verified,—Sedulity masters difficulty: "Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi, sed sæpe cadendo."

On the 27th of the tenth month, 1703, I opened a school of my own in my father's house, which, through the assistance and continued blessing of God upon my honest endeavours, I managed in some degree to good purpose, though through many exercises on various accounts, having constantly in our house boarders, sometimes above forty in number.

I met with no small disturbance from Roger

Mitton, priest of Skipton, who in vain endeavoured, for several years, to root out the Quaker's seminary, as he styled my school, at Skipton. In vain said I? Yea, verily, for he could never obtain his desired ends, neither by casting me into prison, nor any other ways extirpate my seminary, though he rigidly prosecuted me both at the quarter sessions and in the spiritual court, so called, at one and the same time, for teaching school without license.

But before I proceed to say any more on that head, let me relate to the reader that God, who is no respecter of persons, but in his universal love, shineth in the hearts of all men, in a day of visitation, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, like as the sun in the outward firmament, that greater light to rule the day, that lively sign of God's merciful extendings of universal and saving grace and favour to the children of men, displays its enlightening and comfortable beams into and upon the solitary cottages of the lowest subjects, as freely as into and upon the most stately palaces of the greatest monarchs and potentates in the earth, graciously condescended to shine into my soul, who was a despicable creature in my young years; whereby I saw myself, my own frailties, errors, and unworthiness on the one hand, and the goodness and greatness of my merciful and gracious Creator on the other. By this sight and sense I was brought to an humble and grateful acknowledgment of the Lord's wonderful condescension, in regarding the very low estate of me his poor servant, who accounted myself as a worm and no man. Those divine impressions being frequently made upon me, both in meetings and in private retirements, I was prevailed on, somewhat like Jacob at Bethel, to enter into covenant with the Lord my God, which covenant the Lord signally fulfilled unto me, and helped me, his humble servant, in some degree to perform my part thereof to my righteous Lord and benefactor; so that I was manifestly blessed in basket and store, according to that ancient and conditional promise to Israel of old: "And ye shall serve the Lord your God, and he shall bless thy bread and thy water."

Moreover, as religion, and a religious exercise of heart, grew and increased in me, and I therein, I felt drawings in my mind to say something in religious meetings by way of public testimony; to which concern, after divers reasonings and consultations, I at length gave up, on the 20th of the ninth month, 1711, in the meeting-house at Rillston, Thomas Burton from Norwich having appointed a meeting there that day. My first appearance was on this wise, with a loud voice,—It is weightily upon me to say, "Friends, stand open! stand open! stand open! Oh! how few are concerned for the afflictions of Joseph! Look not about you, but open your hearts to the Lord! Make ready, and I believe the Lord will be near to your comfort and his own praise, to whom be praises now and for evermore. When you come to the meeting, then is the time to work; do not wait only to know what you can hear from others, &c.," or to that import; which was to me such an open time, and I was, in my own apprehension, in so much authority, that I was ready to suppose I had got the worst past. But oh! the heavy exercises which soon after fell upon me, bowed me mighty low, and gave me such a turn of thought, that I readily concluded all was not over, but quite the reverse, that I was even just entering a large field of exercising engagements, finding the station of a minister attended with many humbling, stripping probations.

For on the 22nd of the same ninth month, a great weight seized me, to go through the town of Skipton, and call the inhabitants thereof to repentance, which concern and burthen grew heavier and heavier towards the middle part of that day, so that I could rest in no place; however, keeping it to myself, I went to meeting, it being our week-day meeting, where I was in great distress, having not given up to the concern. After meeting I returned home, and remained under the same anxiety of soul. Next morning came, and the same concern fell again weightily upon me, growing heavier and heavier, as before, insomuch, that I went out of the school into a place apart to crave the Lord's assistance in the discharge of my duty. The weight growing intolerable, I privately laid the matter before my father, who, at the hearing thereof, broke out into tears, and calling my mother into the parlour, acquainted her therewith, whereupon she fell upon her knees in humiliation before the Lord, to implore his aid; and at her rising up she encouraged me, saying,—Be not cast down. We all three wept. After some little pause I gave up, and going to the street-door, and pulling off my hat, cried out on this wise,—There's an exercise upon me to warn the inhabitants of Skipton to repent of their fornications, drunkenness, pride, covetousness, arrogancy, and all their evil ways, for a dismal day is coming over England, for its ingratitude.

The 28th of the aforesaid ninth month, I gave up to another weighty concern that came upon me, to go into the dancing-school in Skipton. Entering the school, I asked the man, who seemed most like to be the master, if he was the master of that school? Who replied, yes. I said, I was come to warn him to desist from that his ungodly practice, &c., further adding, that I believed he was secretly judged for his said practice. Whereunto I could not

remember that the man made any answer, but was very mild, and said, he believed what I said was with a good intent.

About the same time an additional exercise fell upon me, concerning the superstition and extravagancies run into at the time called Christmas. Wherefore I could not be easy but go to Keighley, on the great market-day there, immediately preceding the said time, and upon a step of the Cross of that town, openly declare against the said vain customs; having been already very zealously engaged to dissuade Friends from observing that time, in that extravagant and superstitious way, or promoting or upholding people's vain customary observation of the same, by providing and selling extraordinary quantities of such things as supply them, and gratify their licentious minds; accounting Christendom's customs of celebrating this time, like a piece of idolatry, such an almost innumerable number of creatures being annually slain, and, as it were, sacrificed to men's lusts, or at least, to their inordinate feastings, often using the exhortation of the apostle, Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

In the thirty-third year of my age, at Todmorden, on the edge of Lancashire, I married Mary Storrs, the youngest daughter of William Storrs, formerly of Chesterfield in Derbyshire, who died of her first child.

After that, having struggled through many temptations, tribulations and probations, in an anxious widowhood of near nine years, in which time my aged and honourable father, John Hall died, I took to my second wife, Anne Foster, the eldest daughter of Christopher Foster, of Rillston, by whom I had nine children.

Within three weeks after my second marriage, my honourable mother, Elizabeth Hall, departed this life, having often said in my widowhood, if I would get a good wife, she thought she should not stay long in this life; intimating her apprehension, that her life was prolonged, through the favour of kind providence, for my sake.

All this while I grew in my gift, though my goings were as under the mountains; for I met with divers trials on various accounts, of which this was not one of the least, viz.; when I had forty three pupils boarded in my house, the small-pox raged amongst them, so that five out of twenty-seven, that had not the disease before, died, being South-country boys, far distant from their parents, which came very close to my heart; for, though I have had a boarding-school thirty-two years, I never buried any besides five, nor had any so much as a bone broken in all that time.

Notwithstanding my confining province, I diligently attended the monthly and quarterly meetings to which I belonged, and also visited the meetings of Friends in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham, Derbyshire; twice Cheshire, twice Northumberland. And several times I was at London yearly meeting, having commonly an usher or deputy to leave with the boys at home.

In a meeting at Rawden, at the burial of Josiah Grimshaw, I was speaking of perfection, and the end of Christ's coming, viz. to put an end to sin, and to finish transgression, and to bring in everlasting righteousness; and that he was manifested to destroy the works of the devil; and that such persons as profess to war against sin, and at the same time do not believe they can ever overcome, are in a poor case, or to that effect. At which some rigid Presbyterians, then present, were so galled, that some years after they challenged a dispute with me at Bradford, which to some degree of satisfaction, was had in the presence of divers Friends at Benjamin Bartlett's house in the said town, where one of the Presbyterians asserted to this purpose, "that God was able, but not willing to save all men."

On the 18th of the first month 1724, a couple of Friends were married at Rillston; I was at the solemnization of it, and together with Thomas Anderson, and some others, accompanied the bridegroom and bride to their habitation, where an evening meeting was held; at which a certain young man, who in a vain mind, came to the house of the newly married couple, was convinced, and a while after came forth in public.

Note also, that for the good of my pupils, that they might in their blooming years imbibe the sound principles of the pure and undefiled religion, and receive early impressions thereof in their tender minds, I generally kept little meetings in my house or school when at home, every third and seventh-day evening. In these I waited upon the Lord with the boys, and as I found openness and freedom, fed my lambs, either by causing them to read the Holy Scriptures by turns, and making observations to them upon the same, or by ordering them alternately to read other religious books, or giving sometimes my own mind and experience, to encourage the good, and discourage the evil in them all; having, as I often said, a greater regard to my scholars advantage, than to gain their parents' money. I loved my good Master, and therefore fed his lambs with pleasure; yet not without exercise from some that would needs creep through, or break the hedge.

Having now, through the gracious assistance of divine providence, and the instrumental help of my excellent yoke-fellow and consort Anne, rubbed through various difficulties, in the fifty-

third year of my age, at the request of my said dearly beloved wife, who, by reason of the great fatigue attending the boarding-school, grew now much indisposed, as to her bodily health, I resigned my school to George Routh, my usher, (who about that time, married Elizabeth Birtwhistle,) as also great part of my house and household goods, reserving a suitable apartment and utensils for the necessary accommodation of my own family and my friends. This we did with a view to live more retired and comfortably together, and that I might be more at liberty to wait on such service as I might think myself called to. But though man proposeth, God disposeth. For, oh! the uncertainty of the very best of these temporary enjoyments! alas! how great is the vicissitude of human affairs, and of all sublunary things, how excellent soever in their time and place! Vanity of vanities, all is vanity below the sun! We had not lived much above two months together in this our long desired private and retired way, before, alas! alas! it pleased Almighty God to take unto himself my second wife, who had been unto me a choice help-meet, the darling of my bosom, the support of my declining years, and far the most excellent of all my temporal enjoyments, next to my own life. She left me with three small children, John, Elizabeth and Sarah. For a considerable time my mourning and grief stuck close by me, having now sorrowfully followed to the silent grave two choice wives, a tender and pious father and mother, six of my own children, and five of my scholars. But God, who is good unto Israel, and especially to the upright, and commiserateth the case of the tribulated, of whom it is testified in Scripture, and witnessed in the experience of his approved servants, viz. "God setteth the solitary in families; he bringeth out those which are bound with chains, but the rebellious dwell in a dry land," mercifully lifted up my drooping head, so that in the third month 1736, I visited Friends in the east of Yorkshire, Bishoprick, and part of Northumberland, John Binns being my companion. In the fifty-fourth year of my age I was enabled to visit most of Friends families in the monthly meeting I belonged to, and also to visit the meetings of Friends in Scotland and Ireland, Jeremy Whalley being my companion in Scotland, and Thomas Anderson in Ireland. Some time after my return from Ireland, I visited Friends as far as Bristol, George Dawson being my companion, where I was at three meetings, and thence proceeded as far as Puddimore; then returned home about the 16th of the twelfth month 1737, where I staid a while.

In the first month, and beginning of the second month 1738, I visited some meetings in Yorkshire and Bishoprick, and was at the great and notable solemnity, or circular yearly meeting at Preston in Lancashire. On the 5th of the third month, I set forward to visit the meetings of Friends on my road to London yearly meeting, after which I went from thence, and visited part of Surrey, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight, part of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire and Cornwall, the three last pretty thoroughly; so returned by Bristol, Worcester, Birmingham, Leek, Manchester, &c. and reached Skipton the 27th of the eighth month 1738, William Gott having been my companion.

I was at Kendal quarterly meeting the 5th of the eleventh month 1738, and at the general meeting at Preston-patrick: I also visited Grayrigg, Bentham and Settle meetings. In the twelfth and first month 1738–9, I visited part of the Dales of Yorkshire, Kendal, and Crook general meeting, Langdale, Hawshead, Height, Swarthmore, Lancaster, Bentham, and Wray, also Settle.

In the second month 1739, I set out for Liverpool, thence to Chester yearly meeting, thence to Staffordshire, and visited all the meetings in that county; was at Nottingham great annual meeting, and at Breach general meeting; thence by Coventry and Warwick to London, and visited all the meetings in that city. Then I visited the meetings in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Lincolnshire, and returned to Skipton about the 4th of the eighth month following.

On the 5th of the third month 1740, I took to wife Deborah (the eldest daughter of Daniel Story) widow of Thomas Atkinson of Ashes, in Westmoreland: we were married at Preston-patrick meeting-house in the said county.

In the year 1741, having spent three or four years in visiting Friends, I resumed my former employment of a school-master, yet not with a design to have so numerous a boarding-school as I formerly had. According to which purpose we proceeded, having sometimes a dozen boarders, sometimes more, sometimes fewer, finding it somewhat difficult to limit ourselves to a set number, though desirous not to be much encumbered. And although we met with some unpleasant occurrences, yet, with humble gratitude I may say, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us."

About the latter end of the year 1746, I was attacked with a sore disorder, whereby I was brought very low, as some thought near to the silent grave; but was in a short time so far restored, as to be capable to attend my school and our own meeting, but pretty much rendered incapable of travelling abroad among my friends. Yet through the great mercy of kind Providence, I have been enabled at times to pay some visits to neighbouring meetings on divers occasions; and humbly hope I can, in some measure, now in the seventy-first year of my age, Anno

Domini 1753, with many of the poor in Israel, say, godliness with contentment, is great gain; having, I humbly trust, some comfortable share of that highly valuable legacy of peace in my confinement at, or near home, left by our gracious Lord and Master to his disciples, in all their tribulations they may meet with in this world. In going through all these, and even in the whole course of their pilgrimage, the true followers and soldiers of the Lamb of God, will obtain the victory, be taught and enabled by him, in Christian patience, to bear all indignities and affronts offered them, and carefully to endeavour to give none; but, by copying after, and faithfully warring under the glorious captain, Christ our Lord and Master, they will learn more and more to reduce to constant practice that beautiful and really Christian principle, bear and forbear, and forgive injuries. Did all but proceed on this wise, under the blessed government of our peaceable Saviour and holy Head, then would peace and harmony be enjoyed and maintained throughout the whole body, the church of Christ.

A brief recital of some of the gracious dealings of the Lord with his servant John Hall, late of Skipton in Craven, Yorkshire, as received from his own mouth and manuscript, by David Hall.

John Hall, son of John and Elizabeth Hall, of Ayrton in Craven, in the west part of Yorkshire, was born in the year 1637; and as to religion, his parents, to the best of their understanding, carefully educated him in the national way of worship of those commonly called Episcopalians, or the church of England.

At the age of fourteen years he was bound apprentice for seven years to a tailor, which term he faithfully served; and having spent some time, and gained further experience in journey-work, he set up for himself, and through the blessing of God upon his endeavours, he got into a good trade, and was often employed in the families of men of great note and circumstances, and had in esteem and repute amongst them. He was capable and ready to gratify them in the modes, cuts, fashions, and superfluities of the times, being himself at that time a youth gay and modish in apparel, sprightly and jovial in spirit, swimming as it were, with wind and tide towards the profits and pleasures of this fading world, yet all along preserved from the gross enormities thereof.

But when God, who by his Spirit in the beginning, when things were confused and out of order, moved upon the waters, and commanded "light to shine out of darkness," was pleased to shine into his heart, "to give him the knowledge of God, in the face of his Son Jesus Christ," to the end that things which were out of order might be brought right, that the new birth and creation in him might be begun, duly carried on, and thoroughly accomplished, that he might witness a coming unto Christ, the true sabbath of rest; and by being made a new creature in him, might know a ceasing from his own works, he was secretly disquieted, and not finding true satisfaction of soul under the dry ministry, either of the hireling priests he mostly used to hear, or in the notions of high professors of other denominations, he was conscientiously concerned to seek after life and substance.

Now it so happened that a Friend, one Gervase Benson, had a meeting near unto the place where my father lived; he therefore, being minded to go to the meeting, went, and found them sitting in silence, which seemed to him a strange thing; and not knowing the advantage thereof, he retreated and walked into the fields. A while after returning near the meeting-place, the Friend Gervase was declaring; he therefore approached, and leaning his head to the door-post, was so reached that tears trickled down his cheeks. Notwithstanding which, being some time after at a silent meeting, he was uneasy with it, but resolved to go to one meeting more, and if there were no words, he thought to go no more. So he went, and standing at the door, Friends beckoned to him that he might come in and sit among them; he thereupon sat down with them in silence, but presently the power of the Lord seized upon him, and broke him down, so that he was fully convinced of the blessed truth in that silent meeting, and never turned his back thereon to his dying day.

Now the light, the just man's path, "which shines more and more to the perfect day," made further discoveries unto him. For whereas aforetime he had gratified the vain minds of men and women in the fashions and superfluities then in vogue, now he found a restriction laid upon him, and a conscientious scruple in doing such like things. Howbeit, for a short time, through reasonings, and permitting his servant or servants, who wrought with him, to have some hand in the doing it, he did not at first thoroughly renounce all those superfluities and the profits that might seem to accrue therefrom; but the light shone brighter and brighter, and discovered things further and further. And as he sat in a meeting upon a certain day, he was remarkably affected in body, so that his hands were drawn together, the use of his limbs taken from him, and he fell down on the floor, where he laid for some time, to the admiration of the spectators.

After this, which he took to be a dispensation of the righteous judgments of the Lord, for his being instrumental in setting on of lace on women's apparel, and other superfluities of the

times, which frequently occurred in his business, he was sweetly favoured with an immediate succession of a refreshing ministration of consolation, so that he could experimentally sing of judgment and of mercy. From that time forward he durst never set on any lace or other superfluous ornaments, or gratify the proud minds of men and women in the vain fashions and changeable modes of the times, neither with his own hands, nor the hands of his servants, what disadvantage soever it might seem to be unto him. But blessed be the Lord, who is worthy to be loved, served, obeyed and trusted, who was with Jacob in the house of his uncle Laban, and prospered what he put his hand unto, although his wages were changed ten times; he was with his servant, and is with all who faithfully follow the leadings and drawings of the light and truth, even to the giving an hundred-fold in this world, and in the world to come, life everlasting.

Soon after this he was sent for, by a great man, to go to his house to make up some very fine clothes. When he and his man came to the place and saw the work, behold it was very fine, and to be wrought with many superfluities, which for conscience sake he durst not undertake. Upon his refusal, they told him, that he might let his man do them; but he said, he durst neither permit his man to do them, nor assist him. Then they told him, they must employ another tailor; he was willing to lose all rather than his peace with the Lord. He freely turned his back on all that worldly interest, and Providence so favoured his conscientious care, that he got plain work enough, and his wages increased; and as he was faithful in a little, the Lord made greater things manifest unto him. In the very families where, in the time of his ignorance, he had been light, airy, and wanton, he was now made to reprove vanity, and bear a living testimony to the everlasting God, both in word, doctrine, life and conversation. For it pleased God through Christ, "who ascended on high, and led captivity captive," to dispense to him a gift and talent in the free and living ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he, through his blessing, improved to God's honour, and the comfort of souls, he being rather a waterer, and a son of consolation, than a son of thunder; his gift was in the simplicity of the gospel, tendering, quickening and refreshing.

In his early days, soon after his convincement, a weighty concern came upon his mind, to go to the steeple-house, and stand before the priest, while he was speaking in the pulpit, under whose ministry aforetime he had often sat; to which concern he gave up, and going into the steeple-house, stood by the priest, and with a steady countenance silently fixed his eyes upon him, wherewith the priest was so confounded, that he called out to the wardens to come and take him away. But they knowing him to be a sober neighbour, and seeing him stand still and silent, were not hasty to execute the priest's command; whereupon the priest being wholly at a stop, and beginning to close his book, cries out, If you will not come and take him away, I will take him away myself. Then the wardens, or some of the people, put him out of doors.

The priest fell to his work again, and my father came in again at a back-door, and found it his place silently to face the priest, as before, at which the priest being now a second time confounded, they put him again out of doors. After a little while the congregation were dismissed, and he cleared himself among the people in the grave-yard.

On a certain day he was working at the house of a high professor. They sat down to meat together. The priest having said what he called his grace, seeing my father sitting retired, he said, Come, John, come eat; to which he replied, When I have done the will of the Lord, and answered his requirings, then I shall eat with thee. Having spoken this, he was drawn forth to prayer and thanksgiving unto the Lord. The priest put off his hat, and was very calm and quiet, many of the family being present in the room, some of whom seemed to be pretty much tendered and reached by the truth; after which concern of prayer was over, he being cheerful and easy, said to the priest, Come, now I can eat with thee. Many other exercises he had in great men's houses, through which the Lord was pleased to lead him gently and safely, which, for brevity's sake, are here omitted. And although he came forth, as it were, in a winter season, when the penal laws were in force, he was not discouraged, but willingly suffered the spoiling of his goods for truth's sake; when he was very low in the world, the informers took from him a mare, on which he used to ride to meetings.

After some time he removed to Skipton, where he bore a living testimony to the truth, both in doctrine and conversation.

In the year 1682 he was taken with a capias warrant for bearing his testimony at a meeting, and kept prisoner until Knaresborough sessions, and being fined, was released. Then was taken from him almost all the substance that he had in the world, insomuch that he, his wife, small children, and servants, were forced to borrow bedding to lie upon the chamber floor, neither had they left them so much as necessary vessels to eat their meat in; but by keeping near to the Lord, he was prospered and blessed in his undertaking, and through the favour of Providence, he recruited in the world, and lived reputably

among his neighbours. But the officers, who at that time seemed in good circumstances, and were so rigorous in the execution of the said law upon him, thenceforward went to decay, and their families, insomuch that one of them made an open and plain confession to my mother, and asked her, if she had cursed him for taking her husband's goods? No, replied she. Well, says he, but I am cursed, for I never throve since I took your goods, nor ever must.

In the year 1683 he was taken again with a capias warrant, and kept prisoner till the quarter sessions at Skipton, and then released.

Again, he and his wife were taken twice the same year with capias warrants; once he went to Knaresborough sessions, and another time to Wetherby, and was not called for again.

In the year 1684 he was taken with a warrant for his said testimony, and kept prisoner one day, and was released. So the Lord made way for him, who makes way for all who faithfully follow him, be their difficulties what they may.

He kept an inn at Skipton for the space of thirteen years, and kept his authority nobly in the truth, while in that place, not allowing drunkenness, singing, dancing, music, or excess in his house, but bearing his testimony faithfully against intemperance, ruled well his own house, and kept it for necessary accommodation.

He was also several other times taken with capias warrants and carried to the sessions, but always released after a short time. He was all along faithful in his testimony against paying tithes, steeple-house rates, &c., according to his measure, being zealous for the maintaining and keeping up the hedge of discipline in the church, strict and conscientious in the nurture and education of his children, not suffering them to associate themselves with others in their vain games or pastimes. When it pleased God, who, for his great name's sake, and the redemption of his people, smote the Red sea, and made a way for his people to pass safely through; I say, when it pleased God to change the hearts of the government, so that there was a great calm, and a Christian toleration and liberty of conscience established, and a summer season, and as it were, a sabbath of rest was enjoyed in our land; as the Lord had preserved him from taking a flight in the winter season, so also now he preserved him in this sabbath-day. As a pure and immortal spring of divine love and virtue, which the Lord had opened in his heart, was not frozen with the chilliness of the winter time, so neither was it dried up with the drought that attended summer; but, as a good spring, strong and deep, kept running in a sweet current. He often lamented the state of those that were backward and cool in their love to the unchangeable truth, and in attending meetings, now in this time of outward ease and liberty, when he considered how much, and how willingly, Friends suffered formerly in maintaining their necessary and Christian testimony in keeping to first-day and week-day meetings, and other meetings for truth's service; often rehearsing his former sufferings with great joy, and often declaring, that in well doing there is great peace; and frequently, towards the latter end of his time, testified in public, that the truth was as precious as ever.

He was a diligent attender of meetings, both quarterly, monthly and preparative, first-days and week-days, and sometimes of the yearly-meeting at London. His travels were not very much abroad, save in this county, and some other southern parts of England. The Lord his God made him bold in the truth, yet meek. He was an innocent man, a sincere Friend, a loving husband, a kindly affectionate father, a good and peaceable neighbour, and a grateful receiver of God's mercies, whether spiritual or temporal. In a word, he was of that pure religion before God the Father, even to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep from the spots of the world.

When he drew nigh to the end of his course, he often said, he had nothing to do but to die, and that he was at peace with the Lord and all men. In the very even-tide of his time he flourished in the truth. He took his last leave of Friends, in several places of this county, in much freshness, love, and living zeal. By dwelling in the house of the Lord he brought forth fruit in his old age, openly declaring often, that his heart and house were as open to Friends as ever; with several other sweet expressions, often remembered by some, which are here omitted. His lamp was trimmed, and by the oil of the kingdom was maintained shining and burning.

On the 11th of the ninth month 1719, having been about a week somewhat infirm in body, he expired like a lamb, and laid down his head in peace with God and all men, aged eighty-two years, and his body was decently interred in Friends' burying-ground in Skipton, where several living testimonies were borne to the honour of God, and the mutual comfort of his people there present. DAVID HALL.

A general Epistle to Friends, to be read in their respective quarterly and monthly meetings.

DEAR FRIENDS,—I do not see that I can return clear and easy to my habitation, except I leave this farewell epistle behind me, whereby I tenderly salute you in much brotherly-kindness and charity, and do humbly recommend

the following advices to the serious consideration of the fathers, the young men, and the children, being the three degrees, classes, or ranks in the church, to which the beloved apostle John distinctly wrote, saying, "I write unto you fathers, because you have known Him that is from the beginning; I write unto you young men, because ye have overcome the wicked one; I write unto you little children, because ye have known the Father."

First, you therefore, fathers, mothers, elders, and ministers in the church; I earnestly entreat you to come up faithfully in your respective stations and services in your day and generation, carefully watching and praying, that nothing here below may unfit you for, or divert you from, the right performance of your duties to God and his people; but that ye may, in the pure liberty of the spirit of truth, with true zeal, guarded by divine wisdom, "feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock; and when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."

Oh! consider how many wrong things have crept and are creeping in among the professors of the blessed truth, as pride, covetousness, conformity to, and copying after, this vain world, company-keeping, and other hurtful things, which it is your indispensable duty impartially to stand against, and endeavour as much as possible to redress, both by precept and precedent. And you parents of children, I fervently exhort to take a particular care to bring up your tender offspring in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to be in a Christian care and concern for the preservation and salvation of your servants also, even as ye could desire others might do to your children, if they were their servants; for, with the Lord, the soul of the servant is as the soul of the master or mistress.

And oh! Friends, be nobly and warmly concerned for the maintaining and keeping up of the honourable and necessary church discipline and good order, upon the right and true foundation thereof, having the truth at heart, and your eye solely to the glory of God, and the good of the Society; having no respect of persons for the sake of friendship, favour, interest, or kinship, or any other views whatever. For the shepherds and principal men in the flock, the pillars in the church, who are as stakes in the hedge, must be well grounded, founded and rooted upon the Rock, and in the root of life established in the faith and practical part of pure religion; so that as ye sit at the helm of church government and discipline, ye may really be under the government and discipline of the blessed cross of Christ. So speak and so act as men having authority, and not as the scribes. Thus will ye be directed and helped impartially, and in a Christian meek spirit, to place due judgment upon the head of the transgressor, and to be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise and encouragement to those who do well. Thus truly concerned at your hearts, you will find it your incumbent duty, your great satisfaction, and the church's interest, after a fatherly manner, to labour with the young and rising generation, and to train up and usher in, example and encourage, the orderly and religious amongst them, to attend monthly and quarterly meetings. There not only to see and understand, but also, in the wisdom of truth, to put their hands and hearts to the management of the affairs of the church, that when it shall please the Lord to call the elders off the stage they may depart in peace, leaving the care of God's husbandry and building in the hands of hopeful, well qualified, and well instructed successors, who will, by the direction of the good Husbandman and Master-builder, labour to fence, plant, water, weed, and build up, in the most holy faith.

And oh! dear Friends, use your best endeavours to suppress the growth of pride, and the vain fashions of the world, in your respective families and meetings, in habit, speech, and deportment; as also, that vile practice of backbiting and tale-bearing, pursuant to the following Scriptures, viz.—"Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines, for our vines have tender grapes." "Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people." "Thou shalt not raise a false report," (or, as in the margin, "receive a false report.") "Wherefore laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil-speakings, as new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby."

Likewise, you young men and women, I cordially exhort you seriously to ponder in your hearts these three things, viz.: the end of your creation; your own indispensable duty, and your most certain interest annexed to the right performance of your said duty, both touching this life and the future; and also, the present circumstances of the church. Now as to the first, ye were created to glorify God, which ye cannot do, but by bringing forth the fruits of the spirit,—"Herein, says Christ, is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be my disciples." Now this fruit ye cannot bring forth, except ye take up a daily cross to the flesh, which is the opposite root to the spirit, and the fruits of it. Therefore, dear young people, bear the cross, that ye may wear the crown, and rightly apply to the Lord for the

help of his all-sufficient grace; that so, secondly, you may answer your duty called for by the Father and the Son, viz.—"I will yet for this be inquired of by the house of Israel." "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." Which godly exercise is advantageous to all who are found in it, both as to this and the other world, as is evidently manifest in the apostle Paul's fatherly admonition to his son Timothy; "But refuse," says he, "profane and old wives fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness, for bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

So, dear Friends, as ye come under these due considerations, ye cannot but with regret observe the state and dwindling condition of the church in divers parts; how the places of many of our faithful elders and ministers up and down are empty, and few seem rightly concerned to come under suitable qualifications to succeed them, and come up in their stations; which when we note, together with the loose courses and undue liberties of many who profess the truth, who can but cry out with the afflicted prophet Jeremiah? "For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt, I am black. Astonishment hath taken hold on me. Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?" And again, "Oh! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people." And oh! mind the consequences of swerving away from the truth into libertinism, in chap. ix. 13, 14, 15: "And the Lord saith, because they have forsaken my law which I set before them, and have not obeyed my voice, neither walked therein, but have walked after the imagination of their own hearts; therefore, thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, behold I will feed them, even this people, with wormwood, and give them water of gall to drink." Oh! may we not sometimes, and in some places, take up a lamentation much like unto this, in a degree,—"The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts; all her gates are desolate, her priests sigh, her virgins are afflicted, and she is in bitterness." Therefore come away, oh! ye youths of this generation, I beseech you, come away from the ends of the earth, and from all earthly ends, which would obstruct. Consider these things, and let the glory of God, the salvation of your souls, and the service of the church in this your day, move you to arise from every bed of ease and false rest, and make timely and suitable application for a double portion of that good spirit which dwelt in our faithful elders, who were in their day valiant for the truth upon the earth; that under these qualifications ye may duly fill their vacant places, and brightly succeed them, as Elisha did Elijah. Please to remember king David's dying advice to his son Solomon, viz.—"And thou Solomon my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind; for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts. If thou seek him, he will be found of thee, but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever."

Although the visitation and loving kindness of our merciful God be graciously extended to you, in order to make you truly happy and serviceable here, and to fit you for glory hereafter; yet it is very plain, that the god of this world, the prince of the power of the air, is exceedingly busy about you in these your flourishing days, in order to blind that eye which the Lord hath mercifully opened in you, and in cunningly laying divers snares for your feet. I beseech you therefore by the mercies of God, avoid unsuitable company, which has often proved of pernicious consequences to many, both of the elder and younger rank, by drawing them into intemperance and excess of divers kinds; the source and cause of many hurtful and pernicious effects, both respecting soul, body, estate and reputation, as is too apparent by those who follow it. It makes to them all profession of religion null and void, and gradually darkeneth the understanding, vitiates the mind, and alienates it from God, and so deprives the creature of the most comfortable enjoyment of his presence in this world, the highest attainment we are capable of arriving at here below. It emaciates the body, and fills it with many grievous pains and infirmities; and too often renders such unable to pay their just debts, and reduces them to want, and many innocent wives and children to the utmost distress of circumstance, scarcely to be retrieved in an age with the greatest diligence. Besides, intemperance, with its consequences, exceedingly degrades men and women, who have been of credit and reputation, and reduces them to a level with the meanest part of mankind, and brings a very great and heavy reproach upon the religious profession they make; and which is worse, without repentance, renders their souls unworthy of an admittance into the kingdom of God hereafter. Oh! consider in time these dreadful consequences, and how much unlike our Christian and high profession these evils are, and how contrary to that excellent precept of Christ, viz.—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." And also to the apostle's exhortation, viz.—

"Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God: give none offence, neither to the Jews or to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God."

There is another snare, very prevalent in these our sorrowful times, especially of late, viz. the contracting of marriages with persons of different persuasion in point of religion, whereby many have laid a foundation for lasting repentance; divine providence signally manifesting His displeasure against such unhappy and disagreeable matches. For in their very nature and tendency, they bring trouble into Society; sorrow upon good parents; anguish upon the party immediately concerned; much confusion, manifold perplexities and inconveniences into families; and lastly, an almost irreparable loss to their offspring, in relation to their religious education. Therefore, dearly beloved, duly observe our dear Lord's excellent precept,—"Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation." And that of the wise man,—"If sinners entice thee, consent thou not;" for, as saith the apostle, "evil communications corrupt good manners." Moreover, ye fathers, be good way-marks to the young people; and ye, beloved young people, be good patterns to the children; and ye, tender children, who have in some degree happily known the Father, be ye good examples in word and action to those dear little babes and lambs in the flock, who as yet have known little or nothing of the touches of the love of the Father in their hearts; that so each superior and more experienced rank may say to the inferior, follow ye us as we follow Christ.

Now, my well beloved Friends, both fathers, young men and children, I must say unto you, that there are three sorts of professors of truth, viz. libertines, who dare drink to excess, and gratify their carnal appetites, in conformity to the spirit of this world and the vanities thereof. Secondly, some like the Laodiceans, who shunning open prophaneness and vice, are pretty temperate and just in their dealings, commerce and converse amongst men, who seem too much to centre contented there, in a cool or lukewarm frame of mind, and not to come up in true love to God, and zeal for his divine worship, which occasions a deficiency, or neglect sometimes, in attending meetings for worship. At other times, in not attending at the time appointed; and which is worse, in sitting there in a dull, drowsy, and sleepy disposition of mind and body, to the great shame and scandal of our profession and Society; it being absolutely repugnant to the spirituality of that gospel worship we pretend to. Whence proceeds also a dwarfishness and shortness in keeping up the several branches of our Christian testimony, which truth hath ever led the faithful professors thereof to maintain; particularly that very material and important one against paying or receiving tithe. Further, may we all consider, that the same grace and truth which teacheth to live soberly and righteously, and that which bringeth thus far, instructeth, advanceth and carrieth on the Christian scholar and proficient, truly pressing after perfection, to live godly, i. e. religiously, and in conformity in will and desire, to the will of God; short of which whoso resteth, be he never so regular in his visible conduct among men, or never so punctual in meum and tuum, he inevitably falls short of fully answering the requirings of the Almighty; for he that commands to do justly and to love mercy, also commands to walk humbly with God. And they, who by the teaching of the grace of God, thus do and persevere in sobriety, righteousness and godliness, are of the third and best sort of professors, and are alone the true Friends and thorough paced Christians, agreeably to the words of Christ, "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you." Such dare not content themselves in doing justly and loving mercy only, but are fervently engaged in soul to proceed in the sacred gradation, and run the race quite through to the end, that is, also to walk humbly with God; which will alone effectually prevent the many evils and enormities herein advised against, and also timely prevent that scandalous and detestable evil of insolvency already hinted at, which hath too often brought reproach on our Society, to the sorrow of the hearts of the faithful. Finally, dear Friends, in the words of Christ to his church, I once more entreat you: "Rise up and come away, for lo the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth, the time of singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land; the fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grapes give a good smell: Arise—and come away." That as the psalmist has it, "Our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace." That this may be the happy effect of your obedience, is the prayer of your sincere brother in the truth,

DAVID HALL.

From Sutton Benjar in Wiltshire, the 12th of the eighth month, 1758.

To Friends at the quarterly meeting in York, the 25th and 26th days of the fourth month 1746; being a caution against drowsiness in meetings of worship.

DEAR FRIENDS!—Under a sorrowful sense of the growth and spreading of some disagree-

able things in the church, in this time of liberty and rest from persecution, which we have long enjoyed, I cannot well any longer forbear, but hereby lay before you one of those grievous disorders, humbly craving your renewed endeavours, that the same, if possible, may be remedied.

The afflicting particular now before me, is one of those creeping weeds, rising in the summer time of ease, which although not ranked amongst immoralities, yet, nevertheless, is very ignominious and noxious to our Society, viz. dulness and sleeping in our religious meetings; which reproach would be removed from amongst us, if all the professors of Truth did observe and practice the faithful advice of the apostle to the primitive believers: "I beseech you, therefore, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service; and be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed, by the renewing of your mind, that you may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God." By which moving entreaty and exhortation we may understand, that in the right performance of divine worship unto Almighty God, we should endeavour so to appear before him, in such a living and reverent concern, as that even our very bodies may be as living and holy oblations to him. But alas! alas! it is too obvious, dulness, slumbering and sleeping prevail over too many, even when assembled on account of performing worship to the Lord, to the great reproach of our Society and holy profession, and particularly to the persons overtaken with this weakness, which is so very inconsistent with the spirituality of gospel worship professed by us. This grievous fault causes no small affliction to the faithful amongst us, and doubtless is an occasion of stumbling to sober enquirers, if they see such heaviness and dulness amongst us, who have justly disused set forms of worship, and sit in silence, under pretence of waiting for the moving and operating of the Spirit of truth, in which alone the Father is acceptably worshipped. If they observe several overcome with the dark spirit of slumber, may they not make their remarks on such unbecoming weakness? And doth it not render us and our silent meetings contemptible? May not the tender enquirers justly charge us with absurd inconsistency? And may not the frothy and airy make it the subject of ridicule? But oh! dear Friends that is not the worst; for our gracious God, who hath expressly said, I will be sanctified by them that come nigh me, is dishonoured by such poor dull souls, and they also deprive themselves of that spiritual benefit and divine goodness, which accrues to the true and living worshippers. Neither the bodies nor the spirits of such poor creatures, who have contracted that odious habit of sleeping in meetings, whilst under that dark cloud, are either living, holy, or acceptable sacrifices, not being transformed by the renewing of their minds, but being dull, dark and drowsy, are not in a capacity of knowing what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God, much less of doing it.

Wherefore, my dear Friends, I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, that you would exert yourselves in the wisdom of truth, to prevent this indecent frailty and disorder; for although the most effectual way of amending this and all other disorders is, that every one come to, and witness the real work and power of the all-sufficient grace and spirit of God; yet instrumental means, discreetly used, may be of singular service. And I hope it will become the care and concern of this meeting, to give seasonable and suitable advice to monthly and particular meetings, to entreat, exhort, and rebuke such on whom a negligent, lukewarm disposition of mind prevails, that they do watch and war against sleeping in meetings of divine worship. Oh! that such may be roused up to a sense, how they dishonour themselves and the truth they make profession of, and in watchfulness and prayer sit before the Lord in a living frame of mind, waiting for the comfortable, enlivening influences of the Holy Spirit, and not be again overcome with the evil now spoken of; which is the fervent desire and prayer of your exercised friend and brother,

DAVID HALL.

Skipton, the 23d of the fourth month, 1746.

P. S. All Friends, but more especially such who are liable to be overtaken with dulness and sleeping in meetings, should eat and drink sparingly betwixt meetings, where two meetings are held on one day.

A compassionate call, and hand reached forth in tender gospel love, to all such persons, as having once made profession of the blessed Truth, yet by some misconduct or other, have unhappily forfeited their unity with the Society of Friends; in what capacity, post or station soever in the Church they may have been; or in what circumstance of life soever they now stand, in their present disunited situation.

FRIENDS,—When I consider the matchless and inexpressible love of God, in sending his Son to save sinners; when I am helped to contemplate the gracious tenor of the glorious gospel, clearly and affectingly set forth in the parables of the Lost Sheep, the Prodigal Son, and the Good Samaritan; when I behold the father

running to meet his returning son; when I observe the kiss with which he welcomed him home, and how he commanded the best robe to be brought forth and put on him, and the ring to be put on his hand; together with the shoes for his feet, weary with his long vagaries in the far country; when I remember our Saviour's heart-affecting saying, "the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost;" together with the express charge he gave to his twelve apostles, when he sent them forth as sheep in the midst of wolves, to publish the glad tidings of the gospel; "Go not," saith he, "into the way of the Gentiles, and into any cities of the Samaritans enter ye not; but go ye rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; and as ye go, preach, saying, the kingdom of heaven is at hand: heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils;" my heart within me is deeply affected, yea, even my very bowels are moved towards you poor, dear souls, who may have so far missed your way, as that you have set yourselves at a distance from your brethren. And hereby, in the sweet sense and feeling of the unparalleled love and mercy of the everlasting gospel of peace and reconciliation, I salute you, and most cordially invite you in the name of the great and good Shepherd of the sheep, who hath laid down his life for you, to look homeward; make the best of your way to your Father's house again; return to God by true repentance without delay, which is the way to the fold of true rest. "The Spirit and the Bride say, come; and let him that is athirst, come; and whoever will, let him take the water of life freely." Please to take notice, that the sick, the lepers, the dead, the possessed with devils, were to be the peculiar objects of regard, to whom those early ambassadors of Christ were first to administer special and suitable relief, according to the directions of him the blessed Messias, the effectual repairer of breaches, and the merciful restorer of right paths to dwell in, from which mankind in the fall hath miserably strayed.

O therefore, let the exhortation of the prophet Hosea universally obtain and prevail with all that are out of the way! "Come, and let us return unto the Lord; for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us; in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight. Then shall we know, if we follow on to know the Lord, his going forth is prepared as the morning; and he shall come unto us as the rain, as the latter and former rain unto the earth."

O, dear souls, may this be your steady resolution, and you may yet do well; the merciful arms of our most gracious Saviour are ever open to receive penitent sinners. O remember and practice the apostle's encouraging advice: "Submit yourselves to God; resist the devil and he will flee from you; draw nigh to God and he will draw nigh unto you; cleanse your hands, ye sinners, and purify your hearts, ye double minded; be afflicted, and mourn, and weep; humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall lift you up." There is a blessed and open door, even faith in Christ, repentance and amendment of life, whereby all poor souls, who have missed their way in any respect (the sin against the Holy Ghost excepted) may re-enter into the precious favour of a merciful God, and be reconciled to him through Jesus Christ. Please to read the royal Psalmist's penitential prayer, Psalm li., also Deut. xxx.

O dear souls return unto the Lord, be mindful of his repeated calls, and gracious promises to the penitent, which run thus:—"Go and proclaim these words towards the north, and say, Return thou backsliding Israel, saith the Lord, and I will not cause mine anger to fall upon you, for I am merciful, saith the Lord, and I will not keep anger for ever. Only acknowledge thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against the Lord thy God. Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord, for I am married unto you; return ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings. We lie down in our shame, and our confusion covereth us; for we have sinned against the Lord our God." "Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin. Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart, and a new spirit; for why will ye die, O house of Israel! For I have no pleasure in him that dieth, saith the Lord God; wherefore turn yourselves and live ye." And in Isaiah, he saith to the degenerate Jews, "Wash ye, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

Moreover, king Solomon, at the dedication of the temple, in his most cordial intercession to the Lord on behalf of the people, whereby he gloriously represents, and typifies the sacred mediation of our blessed advocate, Jesus Christ, pours out his most fervent prayers on this wise:

"And if thy people Israel be put to the worse before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee; and shall return and confess thy

name, and pray, and make supplication before thee in this house; then hear thou from the heavens, and forgive the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which thou gavest to them and to their fathers.

"When the heaven is shut up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee; yet if they pray towards this place, and confess thy name, and turn from their sin when thou dost afflict them; then hear thou from heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants, and of thy people Israel, when thou hast taught them the good way, wherein they should walk; and send rain upon the land, which thou hast given unto thy people Israel for an inheritance.

"If there be dearth in the land, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting, or mildew, locusts, or caterpillars; if their enemies besiege them in the cities of their land; whatsoever sore, or whatsoever sickness there be; then what prayer, or what supplication soever shall be made of any man, or of all thy people Israel, when every one shall know his own sore, and his own grief, and shall spread forth his hands in this house; then hear thou from heaven, thy dwelling place, and forgive, and render unto every man according unto all his ways, whose heart thou knowest; for thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men; that they may fear thee, to walk in thy ways, so long as they live in the land, which thou gavest unto our fathers.

"If they sin against thee, for there is no man which sinneth not, and thou be angry with them, and deliver them over before their enemies, and they carry them away captive unto a land far off or near; yet if they bethink themselves in the land whither they are carried captive, and turn, and pray unto thee in the land of their captivity, saying, We have sinned, we have done amiss, and we have dealt wickedly; if they return to thee with all their hearts, and with all their soul, in the land of their captivity, whither they have carried them captive, and pray toward their land which thou gavest to their fathers, and toward the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house which I have built for thy name; then hear thou from the heavens, even from thy dwelling place, their prayer and their supplications, and maintain their cause, and forgive thy people which have sinned against thee."

To which humble address, the Majesty of heaven, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, returned the following most gracious answer, as his royal assent thereto, viz.—"If I shut up heaven that there be no rain, or if I command the locusts to devour the land, or if I send pestilence among my people; if my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land, &c."

Finally, dear souls, in the reachings forth of well-wishing love I earnestly entreat you all, that you do not entertain any hardness or resentment against any Friend, or Friends, surmising, that such and such have borne hard upon you in the administration of church discipline; for by so doing, you may soon still more hurt your conditions, block up your own way, and still set yourselves at a farther distance.

Some who have given just occasion, by their undue liberties, for the censure of the church, have nevertheless been so far from that humility that always attends true repentance, that their refractory deportment to their offended Friends hath heightened their offence, yea even shut close that door against themselves, whereby they might in due time probably have been readmitted into unity with the Society. It will, I assure you, dear souls, be much more pleasing, and acceptable to all the true in heart, to receive you again in at the door aforesaid than it was to exclude you; for, as Christ saith,—"More is the joy over one lost sheep, (over one sinner that repenteth) than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance, yea, even in the presence of the angels of God." Let no poor drooping souls therefore despair, or despond, for by the door aforesaid all may be reconciled, re-instated, and re-united, though far gone astray, as to the ends of the earth.

But yet, if it should ever so fall out, where any person or persons, in any place, should have given their Friends just occasion to exclude them from the unity of the Society, and such person or persons should be brought to a sense of, and godly sorrow for their misconduct, and show forth the same by an orderly and religious conversation, and keeping close to meetings for a considerable space of time; yet notwithstanding all this, if upon their application to Friends of the meeting to which he, she, or they did belong, to be received into unity with Friends, they may find some particular or particulars strongly to oppose and weigh against them in the obtaining their desire; let such, I earnestly entreat them, keep close to their exercise, and humble walking before the Lord, spreading and committing their cause unto him, patiently waiting for him to open their way, and I verily believe, in his time, way will be made for them. In the meanwhile, as above, I beg such may take an especial care, that they let in no hardness against any Friend or Friends, nor yet against the honourable and necessary discipline of the church, which we have good ground to believe, was at first settled and established in the wisdom of truth, and is of great

service, where it is managed and administered in the sweet spirit of the gospel, which always breathes out—Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good-will towards men; hath charity to the souls of all men, but to the sins of none; loves the immortal soul of every man, but the immoral actions of none.

It has been, and is observed, that sometimes persons that have given real occasion for the line of judgment to be stretched over them, have taken such a disgust at the just censure, when passed upon them, that they have forsaken religious assemblies; who by so doing do evidently demonstrate great weakness, and that they give way to the spirit of the enemy, who is always seeking advantage against us frail mortals, in order to draw us farther and farther from the truth, and nearer and nearer to his own dark kingdom. Wherefore, I again most earnestly entreat you, in much love and good-will, that ye who have taken offence of this kind, would forthwith endeavour to lay aside all resentment and dislike, that you may have unwarily let in, and wait to feel the peaceable spirit of meek Jesus, our blessed redeemer, and therein attend religious meetings; that in this manner humbling yourselves before the Lord, he may please, in his tender mercy, to grant unto you faith, repentance, and remission of sins; also, by these means, your Friends may have a true sense of your conditions, and of the frame of your minds. Please to consider, that neither civil nor religious society, morally speaking, can subsist, or be preserved from utterly relapsing and falling away into confusion, without proper rules and government. And what signify rules if not observed? And proper measures taken with those that knowingly transgress the same? And further, may it be calmly and seriously considered, that when those persons, who owning our principles, and professing themselves to be members of our Society, and were looked upon as such, while they walked orderly, have wilfully violated the wholesome rules agreed upon and established amongst us, have by their own very actions, and not submitting to the means used by the church for their restoration, disunited themselves from membership with the body of which they had been members; and that the papers of denial, given forth against them, are but declarations, that such persons having committed such things which are disallowed by the church, and not truly repenting, and giving satisfaction, are thereupon disowned.

So, dear Friends, with the words of the prophet I shall draw to a conclusion: "Seek the Lord while he is to be found; call upon him while he is near: let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return to the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon."

Having now honestly thus paid the debt of love, I have long owed you, I bid you farewell, and subscribe myself, in much sincerity, your real friend and well-wisher, who can do no less than still pray for you, that you may be reconciled unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

DAVID HALL.

Skipton, the 17th of the fourth month, 1747.

P. S. Furthermore, may all humbly wait for faith, to lay hold on the most gracious promises of our merciful God, which are yea and amen to all those that truly believe. And may all the puffed up, the stout-hearted, impenitent, and obstinate, timely and seriously consider the threatenings annexed thereunto, and justly denounced upon the fat ones, while the day of grace is extended, and the door of mercy is opened unto them, viz.—"I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away, and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick: but I will destroy the fat and the strong, I will feed them with judgment."

And again,—"As a shepherd seeketh out his flock in the day that he is among his sheep that are scattered, so will I seek out my sheep, and will deliver them out of all places where they have been scattered in the cloudy and dark day."

An epistle of love and caution to the quarterly and monthly meetings of Friends in Great Britain, or elsewhere; but more particularly to the Friends of Knaresborough monthly meeting, assembled at Asquith, in Yorkshire, of which the author is a member. Grace, mercy and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied among you.

DEAR FRIENDS, brethren and sisters,—Although I have now been a considerable while personally absent from our monthly meeting, and from most of the meetings that constitute the same, not of choice, but of necessity, being under bodily indisposition; yet I have not forgotten you, nor would I be forgotten by you; I have remembered you in my prayers, as I desire to be remembered by you in yours.

And now, ye dear and faithful ministers and elders, who yet remain upon the stage, to whom I am nearly united in the covenant of life, I hereby greet you well in the love of the gospel, earnestly desiring you may be preserved and strengthened in the sweet and peaceable spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therein tenderly feed

the flock of God which is among you, willingly taking the oversight thereof; not as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock; and when he the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall have a crown of glory which shall never fade away. "Warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient towards all men." "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." And by all means take care that brotherly love and condescension remain among you. And where any matter of debate or difference, tending to divide or scatter, may fall out, wait singly upon the Lord for that wisdom which is pure and peaceable, without partiality, and without hypocrisy, that ye may prudently interpose as mediating peace-makers and moderators, to the healing, accommodating and making up such breaches; and be sure use your utmost endeavours, that the meeting or meetings, in which such unhappy things arise, may be preserved from running into parties. For alas! how have some meetings been split and shattered by these kinds of factions; and how have the young people been staggered and discouraged thereby. "The servant of the Lord," saith the apostle, "must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient; in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves."

Let us all labour therefore to hold the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, ever standing upon our guard against all things that gender to strife, and against that temper of mind which is forward either to give or take occasion, or let in, or retain grudges against any Friends. And labour what in you lies to prevent, and suppress that vile and anti-Christian practice of evil-surmising, backbiting and traducing; tenderly exciting all Friends in your respective meetings to faithfulness in the several branches of their Christian testimony, and especially in that very material one, against the anti-Christian yoke of tithes, and all things of that dark nature.

And ye masters and mistresses of families, who have children, or servants, or both under your care, prize your present privileges. Be diligent in attending, and vigilant in truly waiting upon the Lord, the author of all our blessings, in your religious meetings, both on first-days, and also on other days of the week; and take along with you your tender children, when their age and reasonable convenience will permit; and allow sufficient liberty to your servants to attend religious assemblies. Attend as near the hour appointed as you can; for oftentimes meetings are disturbed, and hurt by the disorderly and unseasonable gathering of some; though no Friend is to be blamed, if in case of necessity he may chance sometimes to be late; but the constant practice of late coming is a bad symptom, denoting the want of a true concern of mind. It affords matter of much concern and sorrow, to see divers professors of the truth so slack and remiss in this incumbent duty of assembling themselves together, now when good Providence hath so rebuked the storms of persecution, that we are favoured with a great calm; our way is open peaceably to attend, and enjoy our highly valuable religious meetings. Yet some are so extremely negligent, that even on first-days, small matters do sometimes hinder them from appearing with their friends in that great and important duty, of the worship of Almighty God. And some that are pretty constant in attending first-day meetings, suffer themselves through weakness, lukewarmness and indolence, to be deprived of the benefit, comfort and edification, that they themselves, by duly attending week-day meetings, might probably be enjoyers of; and also deprive their friends of the benefit of their company, and are bad examples to the young ones.

Again, there may perhaps be some that do themselves attend meetings both on first-days, and pretty often on week-days; yet do not exert themselves as they should do, in exciting their families to diligence, taking along with them their children, but leaving their children behind them, when very capable of getting to the meetings; allow them from time to time to be absent, as though they had forgotten the wise man's precept, "train up a child in the way he should go, &c." The husband and wife ought to be jointly concerned in the strict and careful education of their children, and to beware, lest the one by indulgence, or for want of a right zeal in a matter of such importance, should weaken the hands of the other. And let none whilst in health and strength of body, and tolerably near the meeting-place, be so weak as to let in reasonings that they cannot afford, or spare time to attend week-day meetings, being but of low circumstances in the world. Consider, that the blessing of God maketh truly rich; if we give up ourselves to serve and obey him, and faithfully perform our duties to him, of which the due attending of religious meetings is not one of the least, we shall find his blessings upon our honest and moderate endeavours more advantageous to us than all our bustlings, anxious labours, and contrivances, without it. "Seek ye first," saith our blessed Lord, "the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." It is concluded by many Friends of sound judgment and experience, that none were ever poorer, but richer, for duly and rightly attending religious meetings on week-days, as well as first-days; but it is fully believed, that many have suffered themselves to be much hurt, both as to the con-

dition of their minds, and outward circumstances, by letting the inordinate and choaking cares about things of this life prevail, and consequently by becoming negligent and remiss in attending religious meetings; for the royal Psalmist saith,—"Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain. It is vain for you to rise up early, to sit up late, to eat the bread of sorrow," &c. The toleration and time of peace now put into our hands, ought to be as our seed-time, in which we should be diligently sowing to the spirit, that hereafter we might reap the harvest of life everlasting.

But what saith the wise man of the sluggards and slack handed, in so favourable an opportunity? "He becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand: but the hand of the diligent maketh rich." "The sluggard will not plow by reason of the cold; therefore shall he beg in harvest, and have nothing."

I therefore tenderly exhort you, make the best use and application of the present favours, peace and tranquillity, yet lengthened out unto the churches; double your diligence, be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. Slip no opportunity, wherein ye may either do good to others, or obtain good to yourselves, or both.

But oh! what excuse shall those professors of truth plead in the day of account, who being stationed by kind Providence in the affluence of the good things of this life, and also situated near the meeting-place, yet nevertheless seldom appear with their brethren at week-day meetings? Moreover, which is still worse, some having let in a dislike or disgust against some particular Friend or Friends, on one account or other, thence have taken occasion sometimes to decline the meeting; yea, alas! some are so much out of the way, that they will not come at the houses or families of those Friends against whom they have taken occasion of offence. Thereby not only betraying their own weakness, and a mean and wrong disposition of mind, but also hurting and lessening themselves, and showing a bad example to the young and rising generation, whose eyes are upon us, and can quickly remark the failures and mistakes of such as should be as way-marks to them. Oh! therefore I earnestly beseech all such, that they let the time past be sufficient, and that for the future they may be of better, and more exemplary conduct.

Furthermore, in as much as the most solemn, sacred, and profound part of the divine worship of the Father, who is a spirit, is now in this gospel and new covenant dispensation, to be performed in spirit and truth, in a deep silence, composure, and stillness of mind; being altogether consistent with the divine nature and spirituality of the said dispensation, the doctrine of Christ the author thereof, and our own professed principles; in much brotherly love I cordially exhort you, and by the meekness of Christ fervently beseech you, to labour with the utmost diligence and application of heart and soul, really to become such inward and spiritual worshippers, which Christ hath told us, "the Father is seeking to worship him." These are the circumcision which worship God in spirit, and have no confidence in the flesh; whose principal teacher is the minister of the sanctuary, and true tabernacle, which God hath pitched and not man, and can never be removed into a corner. Although we must own, that anointed instruments, while they keep their places, are of service, comfort and edification to meetings, as the eyes and expectation of the hearers are chiefly to the Lord, who alone can give a blessing upon the plantings of Paul, and the waterings of Apollos; yet we see these instruments are not to be depended upon, being liable to be shut up, according to the wisdom and good pleasure of the great Master of assemblies, or to be removed from us by death. But they that duly wait for that water from the hand of Christ, our blessed Mediator, which he told the enquiring Samaritan woman of, saying, "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life," will not be quite cast down, and totally discouraged, when it shall please the Lord to take from them such as have been as consolatory evangelists, ministers, prophets, or prophetesses among them; but feeling, in the openings and bubblings up of the aforesaid spring of life, the love of God, that true charity, to be shed abroad in their hearts, they will experience the truth of the blessed apostle's words, "Charity never faileth; but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away."

Wherefore, beloved, be not disconsolate upon the view of any of your meetings being left bare of, or quite without instrumental ministers; though some branches be removed, the root remains. Oh! remember Christ's words, a little before his departure from his disciples, as with respect to his humanity, "If ye love me, keep my commandments, and I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you."

Again, "Where two or three, saith he, are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of

them." If some eminent disciple or disciples be taken from you, the head Master remains, to whom you may have free access. If some small rivulets you have drunk of sometimes, be now discontinued, your way is open to the never-failing, inexhaustible spring-head. What reason have any then to be discouraged, or be cool in attending their meetings, for want of instrumental ministry? Would not this be like a slight upon the greatest and best Minister, who hath graciously promised his most excellent company, even at the least meetings, upon most reasonable terms? For the compassionate promises above, as also this, "I will not leave you comfortless," are not only applicable to his then immediate followers, but to all his true disciples down to the latest posterity.

Let none therefore, old or young, be ashamed of, or undervalue silent meetings; for they certainly are to all true worshippers of singular advantage, and dishonourable to none that rightly attend them, but quite the reverse. May all those who belong to meetings, wherein are no Friends of the ministry, seriously consider that their present situation is far better than if they were loaded with a dead, dry, fruitless, unacceptable ministry.

Besides, as there may be danger of some depending too much upon the public ministry, where there is pretty much of it; the want thereof, if rightly applied, may prevent this danger, and drive people home to the inward spring.

Well, but may some say, we have children and young ones coming up, which yet know not these things, and our hearts ache for them. I answer, let all of us, especially parents and elders, use our very best endeavours to bring up the young and tender plants in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, exemplifying our precepts in a prudent and suitable conduct, by waiting in pure silence in our religious meetings, to feel the aboundings of that life which Christ saith, he came to give to his people more abundantly; then, I trust, the Lord will from his holy habitation mercifully look down upon us and our offspring. For my part, I know no visible thing more likely to prevail upon children, and to set them to thinking on good things, than to see the awful sitting, and sometimes the overflowing tears of their parents and elders, in their devotion before the Lord in their religious retirements; together with a careful and godly conduct at other times. Who knows but it may please good Providence in due time to open springs in the desert, and dignify the now poorest and dimmest meetings with the brightest ministers? Let none after a desponding manner say, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" The Lord is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. Mean while may we all endeavour to live by faith, and in that faith to trust in God, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.

Besides these things, I further humbly entreat you, parents and governors of families, that you strictly watch over your children and servants respecting their moral conduct. The wise man tells us, and experience confirms it, "That the rod and reproof give wisdom; but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame." What truly conscientious parent, or head of a family, can or dare suffer their children or servants, when not engaged in business, to go whither they will, when they will, into any sort of company, according to their own option or liking? This kind of imprudent indulgence, and undue liberty, allowed by reason of the inconsiderateness, and want of true zeal in the governors, hath proved ruinous to many of the young generation. How often hath grief of mind been brought upon concerned Friends, to see some professors of truth so careless about their children, as to suffer them to run even amongst the wild rabble of the town, or neighboorhood, where they often receive corrupt impressions on their tender minds, both with regard to speech and deportment? Such inconsiderate and indiscreet parents, being spoken to by some concerned Friend, and admonished touching their unsafe indulgence, would perhaps reply, "they are but children; so what signifies restraining them till they come to more understanding? We have been children ourselves, and wild too." But alas! how often have these kind of careless fathers and mothers laid for themselves a sad foundation for too late repentance!

We must own, that when we have done our best in precept, in pattern, in restriction, and religiously turned every stone for the good of our offspring, and the honest discharge of our conscientious duties towards them, some may prove prodigals and libertines; yet happy those parents who can justly appeal to heaven on this wise, "Thou Lord, knowest we have done our best for the preservation and right instruction of our child or children." Such, with good Samuel of old, in the conscientious discharge of their duty, will have peace and joy in the Lord, though some of their children cause them much trouble and anxiety.

Lastly, before I leave you parents and leading persons in families and meetings, I humbly crave that we, and all faithful ministers and elders, may be inward with the Lord, and join in deep supplication to him, that he may be pleased in his inexpressible loving-kindness to remember the youth of our time, grant them a gracious visitation, lay fast hold on them, as by the shepherd's crook of his blessed truth and power, circumcise their hearts to serve him; and also, that he would be pleased in his tender mercy to

reach unto all poor wandering prodigals, wheresoever they are scattered, and bring again the lost sheep to the fold of rest.

And now, oh! ye striplings and young people, I must address you in particular; my heart is open unto you, and enlarged in the love of the gospel, wherein I affectionately call upon you, and lovingly advise you, to beware of unsuitable company; and take great care to avoid all kind of intemperance, but especially that pernicious, infecting, growing evil custom of clubbing, tippling, and drinking to excess; which has proved the bane and ruin of so many once hopeful youths, as well as persons of more advanced age. And watch with the utmost caution, that ye do by no means let out your affections to persons of other communions, in order to contract marriages with them; nor yet with such as are too near akin, though within the pale of our Society; for alas! alas! we have many sorrowful instances of the sundry afflicting and dismal consequences that attend these unhappy and disagreeable matches.

Oh! therefore, let the harms of others be your timely precautions, and always stand open to receive the wholesome counsel of your parents, and well-wishing friends; for this is well pleasing unto God, who hath expressly commanded, "Honour thy father and thy mother, and severely threatened such as slight their parents, as in Deuteronomy xxvii. 16, "Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother, and all the people shall say Amen." Likewise the wise man saith, "The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pluck it out, and the young eagles shall eat it." Also we find what was commanded concerning the stubborn and rebellious children of the Israelites of old; "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them; then shall his father and his mother lay hold of him, and bring him out unto the elders of his city, and unto the gate of his place; and they shall say unto the elders of his city, this our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, he is a glutton, and a drunkard. And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die; so shalt thou put evil away from among you; and all Israel shall hear and fear." And it were well, if such who are rebellious and disobedient to their parents, did enough consider the punishment inflicted upon them in that dispensation, by a law prescribed by the Lord; and such would do well to remember, that though this law remains not in force in this dispensation, yet such punishment as is adequate to the transgression of the spiritual law we now are under, waits for such; "For if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven."

I earnestly recommend unto you, the serious and frequent reading of the holy Scriptures. Some Friends, with much concern of heart, are afraid that this best of books is too much neglected by too many of our youth, if not by some of the elder rank too. Please to examine and consider the principles you are educated in the profession of, that the religion of your education may become the religion of your judgment; and be sure avoid the reading of such profane books and pamphlets, as tend to vitiate and alienate the mind from the simplicity of the truth. Please to read and duly observe 1 Tim. iv. 7, 8. 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17.

And above all things, be concerned to be made sensible of the day of the Lord's power, wherein and whereby, you may be made willing entirely to resign yourselves to his service and disposal. O! wait with diligence to know and experience the quickening, refining baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire, whereby ye may be truly baptized into the one body of Christ, and by feeling the influences of his good Spirit to descend upon you, from him the heavenly Head, you may be truly serviceable in your respective and proper places and stations therein, and so come up in the true line of succession in this your day. Oh, that the spirit of Elijah might rest upon Elisha.

Please to consider, how meetings are deprived in many places of faithful ministers and elders. How many seats are now left empty, and how meetings are now pretty much made up of the younger sort of persons, into whose hands the care and discipline of the church are likely to fall. May the glory of God, may the service of the church, and the present state thereof; may your own temporal and earnest interest and salvation move and prevail upon you, to apply your hearts unto wisdom, that you may come under suitable qualifications for the much desired succession; that those vacancies in the places of ministers and elders may be honourably supplied.

Having in much brotherly kindness premised the few things above, I find a concern remaining upon my mind, more particularly, in the same good will, here to subjoin some loving cautions to all you tradesmen and merchandizers, that ye be very careful to keep closely unto the strict and necessary rules of moral justice in all your dealings, and duly to observe your words, promises, and contracts, punctually answering all your just debts and demands in due time, pursuant to the excellent Christian rule: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." And be sure

take particular care, I beg of you, to keep within the compass of your own stocks and capacities, that in case your affairs do not succeed well, you may but lose what is your own. It has been remarked, that divers at their first embarking in trade and business, have seemed to be pretty hopeful; but inconsiderately putting themselves forth into more articles and branches of trade, than their stock and capacity were able to support and manage, great reproach has been brought upon our Society—of which they profess themselves members—distress upon themselves and families, and they have unhappily fallen into that dismal and infamous state of insolvency; and have not only in a great measure ruined themselves, but divers other honest and innocent persons have sustained much, and perhaps irreparable loss, by such their unwary and unwarrantable proceedings. Wherefore, it is much to be desired, that especially our young and inexperienced tradesmen and others, may not only be willing to receive and take due notice of the advice of judicious and experienced Friends, when given, but even apply to such Friends before they undertake any affair of considerable moment, for their counsel therein. Yea, too many, even of such who have appeared in the ministry, for want of due care and integrity, and a timely inspection into the state of their affairs, and proper application in the management thereof, have lamentably lost themselves, to the dishonour of God, scandal of our holy profession, and the wounding the reputation of our free ministry; it being an absurd contradiction, to pretend to preach the gospel, and neglect the rules of moral justice.

To conclude this head. Whereas in these kind of miscarriages, the wives, house-keepers and servants, yea and perhaps children too, sometimes may have a share of the blame cast upon them, whether deservedly or not; therefore I tenderly exhort all such, in their respective provinces and posts at home, whilst husbands and masters are acting abroad, that they may use such an honest care, suitable industry, frugality, and moderation in their house-keeping, and all things under their hand, as may tend, so far as in them lies, to preserve themselves blameless in these respects.

May all who profess the name of Christ, come under his cross, who is come to lead us into all truth; learn of him who is meek and lowly in heart, thankfully to be content to live according to, or rather within our abilities. For it is an undeniable proof of weakness, indiscretion, if not injustice too, for any but of low circumstances in the world (comparatively speaking) to imitate, copy after, or in any wise to vie with persons of considerable estates, either in dress, house-keeping, or furniture, &c. Happy the persons, whom the harms and mistakes of others do timely awaken to due caution and more prudent conduct; all along taking the advice of the wise man,—"Be diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds; for riches are not for ever."

I have here also further to add, and recommend to the serious consideration and animadversion of all you parents, elders and ministers, together with all the school-masters and school-mistresses within the pale of our Society, that afflicting case of the growth of pride, gayety, and unbecoming conformity to the vain world in apparel, dialect, and deportment, which seem to spread and gain ground amongst the professors of the blessed truth at this day, to the inexpressible grief of the faithful, and great reproach of the Society in general. The mouths of many of other communions, who have their eyes upon us, observing the extent of our religious principles and pretensions, make their remarks on our conduct and appearance, and are ready to say to this effect: Ye were once a plain people, distinguishable in divers respects, particularly in plainness of habit, and speech, from all others; but we now can scarcely know you to be of the community of the Quakers, who at the first were very remarkable in their religious conduct, for their humility, plainness in apparel and expression, simplicity, sobriety, gravity, and self-denial; but now, what conformity to the fashions, customs, grandeur, and vanities of the world, are you run and running into, whilst under the profession of the guidance of the Spirit? You are coming over to us apace. Oh! therefore, I call upon you in a particular and most fervent manner, begging of you for the Lord's sake, and the sake of the rising generation, to lend your helping hand, and be heartily and jointly concerned for the redressing and suppressing these reproachful grievances, so absurdly inconsistent with the pure, plain and honourable principle of truth we profess.

Dear Friends, bear the word of exhortation; I am not rigidly censorious upon my friends, nor, I hope, laying too much stress upon externals, but most cordially and humbly treat with you, to the end that the aforesaid reproach we now lie under, may be rolled away from our community.

First, therefore, ye parents, who have the first and best opportunity of making impressions upon, and biasing the tender minds of your children, by instilling into, or putting upon them what ye please, take care you do not awaken or indulge, but rather nip in the bud those seeds of pride so interwoven with, and implanted in the fallen nature of man. If we take the apostle's advice, we must bring up our children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; which

is not arraying them with gaudy apparel, according to the mutable fashions of this world, as they come in vogue in the nation. But in case any of you, to whom Providence hath given children, are taking undue liberties herein, and love to be in these vain fashions, certainly you are not only inconsistent with the principles yourselves profess, but also are setting your offspring inconsistent examples by your conduct; for children think they act with authority when they have their parents for precedents.

As there is in our natures a propensity to these gayeties, the same being indulged and nursed up, tends to divert and alienate the mind from the simplicity and gravity of the truth. Yea, alas! where the youth are permitted and encouraged to take their swing in these undue liberties, they not only afford frequent occasion for the aforesaid reflections, but are often accounted to appertain to the numerous class of temporizing fashion-mongers and citizens of this world, rather than children of new Jerusalem.

If Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world, should be our pattern, we certainly should be plain in dress, words, and behaviour. If the apostle's advice is to be minded, we must not "be conformed to the world, but be transformed, by the renewing of our minds;" and lay apart not only filthiness, but all superfluity of naughtiness. We must own, conformity to the world may make its appearance divers ways, and in divers shapes; but its root lodges in the mind; and therefore, according to the apostle's religious precept, we must be transformed and changed by the internal work of the Spirit. We profess another and better way of thinking and acting, by the renovation of our minds; and though we can by no means effect this inward transformation, either in ourselves or in our children, yet it is the sense of many persons, truly judicious and experienced in the one true Christian religion, that it is a duty incumbent on parents to regulate and restrict their children in their garb and conduct. And though we cannot give our children the power of truth, yet it is our duty carefully to bring them up in the form thereof, at the same time humbly praying to the Lord to water our labours with his blessing, interpose by his grace in their hearts, and so crown our endeavours with success, by thus granting to them his power.

Some may say, religion doth not stand in outward apparel. Answer. We own it doth not consist barely in any externals, but in that power which makes clean the inside; so that an exterior rectitude is thereby consequently effected, where this power inwardly operating in the heart is submitted unto. "Thou blind Pharisee," saith Christ, "cleanse first that which is within the cup and the platter, that the outside of them may be clean also;" whereby we are informed and directed where to begin the work of regulation and reformation; and also that a visible regularity will ensue upon this invisible operation. Yet nevertheless I say again, parents and tutors are in the meanwhile to exercise themselves, and the authority lodged in them, to use a proper restriction and correction of what they see amiss in their children, and lop off the branches—these being things within their reach—until it shall please God to lay the axe to the root of the tree in them. May we not therefore safely conclude, that libertinism, so obvious and glaring in any of its deformed shapes, is a manifest symptom of a disorder within, and of the deplorable want of experiencing this absolutely necessary power of regeneration; unto which we, in the spirit of charity invite all our Friends, especially those too much scattered in the fantastic modes, customs, fashions, friendships and ways of this degenerate and depraved age; owning nevertheless, that some persons appearing in plain garbs to men, may be inwardly far wrong in the sight of God. We are not in any wise countenancing Pharisaism, whilst we thus oppugn libertinism. The King's high road to heaven lies in the golden medium, even in the midst of the path of judgment.

As the frequent and repeated advices from the yearly meetings are against all bad and vile things, disagreeable to our holy principles; so likewise against the extravagancies now before us. And how closely and warmly, and to how good purpose, doth our honourable friend William Penn write against them in his No Cross No Crown, to which I refer. "The very trimming of the vain world would clothe all the naked ones," saith he in his Reflections and Maxims. Into which exorbitances, especially on the score of attire, furniture and equipage, many under our name, with regret be it spoken, are now gone and going, notwithstanding the purity, and where it is duly obeyed, the all-sufficient efficacy of the principle of grace and truth, which comes by Jesus Christ. Truly, Friends, the prevalency of these unbecoming things is such, and they have got so much head amongst our youth, and too many of those of mature age, that it seems very difficult to stem the tide of these growing evil customs, except it please the Lord mercifully to interpose.

Therefore I find myself engaged, as a brother, in love here to say, with a certain honourable ancient minister, on the like occasion, in a great meeting:—"Friends, if we cannot rule our children, let us rule our purses." What he meant is plain; if our children are not willing to take our counsel, and keep within the bounds of truth, let us not support or supply them with

money, in the gratification of themselves in these vanities, which bring reproach upon us.

Again, peradventure there may be some children or youth in some families, well disposed and inclined, under some early influences of the good principle, who do not affect these trifles themselves, yet by instigation of their relations, are pushed forward into fineries against their will.

Secondly, therefore I call upon you elders and ministers, in the phrase of the man of Macedonia to the apostle,—Come over hither, and help us. Embrace all opportunities of encouraging and strengthening the hands of the truly concerned parents; suitably caution the remiss; and admonish undutiful and libertine children, both by precept and pattern, as vigilant and skilful pastors in your respective meetings and places where your lots are cast, now in these sorrowful days, wherein so many are soaring aloft, and drop a word of encouragement to the lowly minded children and youth, who may labour under the difficulties above.

Thirdly, upon consideration of the powerful ascendency education often has over youth, I now speak to you in particular, who are entrusted with the care and tutelage of young plants, in those weighty and important posts of school-masters and school-mistresses, especially such who keep boarding-schools, desiring your hearty and unanimous assistance, as necessary coadjutors, in rectifying these licentious indecencies. Is it not our incumbent duty, with all circumspection and diligence to watch over the young generation, especially those committed to our discipline, and honestly to study to acquit ourselves as faithful and accountable stewards, not over the estates of our friends, but, which is of infinitely greater moment, over the souls and conduct of their offspring? Ought we not to account it our indispensable duty to labour with the utmost sincerity, application, and integrity, timely to implant in them, so far as we are capable, the maxims and principles of the one true Christian religion, striving to rivet the precepts we give, by the lives we live? Can any truly conscientious school-master and school-mistress be content to teach their scholars how to use their book, pen, or needle, and seldom endeavour, in a proper manner, to teach them even the first principles of this most honourable, most necessary religion; and above all things, train them up therein? To make them writers, linguists, mathematicians, and philosophers, though within the bounds of moderation in a subservient way, may be good and commendable, yet in comparison, is but a small part of our charge. In short, notwithstanding the difficulty observed above, if we parents, elders, ministers, school-masters and school-mistresses, would heartily concur and exert ourselves in this good work, there is ground to hope, through the blessing of God, a stop, in some degree, might be happily put to the growth and prevalency of these liberties many are taking in superfluous, modish, fantastical, and costly apparel; using *you* to a single person, with the untruth-like bowings, cringings, and vain flesh-pleasing salutations, so disagreeable and repugnant to the cross of Christ.

But alas! if we or any of us, in these capacities, should ourselves, as above hinted, be found in these undue liberties, how can we reform those under our care? But rather render that complaint of the prophet applicable to us,—"The leaders of this people cause them to err, and they that are led of them are destroyed."

Let none say, the Lord doth not regard these outward things, he looks at the heart. Please to consider, how he, by the mouth of his prophet, severely reprehends, and threatens with heavy judgments, those among his people who were run into pride in apparel, ornaments and gestures, at that day, in their declension from the purity and plainness of their faithful forefathers:—"Moreover the Lord saith, because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks, and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet; therefore the Lord will smite with a scab, the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the Lord will discover their secret parts. In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cawls, and their round tires like the moon, the chains and the bracelets, and the mufflers, the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the head-bands, and the tablets, and the ear-rings. The rings and the nose-jewels, the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles and the wimples, and the crisping-pins, the glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods and the veils. And it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet smell, there shall be stink; and instead of a girdle, a rent; and instead of well-set hair, baldness; and instead of a stomacher, a girding of sackcloth; and burning instead of beauty." Our blessed Lord, who is given a leader to the people, and is the very mirror of humility, self-denial and plainness of habit, speech and deportment, saith, "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." May we not therefore justly conclude, the airy fashionable temporizers of the times do not follow him, nor imitate his excellent example.

May it also be noted, that as those badges of degeneracy were offensive to the Lord in the foregoing dispensation, so the eminent apostles Paul and Peter, who undoubtedly had the mind of God, remarkably exhorted to modesty in

dress, and warmly at the same time dehorted from gaudy and expensive attire, pointing out where the principal adorning lies; advising,—"That women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but, which becometh women professing godliness, with good works."

"Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price. For after this manner in the old time, the holy women also who trusted in God adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands."

Hence therefore it is plain, that our faithful and concerned Friends, who having the care of the churches upon them, at sundry times, both from our yearly meetings at London, and at other seasons, have seriously recommended a becoming plainness in these externals, and warmly discouraged the reverse, and still continue the same concern, have divine and apostolic authority on their side, how lightly soever some may have looked upon these labours of love. And if we should here also descend into particulars, we have the same precedents in our favour. Wherefore I now take freedom, not out of ill nature, or in a carping spirit, as upbraiding my Friends with their weaknesses, but in that love which wisheth well to all, and looks for the reparation of all the breaches in the walls of Zion, to specify some few things vastly disgraceful to the professors of the glorious light of the Gentiles, viz. the lofty and airy position of men's hats; the ribands, knots, and ruffles, upon women's heads, &c., the curious girdles, and costly diamond buckles we are upbraided with, with other pompous and expensive array. As also the putting on of mourning apparel for the deceased, with some other customs at funerals not approved of, but disliked and advised against by our faithful Friends, as not comporting with the truth we profess. But of all the giddy modes, antic and fantastic inventions, that ever old Satan or his agents, with respect to external dress, have hitherto vampt up, since the fall of Adam; was there ever anything contrived so much for the ruin of female modesty, and the incitement to sensuality and corruption, as these immodest, indecent, odious, extravagant hoops, calculated not for the strait, but for the wide gate and broad way, leading to destruction? Nay, some are ready to say, either contract these scandalous expanded hoops, or else enlarge your doors, portals, styles, coaches, &c. "It is mightily surprising, and really shocking," saith a certain person, "to think that any modest matron, or any chaste young woman, who is not lunatic or delirious, should ever dare to appear in such an awkward and unseemly dress, so far from the modesty which should adorn their sex, and so opposite to the shamefacedness commended and recommended by the apostle."

"We are told with truth," saith our worthy author William Penn, "that meekness and modesty are the rich and charming attire of the soul; and the plainer the dress, the more distinctly, and with greater lustre, their beauty shines. It is great pity such beauties are so rare, and those of Jezabel's forehead are so common; whose dresses are incentives to lust; but bars, instead of motives to love or virtue."

Dear Friends, although many brethren and sisters, under much trouble and exercise to see so many amongst us so notoriously deviate from the simplicity of our forefathers in these things, in conjunction with myself, are much concerned for a reformation therein; yet we are not intending or desiring hereby, that our Friends, either young or old, should be laced up into starched, precise or dishonourable singularities, but only keep within the bounds of the blessed truth we profess, which ever teaches to be good neighbours, loyal subjects, pious parents, dutiful children, reasonable masters, faithful servants, and throughout the course of our lives, in all our stations and relations, to be just, charitable, prudently sociable, affable, merciful, chaste, humble and temperate. For the divine and honourable principle we profess, always teaches to behave handsomely, and with a good decorum to superiors, equals and inferiors, not withholding due honour from those to whom honour is due, in Truth's way, in what post or capacity soever; but has from the beginning ever led those, that were obedient thereto, out of the vain fashions, salutations, cringings and scrapings of the world, into much more solid and real marks of honour, by their integrity, fidelity, sincerity and discreet deportment, than can or could be rightly expressed by the hat compliments and flatteries amongst men. Wherefore we beseech you, to abide in that holy simplicity which was one distinguishing character of our ancient Friends, some of whom suffered deeply for their testimony against the hat and knee honour, which serves only to gratify a proud mind, remembering the saying of Christ Jesus our Lord,—"How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only."

We are, I assure you, dearly beloved, far from desiring our elder Friends to use, or the youth to be educated in a rude, unbecoming, unmannerly and clownish behaviour; for we know this our principle teaches quite the reverse; and whilst it makes the Christian, it doth

not unmake, but improves the rational man, reputable tradesman, and good neighbour; and the women in like manner, who recommend themselves more by a modest appearance, than all the advantage they may apprehend they obtain by the contrary. Neither do we at all grudge our rich Friends the use of the good things and comforts of life, according to their circumstances, provided they keep within the bounds of that honourable moderation which the apostle desired might appear unto all men, in the conduct of the believers. In which, if our rich brethren and sisters would be exemplary, we hope some persons of lower stations in the world would be ashamed to run the lengths they do.

Oh! that our rich Friends, who live in much plenty, abundance, and increase of the enjoyments of this life, would duly read, consider and apply the advice and caution of the Lord to his people of old, viz.—"When thou hast eaten, and art full, then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God, for the good land which he hath given thee. Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and his judgments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day; lest when thou hast eaten, and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein; and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied; and all that thou hast is multiplied; then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God."

And as these extravagancies occasion reflections and smart animadversions from many people, it is very probable they have afforded, and do yet afford, occasion of stumbling to many seekers and inquirers after the way of truth. It is to be feared many, in a good degree convinced of the truth, observing the liberties great numbers of the professors thereof take, make use of them as pleas and apologies for their settling on their old lees, and coming no further; so on the other hand, several persons of distinction have often much commended and admired the comeliness of the garb and attire of our plain women, who walk according to their profession, preferring Friends modest dress to their own gaudy fopperies. And it is very observable, that persons under our profession, do not gain but lose credit, by a conduct dissonant to their profession.

If any object, that these are small and insignificant matters; I answer, with the unanimous concurrence of a large cloud of witnesses, that how insignificant soever they may now appear to any, our ancient Friends, in the breaking forth of truth in the morning of the day, found themselves indispensably engaged to stand against the corruptions of the world, both respecting apparel, using *you* to a single person, and other vain flatteries in men's carriage one to another. And all who have yet embraced our principles from real convincement in their judgment, and were truly baptized by the Holy Spirit and fire, always found it their incumbent duty to decline and disuse these vain customs, practised in the time of their ignorance. Besides this, how many of our Friends' children in the time of their health, by letting their minds out after the vain, modish fashions of the times, have laid a foundation for repentance on sick and dying beds; and on their languishing pillows have clearly seen, and bitterly lamented these their errors, being then fully perceived and acknowledged to be mere vanities and vexation of spirit. This is likely to prove the case of many, who in the time of their health, strength and prosperity, will not be prevailed upon, either by the reproofs of instruction in their own minds, or by the church in general, or by particulars concerned for their good and reputation, to keep within such limits in their deportment and array, as are agreeable to the high and holy profession of the Spirit of truth.

The reason why so many of the professors of truth have in these latter times taken such liberties, appears to the sensible and faithful members of the church, to be the want of coming under the real work of Truth in themselves. Therefore, in much sincerity, brotherly kindness and charity, I earnestly beseech you, my dear Friends, of all stations, and especially you, who from your infancy have been brought up in any of these fineries, and you, who having been educated in an humble dress and deportment, in plain families in the north, or elsewhere, and coming up to the metropolis, or other grand populous places, have been too apt in imitating and learning the polite airs and fantastic modes occurring to your notice, and are therein likely to come up with, or even outstrip those who from their cradle have been trained up in some of these gayeties: I say, I humbly beseech you all, for the good of your souls, and the reputation of our principles and Society, to delay no longer to embrace the baptism and cross of Christ, whereby ye may be crucified unto the world and its corrupt ways, and the world unto you, lest that befall you, which was threatened to the degenerate people of old; instead of "well-set hair there shall be baldness, and instead of other ornaments, a girding of sackcloth; burning instead of beauty."

Finally, beloved brethren, may we all, both old, young and middle aged, use our utmost diligence, "to make our calling and election sure; adding unto our faith virtue, to virtue knowledge, to knowledge temperance, to temperance patience, to patience godliness, to godliness brotherly-kindness, to brotherly-kindness charity. If these things be in us, and abound, we shall

neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." Farewell, saith your affectionate friend and brother,

DAVID HALL.

Skipton, the 13th of the twelfth month, 1747.

An epistle of advice to ministers, parents and children, addressed to the monthly meeting of Knaresborough, held at Asquith, the 19th of the third month 1752, and to the next ensuing quarterly meeting at York.

DEAR FRIENDS, brethren and sisters:—As the apostle testified in his day, that "he that ascended on high, led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men; and he gave some apostles; and some prophets; and some evangelists; and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ;" so it has pleased the Fountain of mercies, in his abundant and renewed loving-kindness unto his church and people, to raise up and anoint many such instruments in these latter ages of the world, for the same good and great end and service.

But, O beloved Friends, in consideration that these kind of useful and valuable instruments and ornaments, are now in many places reduced to a very few in number, many being gone from works to rewards, it springs in my heart in the love of the everlasting gospel of peace, which ever did, and doth breathe out, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will towards men," to call upon you ministers, that are yet left, in the words of a faithful servant of the Lord to the church in his day, "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, and be strong;" desiring likewise, that the advice of the apostle Paul to his beloved Timothy, may be duly observed by us all, "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth;" ever mindful of the apostle Peter's advice, "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God: if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ."

I further also find in my heart a close concern to call upon and entreat you ministers, elders, parents of children, and all who have at heart the cause of truth and prosperity of Zion, that we may humbly and jointly approach the throne of grace, as we find our way open, and there unanimously pour out our sincere prayers and hearty intercessions to the Father of mercies, on behalf, not only of our own immediate offspring, but of all the young and rising generation in general, that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint them with the day of his power, and bring them under the blessed cross of Christ, and the refining baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire; that so the spirit of Elijah resting upon Elisha, they may come up in the right line, under suitable qualifications for the several services in the body of Christ; that many rightly anointed and spirited planters and waterers may successively be sent into the vineyard, and that our Christian discipline may, from one generation to another, fall under the care of such as are or may be of sanctified hearts and clean hands. In this weighty concern and application, we may receive encouragement from this consideration, that when our blessed Lord observed to his disciples, that "the harvest truly was great and plenteous, but the labourers few," he moved them to address the Lord of the harvest, "that he would be pleased to send forth more faithful labourers into his harvest."

May we also remember, my dearly beloved, how the Lord spake comfortably to the church of old, promising that he would mercifully regard them and their children, as in Isaiah; "Fear not, O Jacob, my servant; and thou Jesurun, whom I have chosen. For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring; and they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water courses." O that we may truly wait and wrestle with him for the like blessing. And I much long that we may be tenderly concerned in the spirit of the gospel, that the lost sheep may be sought out and brought home to the fold again, and the prodigals may return to the Father's house.

And now ye dear young persons, descendants of believing parents, I tenderly beseech you by the mercies of Christ, that ye turn in your minds, and wait for the manifestation and appearance of the blessed spirit of God, the root and source of all good gifts and services in the church, in the profession of which holy principle ye have had your education, that coming to experience the heavenly influences thereof, ye may happily witness your minds and affections weaned and drawn from things that are below, and fixed upon things which are above; that ye may be entirely resigned and given up to the service of the Lord in your day and generation, like Moses of old, who when he was come to years, "refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; for he had respect unto the recompense of the reward."

May the glory of God, the salvation of your own souls, the service of the church in your day, as a three-fold cord, tend to draw you to solid thoughtfulness, true devotion, and the practical part of the pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father.

You have had many calls and loving invitations; you have had line upon line, and precept upon precept, both mediately and immediately, which will rise up in condemnation against the temporizing, licentious, haughty, and those who refuse advice, as well as the indolent youth. Such, if they persist obstinately, may have to mourn at the last, when their flesh and their body are consumed; and say each of them, "How have I hated instruction, and my heart despised reproof! And have not obeyed the voice of my teacher, nor inclined mine ear to them that instructed me!" While the dutiful, humble, religious, circumspect youth, will be blessed, both spiritually and temporally; and experimentally know the truth of that apostolical assertion, "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

O! that children would duly and seriously consider, how indispensable an obligation they are under to be submissive and dutiful to parents, and their wholesome admonitions, even from that express command of the Almighty, written by his own finger, "Honour thy father and mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Which is also notably recommended, re-enforced and confirmed by the apostle on this wise: "Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right. Honour thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise, that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth;" adding also in the same place, necessary counsel to fathers, saying, "And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" not forgetting servants and masters, whom he thus adviseth, "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ: not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, &c. And ye masters, do the same things unto them; forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him." Neither let those sons and daughters, who are grown up, vainly imagine that they are above, out of the reach, and exempted from the obligation of the above commandment, and need not now apply to their pious parents for their good advice, or regard it when given; lest they become conceited in their own eyes, and be found guilty of that heinous sin of ingratitude, and setting light by father and mother. For as childrens' contempt and slight of parents, and their good advice, hath ever been and still is highly offensive to the Almighty, as appears by that dreadful curse denounced upon mount Ebal, in these words; "Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother, and all the people shall say amen;" so likewise the fond indulgence, remissness and slackness of such parents, as are too easy and backward in performing their incumbent duty of restraining their children from undue liberties, and honestly training them up in the ways of virtue, is no less so. This is evident from the words of the Lord himself to that pious stripling Samuel, touching Eli's lamentable omission of his duty, in exerting his paternal authority in curbing the extravagancies of his sons, expressed thus; "In that day I will perform against Eli, all things which I have spoken concerning his house; when I begin, I will also make an end. For I have told him, that I will judge his house for ever, for the iniquity which he knoweth; because his sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not."

On the other hand, a fervent and truly conscientious concern in parents and governors of families, not only to admonish those under their care, but even with zeal and prudence to lay their commands upon them, as occasion may require, according to the authority lodged in them, is always well pleasing to the Lord, as is manifest in the case of faithful Abraham, respecting his care in the economy of his family; "Shall I," said the Lord, "hide from Abraham that thing which I do. For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment."

It must certainly be a very heavy load upon libertine children who reject advice, when they have justly to reflect on themselves, that they have both embittered their good parents' lives, and perhaps, sometimes brought their grey hairs down to the grave in sorrow; and also have by their disobedience and rebellion, occasioned and drawn down the Lord's just displeasure upon themselves. It must also inevitably be cause of great and heavy distress, when parents, having been remiss and slack in the management and instruction of their children, observing their loose courses, are conscious to themselves, that they are not clear of their childrens' blood. Is it not also a piece of mere vanity, folly and absurd indiscretion, and generally terminates in vexation of spirit, that any parent or parents should engross his or their time and faculties, in accumulating great portions in this world for their offspring. By such proceedings, the poor imprudent parents are not only themselves often diverted from the chief and most important business of their day

and generation, their spiritual talents buried in the earth, and the good seed choaked in them by the inordinate cares of this life, and deceitfulness of riches; but their children also are too often puffed up with their ample portions, and likely to be carried away and elevated above the simplicity of the truth, and the blessed cross of Christ; sometimes scarcely retaining even the form of truth.

How highly imprudent therefore must it be, that any parents should, in a great measure, lose themselves, and curtail their service in the church, by acquiring and raking together that which may endanger their own peace, happiness and safety, and tend to the very great loss of their posterity! Wherefore, I fervently desire that every father and mother may be far more anxious and concerned, that their children might get the truth for their portion, and the God of Jacob for the lot of their inheritance, than that they may become rich, full, and grand in this world; unto which concern the Spirit of truth we profess, will ever lead those that obey it. But alas! alas! for want of duly attending upon this, and faithfully following its guidance, how has the love of money, and the desire after riches and grandeur, prevailed in these times of ease and liberty, which the church hath long been in a great degree favoured with, as a great calm after the violent storms of persecution, which our forefathers endured. Is it not too plain that the cause of truth hath suffered much thereby? Friends, let us be very cautious in this dangerous respect, viz. in the too eager pursuit after the fading enjoyments of this world; not forgetting what the apostle says thereupon, "But they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some have coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows."

Finally, my dear brethren, I beseech you, inasmuch as that solemn time is coming on, wherein it will in effect be said to each of us, in what station or capacity soever we now are, whether ministers or elders, parents or children, masters or servants, "Come, give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer steward;" let us all diligently come up in the faithful discharge of our several duties to God, and reciprocally one to another in our respective stations and relations, giving diligence to make our calling and election sure, and ever labouring with the utmost sincerity and circumspection, in that wisdom which is first pure, then peaceable, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy, to preserve and promote peace, concord and brotherly condescension in all our respective families and meetings, and so far as in us lies, in the whole Society, and timely to suppress every appearance of the contrary; so wisheth, so prayeth, your affectionate brother, concerned in my measure for Zion's prosperity. DAVID HALL.

Skipton, the 18th of the third month, 1752.

AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN, OR ELSEWHERE;

Containing advice and consolation, particularly addressed to those who are under tribulation, in the following stations of life, viz:—1. To the widows and fatherless.—2. To the orphans.—3. To apprentices.—4. To men and maid servants.—5. To fathers and mothers, with their children.—6. To the poor, aged, and infirm, &c.

To Friends of Knaresborough monthly meeting, held at Asquith, the 21st of the Twelfth month, 1752, and to the next ensuing quarterly meeting at York; which is now extended to the quarterly and monthly meetings of Friends in Great Britain, or elsewhere.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS!—Notwithstanding line upon line, precept upon precept, and many wholesome advices, suitable to divers states in the church, have been from time to time heretofore administered by several worthy Friends, which I trust have been, and still may be of service, if duly applied; yet nevertheless in my confinement at home, occasioned by some indisposition of body, having had frequent opportunities of solidly remembering my friends abroad, and weightily considering the present state of the church, I have of late time found my mind engaged and drawn, I humbly hope, by the cords of gospel love, pursuant to the direction in Job,—"to him that is afflicted, pity should be showed from his friend;" to seek out all the honest-hearted and faithful poor Friends, and even those of the lowest estate in our Israel, and cordially to pay them the following epistolary visit, in all their various exercises and probations, wherever their lots are cast, which I now here offer to your perusal, and serious consideration. And inasmuch as (if I mistake not) the following lines proceed from that universal love which is not confined within the bounds of one monthly meeting or county, I could desire they might be suffered to circulate further. Howbeit, with that due submission, in which it always becomes any one member of the body to appear, whenever he or she may make any propositions to the Society, I refer the matter to my dear friends' judgment and determination, who am, in the love of Truth, your kindly affectionate friend and brother,

DAVID HALL.

To the poor, and those even of the lowest degree and rank in Israel, as touching the things of this life, wheresoever they are scattered, who, professing the blessed principle of Truth, are honestly endeavouring by the assistance thereof, so to order their whole conversation, as that they may have a conscience always void of offence toward God and toward men, according to their several growths and capacities, though attended with many exercises, straits and pinching circumstances on divers accounts, a nearly sympathizing brother of theirs in tribulation, who often remembers them in the bowels of gospel love and charity, wisheth consolation, and tenderly sendeth greeting.

My dear friends, brethren and sisters in tribulation!

It is most certain, that the love of God, through Christ his Son our Saviour, is in a merciful day of visitation extended to all men, of all nations and stations, high and low, rich and poor, in order for their redemption, reconciliation and salvation. Yet in a peculiar manner, I am humbly and thankfully sensible, that even the very good will of him that dwelt in the bush, when just about to send seasonable relief to his afflicted people, sighing and groaning in the land of Egypt, runs with a flowing stream abundantly to his upright-hearted, faithful poor servants, who are going through many tribulations, often drinking various bitter cups, and frequently meeting with disagreeable things, to the end that their bitter cups might be sweetened and sanctified by His heavenly life-giving presence, as sure as ever the bitter waters of Marah were by him, through the mediation of Moses, made sweet and refreshing to his poor people in their travels through the wilderness, towards the land flowing with milk and honey; that the poor in Israel might experimentally understand the truth of the apostle's assertion,—"all things work together for good to them that love God."

Dear hearts! It springs up in my mind to say unto you, be not dismayed, nor discouraged, for although you may at times be ready to lament yourselves, under apprehensions that you are sunk and pressed down very low; yet, be assured, the eternal God is your refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms. In all your proving junctures, labour to stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, and I doubt not but you will witness that blessed hope, so often spoken of by the apostle, to be unto you as an anchor of your poor tossed souls, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the vail. Let us ever remember, that the merciful regard of the Almighty was, in all ages and dispensations, signally manifested to his poor suffering people in all their difficulties. "When they were but a few men in number," saith the text, "yea very few, and strangers in the land; when they went from one nation to another, from one kingdom to another people, he suffered no man to do them wrong. Yea, he reproved kings for their sakes, saying, touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." "For he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye." "He found him," saith Moses in his song, "in a desert land, and in the waste howling wilderness; he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye." "In all their afflictions he was afflicted," saith Isaiah, "and the angel of his presence saved them; in his love and in his pity he redeemed them, and he bare them, and carried them all the days of old."

In the foregoing places we may plainly perceive, how engaging and well-pleasing to the Lord the faithfulness of his people is, and ever was; for he said;—"surely they are my people, children that will not lie; so he was their Saviour."

Moreover, my beloved, may all the faithful and poor in Israel be encouraged by the privileges, virtues and promises of the gospel:—"Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, be strong, fear not, behold your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompense, he will come and save you," saith that same evangelical prophet. Again,—"And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness. The meek also shall increase their joy in the Lord, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel."

What good cause therefore have all the faithful and upright in heart, in how low situation soever in this world, to be encouraged and trust in the Lord? For as one of his tried servants testified,—"The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them."

How amiable therefore, how excellent must the very tents and situations of the upright in heart be, though never so poor as to this fading world, who have the highly valuable pearls and riches of faith, hope and charity within, and such a powerful, glorious and heavenly Protector to guard and defend them in their solitary habitations. May we not then justly account those the truly noble and right honourable princes and princesses in Israel, comforted and made glad by the lifting up of the light of the countenance of the Lord, while he resisteth and beholdeth the proud afar off, though they be the grandees of this world, dwelling as in spacious palaces, faring sumptuously every day, and

stretching themselves on their soft and delicate couches and beds of down. My heart is open to you in the love of truth, being encouraged and comforted in this my visit and salutation unto you, humbly remembering the words of the royal Psalmist: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble."

But, O my beloved, that I may pay you this visit of love as thoroughly as I am capable, that, as I may say, I may see all your solitary cottages, tents and families, and greet you one by one, from house to house, I am engaged and drawn by the cords of love to descend to the following particulars, viz:

1st. To the widows and fatherless.

2nd. To orphans.

3rd. To those in the station of apprentices.

4th. To men-servants and maid-servants; as also to the poor young people among Friends in general, in what station soever they be, whether married or unmarried, boarders in Friends' families, journeymen, or such as are just opening shops, and beginning business for themselves in their strait and narrow circumstances.

5th. To fathers and mothers, with their children in their families.

6th. To the aged and infirm, whether relieved by the church, or otherwise.

First, O ye dear widows, who are widows indeed, I mean faithful according to knowledge, for to such I am now writing, although in some respects your states may look disconsolate and discouraging, being as lonesome doves without your mates, yet the special regard of the Fountain of mercies is such towards you, that even to pay you and your poor fatherless children a visit in your afflictions, is affirmed by the holy apostle, to be a part of the "pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father." And the Lord God himself, in his tender mercy and pity, many hundred years before the apostle declared those his sentiments, hath often expressed his tender care and compassionate regard to persons in your situation, as particularly in Jeremiah,—"Leave thy fatherless children," saith he, "I will preserve them alive, and let thy widows trust in me." Also when the Lord is treating with the degenerate Jews, he mercifully condescends to propose what was to be done, and what steps were to be taken by them, in order that they might be reconciled unto him; three of which were these following: "Relieve the oppressed: judge the fatherless: plead for the widow."

Notwithstanding ye pious widows, my honoured friends, ye are deprived of your dear husbands, do not despond, but receive ye consolation in this, that God in his holy habitation is your Judge. And although, O ye dear fatherless children, who are of orderly conduct, and are desirous to grow in grace, and the saving knowledge of God, though ye be left destitute of natural fathers, God is, and will be much more than a natural father unto each of you, so long as ye shall continue and persevere in the ways of virtue. "A father of the fatherless," saith the kingly prophet, "a judge of the widows, is God in his holy habitation;" who also gave a strict charge concerning persons in your condition, on this wise:—"Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child," saith the Lord. Likewise the Psalmist testifies: "The Lord preserveth the strangers; he relieveth the fatherless and widow."

May it be remembered for your encouragement, O ye poor widows, how our unchangeable God, in his tender mercy, had compassion upon two of your deeply tried sisters in former days, when under very disconsolate circumstances. And O ye dear fatherless children, how three of your brothers were at the same time mercifully and miraculously relieved. The husband of the first widow dying, left her in strait and afflicting circumstances, so that the creditor was ready to lay hands on her two sons, and take them for bondmen; but upon an humble and honest application to the Lord's servant Elisha, the Lord blessed her little oil, and alleviated her distressed case. The second I speak of, was the widow of Zarephath, to whom the prophet Elijah was sent for sustenance in a time of great scarcity; which poor widow had only a handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruse, for the support of herself and her poor fatherless child; yet being under the tender notice of the judge of the widow, and the Father of the fatherless, they both, and their small provision, were mightily blessed, and had a sufficiency granted them, both for the prophet's cake in the first place, and their own seasonable relief. Trust therefore in the Lord; cast your care upon him, for he careth for you, as he ever hath done heretofore for the faithful widows, and innocent fatherless.

Notwithstanding we do not expect such miracles to be wrought upon our oil and meal in the same degree, yet the blessing of God maketh poor widows and fatherless rich, and gives them, in their low estate, really to experience the truth of that worthy assertion of the apostle; "Godliness with contentment is great gain." The Lord bless you, and sanctify you unto himself, and your circumstances unto you. "She," saith the apostle, "that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day." I hope, dear sisters, that you, under the like pious, depending concern, and devout exercise, are journeying along. And be sure take heed that none of you let in reasonings, that you have never been capable of being so serviceable as many

others have been in those particulars mentioned by the apostle, that is to say, in lodging strangers, in washing the saints' feet, in relieving the afflicted. For if you have been, are, and shall be honestly concerned to do your best, your mites have been, are, and will be accepted, as certainly as ever your sisters of old were not only accepted, but even commended and preferred before the large gifts, which the rich persons out of their abundance had cast into the treasury. So be not uneasy on such accounts; if ye have done what ye could, it is enough, let not your heart be troubled: "For," as saith the apostle, "if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted, according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not."

And, ye dear fatherless children, whenever it may so fall out that the circumstances of your poor mothers, by reason of sickness, old age, or any other accident, may require your succour and assistance, as you are and shall be ready and willing, after the best manner you are capable, affectionately to help and attend them in their necessitous conditions, you will undoubtedly have much peace of mind in thus expressing your gratitude and affection, and a blessed reward will from the Lord certainly be given unto you. Such good offices, both natural affection and the truth, always incline virtuous children, without grudging, to perform as their incumbent and reasonable duty, and honourable retaliation to their tender mothers, who took so much care of them when they were not capable to take care of themselves.

Mark, all sincere and faithful poor widowers are, in all their straits, with their hopeful children, included in this compassionate salutation. Farewell, I must at present leave you, and proceed to the next particular.

Secondly. You, dear orphans, who are now left without fathers and mothers in a dangerous and troublesome world, my bowels yearn over you, and in the arms of love I embrace you, begging you may not be too much cast down; only live in the fear of God, and do your best according to knowledge to obey his requirings, and he will certainly take care of you. "When my father and mother," saith the Psalmist, "forsake me, then the Lord will take me up." The stay here of the most near and dear relations is altogether uncertain. We see how soon husbands are, by death, separated from their wives, and wives from husbands, parents from children, and children from parents; but I have often thought, and sometimes told children, of that everlasting Father, which the evangelical prophet in a most moving manner speaks of, that when widows, fatherless, and orphans, are left in this vale of tears, something like mournful pelicans in the desolate wilderness, and as complaining sparrows on the house-top, they might in faith look up unto this everlasting Father, and be comforted, relieved and preserved. The evangelical prophet thus expresses his glorious and heart-affecting prediction: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace: of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end." O dear creatures, if he be your counsellor, and if you, and all now saluted in this epistle, stand in and obey his counsel, you shall certainly know him to be unto you the Mighty God to preserve, protect, deliver and save you; and also the Prince of peace, to set up and establish his peaceable kingdom in your hearts, and there to sway his righteous sceptre; and also to be unto you a never-failing and everlasting Father, to nourish and provide for you according to his wisdom, and to supply your wants by his blessing upon your honest endeavours.

Therefore, dear children, be of good courage, if your natural fathers and mothers have left you, your best, most certain, most powerful and everlasting Father ever remains, and cannot be removed into a corner. Farewell. I recommend you to him, and leave you under his care.

Thirdly. You honest and well-minded, trusty apprentices, whom I salute in much love, and for your encouragement tell you, that many being faithful to the Lord, and to their own masters, according to the best of their understandings, though but very poor as to this world, and even of mean capacities too in comparison as to natural or acquired parts, have made notable improvements in their own natural parts, and in the arts and mysteries that they were bound apprentices to learn,—have been wonderfully blessed by divine Providence,—have laid a foundation in their apprenticeships for their becoming in due time honourable tradesmen upon their own bottom. Yea, many have risen, through God's blessing on their honest endeavours, from poor laborious apprentices to prosperous, rich, and honourable masters, and often even have been anointed for the ministration of the glorious gospel, and divers good services in the church of Christ; while some rich men's sons have turned prodigals, spent their substance in bad company, and have landed among insolvent debtors in prison-houses.

Therefore, dear children, continue faithful; have your dependence upon Jacob's God, and he can raise you from the very lowest state, even from the dunghill, to sit among princes. Please to remember Jacob's having entered into covenant with the Lord, the articles whereof were on this wise,—"That if the Lord would give him bread to eat, and raiment to put on,

would preserve and bring him safe to his father's house at last, he should be his God." After twenty years faithful and hard service in his uncle Laban's house and field, he became a religious, prudent and exemplary master of a large family, and was made even two bands. He was as a blessing to his uncle, flock and family; so often do faithful and conscientious apprentices prove to their masters' families. Those that are bound as apprentices, and proceed honestly in all their conduct, they are like as if they were casting good seed into the ground, which afterwards will produce a plentiful harvest. Such grow in favour with God and good Friends, who will always be ready with pleasure to assist them, as occasion may require. For all those Friends, in whose hearts the truth and gospel spirit prevail and preside, have always a tender regard to all such as this epistle is directed to, with whom they may freely consult and advise in any difficult emergency. But they who are only eye-servants, and in their master's absence loiter, purloin, and are unfaithful, lay a foundation for shame, poverty, and sometimes for the house of correction too. The Lord bless you, and preserve you.

Fourthly. My well-esteemed friends, who are of orderly conversation, and religiously inclined, in the stations of men-servants and maid-servants, be of good courage in the honest discharge of your duties to your masters, mistresses, and their children, looking up unto, and begging a blessing of your good and great Lord and Master, which is in heaven; so you will be preserved by him from the many snares of your grand enemy and his agents, which are cunningly and subtilly laid for the feet of our dear young people in their several posts and capacities. As you persevere in the ways of virtue, you may become, with the trusty and hopeful apprentices, a blessing and advantage to your masters' families, being good examples to their children. Thus proceeding, though you have but little in this world, the God of Jacob will bless your basket and your store, and add unto you many blessings, even beyond your expectation; for you being servants, will, by the Truth, be made the Lord's free men and free women; and if the Truth make you free, then are you free indeed. Such young persons as these, are with the faithful widows, worthy of double honour. These have a blessed portion in the truth; these have a goodly heritage, and are, by the Lord and his people, esteemed far above those that are rich as to things of this life, but are high and irreligious. As you continue thus in the way of well-doing, ye may become very serviceable to the church of Christ in your generation, it may be both in the discipline, and some of you in the publication of the gospel; being made experimental witnesses, in your measures and degrees, of that glorious and evangelical promise and prediction: "And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophecy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants, and upon the handmaids, in those days will I pour out my spirit." O every one of you wait diligently to know this gracious promise fulfilled in you. And although some of you may, with some of the apprentices, think your places hard, and attended with divers difficulties on some accounts, yet fear the Lord, and depend upon him, and he will give you patience, succour and support you; yea, he will alleviate all your grievances, and sweeten your bitters by his comfortable presence, and the lifting up of his glorious countenance upon you.

O dear hearts, consider ye also the exercising case of your brother Jacob in former times, who, though he had his wages changed ten times, and thus complained,—"In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night, and my sleep departed from mine eyes." In all which twenty years hard service, the God of his father, the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac, conducted and protected him safely through all to the end of his servitude, and the end of his life. And wheresoever apprentices and servants have their lots cast in the families of such religious masters and mistresses as not only permit, but encourage and put forward their servants in going to religious meetings, both on first-days and other days of the week, let it be accounted as a great privilege, and a singular favour, which all ought carefully and thankfully to make proper use of, who are favoured therewith. And I hope that all our well-minded young men and women, that are desirous to be servants, may use proper endeavours to get such places in Friends' families, where these valuable privileges and liberties may be allowed them, and enjoyed.

And, ye dear young people, who are journeymen, or boarders in Friends' families, diligently working for your bread in your respective employments, and also ye that are setting up for yourselves, and have not much of this world to begin with, being piously and religiously inclined, for such I am seeking out; please to observe the apostle's advice to the Roman church, that they should be "not slothful in business," but "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer." As you are diligently labouring with your hands, breathe with your hearts and minds to the Lord for his blessing upon your endeavours, and be not too anxious about temporals. Serve the Lord faith-

fully, and above all things in this world, mind your growth and establishment in the Truth; and fear not that you shall ever want those three necessary articles, meat, drink, and apparel; ever remembering the exhortation and promise of Christ, most worthy of commemoration, most worthy to be written in letters of gold, and ever to be reduced to constant practice: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." The Truth ever teaches all tradesmen, who mind its dictates, to keep within the bounds of their own stocks and capacities. Be sure follow this your sure guide, and you will do well. Under the care and keeping of Jacob's God I must now leave you for a while, and step along to the next particular, where I hope and expect to find industry, frugality, justice, true religion, and the blessing of heaven.

Fifthly. My well-beloved and much esteemed friends, as I was approaching you, that ancient salutation, prescribed and commanded by our blessed Lord to his seventy disciples, just setting out on their gospel visit to families, towns and cities, sprang in my mind; "And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, peace be to this house." And inasmuch as I believe the Prince of peace is here among you honest, laborious, frugal, religious fathers, mothers and children, all that are capable thereof, co-working and employed together in your lawful and necessary vocations, in love and harmony, in order to earn your bread, and that your little oil, through the blessing of God, may be made sufficient to answer all just demands made upon you, having at the same time your eye fixed on the Lord above all things, and depending upon him, being all along conscientiously and fervently concerned to perform your several duties unto God, who is the author of your being, and your mercies, not daring to omit the attending religious meetings, both on first-days and other days of the week, so far as your circumstances and situation, with respect to distance from the meeting-place, &c., will reasonably allow; for Truth requires nothing unreasonable at our hands. May the peace of God rest upon you, and may all your labours be watered with his blessing.

Suffer me, dear Friends, to lay before your serious consideration, how that when Christ our Lord was going about in the body of flesh, doing good, and calling men to be his disciples, messengers and promulgators of the gospel, he went not to the courts of kings, colleges or academies of the learned, but walking by the sea of Galilee, he saw divers young men with their fathers in vessels, industriously concerned and engaged in their fishing business, as you are in your respective vocations. Some were casting a net into the sea, and others mending their nets; to which young persons Jesus said,—"Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straitway they forsook their nets, and followed him." Stand open, I beseech you, therefore, and wait for the call, and give up yourselves, and faithfully obey and follow him that calleth. O consider their ready obedience in straitway leaving both fathers, ships and nets; and of how eminent and remarkable service those poor fishers became. "Not many wise men after the flesh," saith the apostle, "not many mighty, not many noble are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are; that no flesh should glory in his presence." We see the faithful ministers and elders are reduced to a few in number in some places; yea, divers meetings have no public ministers belonging to them. The present state of the church therefore seems to call for this kind of useful instruments; the Lord, we must own, is not wanting; but in this case we may say, though many are called, few are chosen, by reason of their disobedience and unwillingness to give up to the heavenly call and vision. Too many of the young people of this generation, under the profession of truth, especially of those that are rich and full, living in the affluence of the enjoyments of this life, seem too much to soar above the gracious calls and invitations of humble Jesus, sometimes called the carpenter's son. I beg and hope therefore that you, like the laborious young fishermen above-mentioned, may straitway leave all incumbrances, when you are sensible of the gracious and heavenly call of the good and great Shepherd of the sheep, whensoever he shall call you to service among his lambs and sheep. In the mean while, dear children, as ye keep under the conduct of the Holy Spirit of truth, the Comforter and remembrancer, you will not forget, but often thankfully and humbly remember, acknowledge, and put a right value upon the favours of kind Providence which you enjoy; especially that you have yet good parents to apply unto, and to receive wholesome counsel and assistance from, and that you are not yet reduced to the number of the poor fatherless children or orphans; yet let your rejoicings in the enjoyments of these peculiar blessings be always attended with fear and reverence, not knowing how soon they may be taken from you, or you from them.

But before I leave you, I must here insert a few words in much Christian sympathy and commiseration, consistently with that apostolic advice,—"Weep with them that weep;" to every

such faithful father or mother, whether properly appertaining to any of the particular classes specified in this epistle, or placed in other stations with regard to the enjoyments of this life, as may be deeply tried with that very afflicting, heart-breaking exercise, and extremely bitter cup, of having a son or daughter who takes bad courses, somewhat like Esau, who by hunting, roving about, and marrying out of the counsel of God, and contrary to the mind of his good parents, almost ruined himself, and brought much grief on them. Under a sense thereof, his tender mother sorrowing for the miscarriage of her elder son, and solicitous for the preservation of her younger, thus complains in her mournful strains,—"I am weary of my life, because of the daughters of Heth; if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?" Or in some respects like poor unhappy Dinah, the daughter of her worthy father Jacob, who letting out her mind abroad, took a tour into the land to see the daughters thereof; and while she was casting her wandering eyes upon the daughters of the land, a son of that land cast his eyes upon her, and ensnared her, to her own very great loss and shame, and to the inexpressible grief of her honourable father and brethren. To every such distressed parent, I have, in much compassion, to say, Be not too much cast down; thou art under the tender regard and merciful notice of the Lord. As I hope thou canst honestly make thy appeal unto God, who knows the hearts of all men, that thou hast, both by example and precept, done thy very best for the preservation of thy child or children; and as from time to time, in much humility and sincerity thou spreadest thy cause, and layest thy sorrowful case before him, pouring out thy humble petitions, prayers and supplications at the throne of grace, for his gracious relief, he will undoubtedly take notice and pity these thy distressing circumstances and sorrowful tears. He will in due time mitigate this and all thy other anxieties, and help thee yet more to cast thy care upon him, who careth for thee, and not suffer thee to sink too low under thy troubles and perplexing care. Yea, I am ready to hope that some, if not many, will yet live to see that joyful and much desired day, in which they may have the happiness, after a long time of mourning, to meet, embrace and kiss their long exiled penitent, returning prodigal sons or daughters, and with tears of joy see them mercifully re-instated in the Father's house.

Moreover, as I am now on my way inquiring for all the poor Friends in distress, in order that a word of comfort and advice might be tenderly dropt to each of them in this visit of love, I find I must not pass by without speaking to some particular cases, whether rich or poor, who having been professors in the church of England, or some other communion not of us, have married therein. But some time after marriage, the husbands or wives being convinced of the blessed truth, receive the same in the love thereof, and resolve, through divine assistance, to give up in faithful obedience thereunto; yet by reason of the different opinions and ways of thinking those wives and husbands have, touching divine worship, and the using of ceremonies, traditions, and formalities, and also touching that weighty point, the education and management of their children, who have them, there are often difficulties and proving exercises, on divers accounts, to be met with by them. To such convinced husbands or wives, who are truly desirous faithfully to discharge their several duties to God Almighty, to their yet unconvinced wives or husbands and their children, I find it to spring in my mind, cordially to say, Dear brother or sister, as thou knowest thy marriage covenant and nuptial ties are not dissolved or cancelled by thy convincement, but art sensible that the precious Truth, thou art in thy judgment convinced of, will ever teach and excite thee to demean thyself well, affectionately and prudently, in such manner as becomes the Truth, to thy wife or husband, though thou darest not join with her or him in the set forms, ceremonies and superficial performances, &c., which the Truth hath given thee plainly to see are not consistent with the spirituality of the new covenant or gospel dispensation in which we now live; for the Spirit of Truth leads its followers into all truth, in all their stations and relations, whether husbands or wives, parents or children, masters or servants, and helps all to perform their several duties reciprocally one to another; so that, as thou keeps under the conduct thereof, thou wilt be enabled to give undeniable proofs to thy yet unconvinced consort and others, that thy change of opinion or religious principles hath not proceeded from a vain and whimsical imagination, but from a real, conscientious, sincere heart-work, concern, conviction and illumination. This will also be further confirmed, if by thy prudent, circumspect and Christian behaviour, thou shalt demonstrate to all impartial beholders, that thou art not a worse, but a better husband, wife or parent, than thou wast before the said change. And be sure, my dear friend, whenever thou argues or disputes, either with thy consort, or any other person, about matters of faith, be very careful and watchful that thou all along keep to, and retain that most excellent gift, charity; for it hath been often observed with sorrow, that some, if not many, have in a fiery zeal contended for faith, until they have lost charity. As thou comest up in this Chris-

tian deportment, who knows what good effect and influence thy prudent conduct may in time have on thy dissenting consort in the conjugal tie. For, as saith the apostle on the like occasion, "what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? Or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?" However, the wise and cautious behaviour of such a conscientious convinced husband or wife, may prove very winning and gaining upon his or her opposite companion. Besides, it often happens that the poor children of such parents labour under their respective difficulties, being many times hard put to it, how to please both father and mother in their addresses, deportment and proceedings in divers respects.

In much brotherly-kindness therefore, I cordially say unto you convinced fathers and mothers, and your children, who may incline to go along with you to religious meetings; as your present case, and the difficulties you lie under, seem loudly to call for wisdom and prudence, patience and discretion, I earnestly entreat you to beg, and humbly wait for that wisdom, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, &c. For your encouragement, the apostle James speaks on this wise: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him." I hope you will be safely and honourably conducted in the several steps you have to tread, whereby you will be preserved from being overcome of evil, and helped to overcome evil with good; and experimentally learn the truth of that expression, "Wisdom is better than strength." Knowing that seemingly great oppositions are often got through by patient suffering; the fierceness of the lion is often conquered by the meekness of the lamb. And as our good friend William Penn saith in his advice to his children,—"Silence to passion, prejudice and mockery, is the best answer, and often conquers what resistance inflames." I can but deeply condole with you, who are tried with these perplexing circumstances, and I must in an especial manner commiserate the lot of those poor children, who remembering the commandment,—"Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land;" and being very willing and desirous to keep and perform the same, but the fathers and mothers differing so far in their sentiments on the score of religion, it is next to impracticable or impossible, that their children should always please them both, in dress or address, language, deportment, or the performance of their religious duties and devotion. Whilst the father thinks and draws one way, the mother, of another mind, thinks and draws another way; the father proposes one thing, the mother dissents therefrom, and proposes quite the reverse; the poor affectionate children lie under a pinching dilemma, scarcely knowing what to do, or what to say, or how to demean themselves, so as rightly to answer the command; for while they please their father, they displease their mother in divers things: and by pleasing their mother, they generally disoblige their father.

A certain worthy public Friend's son, who unwarily let out his mind to a young woman of another Society, gained her affections, and married her; he had one daughter by her, who, as she grew up to years conversable, fell under these difficulties, as I heard her father with sorrow relate; for when his friends came to their house, the child apprehended herself under obligation to behave in salutations and conduct agreeably to her father's mind, though at the same time quite contrary to her mother's liking; and again, a while after, when a visit is paid them by her mother's friends, the poor child must turn about, put on other airs, appear after another mode, in conformity to her mother's fancy, though to the grief and trouble of her father.

Alas! the confusion of mixt marriages. If all our young unmarried Friends would seriously and timely ponder and consider all the inconveniences and afflicting circumstances that generally attend such unhappy matches as those, wherein the husband and wife being of different sentiments in matters of religion, which are of far greater moment than temporals, are linked together as uneasy yoke-fellows in the inviolable covenant of matrimony for term of life; we would hope they might be deterred from such imprudent and unadvised contracts, as have very often been an inexpressible grief of mind to parents, proved perplexing to the parties concerned, and have ushered confusion and trouble into families and the Society, and have been followed with such dismal circumstances, as confirm many in their full belief, that the hand of divine Providence is against such mixt matches. Happy is he whom other men's harms do make to beware.

Furthermore, I earnestly desire that the fathers and mothers, and governors of families, according to the worthy recommendation and advice given from a late yearly-meeting at London, may often sit down together in their respective families to wait upon the Lord with their children, servants and boarders, who have them, to feel after his good presence; that the elders may know their hearts opened to drop a word of counsel to the younger, as the truth may make way, and the hearts of those that are younger may be opened to receive the same; so that the Lord may be comfortably remembered, and acceptably worshipped in our families; and parents, children, servants, and all the household, may be mercifully reached unto,

and mutually edified one with another, to the further establishment of the elders in, and the drawing of the youth to a sense and knowledge of the blessed truth, and preserving them from the corruptions of bad examples and unsuitable company. In such opportunities the elders or parents may probably have to give their children, servants, &c., at times, some encouraging and instructive relations of the Lord's gracious dealings with them, according to that divine direction given to Israel of old, viz: "And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart. And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."

And as servants are tenderly exhorted to fidelity and circumspection in their places, it is much desired that all masters and mistresses might so abide under the guidance of the blessed principle of Truth, as that they might always behave themselves to their servants with such prudent gentleness, justice and Christian moderation on all accounts, as becomes our holy profession, consistent with the apostle's advice,—"Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven; forbearing threatening." And agreeably to our honourable friend William Penn's advice to his children, in case they should have servants, on this wise: "Let them know their business as well as their wages; and as they do the one, pay them honestly the other. Though servants, yet remember they are brethren in Christ, and that you also are but stewards, and must account to God. Wherefore let your moderation appear unto them, and that will provoke them to diligence for love rather than fear, which is the truest and best motive to service." Having made this digression, I now find drawings in my mind to give some counsel and advice, in brotherly love and charity, to such who may in divers respects be said to dwell in the house of mourning.

Sixthly, and lastly. In much compassion, sympathy, and brotherly-kindness, I am concerned to visit you honest-hearted, infirm, afflicted dear friends, with all the faithful in distress on any account whatsoever, here or elsewhere, all the world over, bond or free, in your several situations. Ye dear elders, who by reason of age find your natural faculties and abilities to fail, your sight to wax dim, and even quite, or almost to leave some of you; though you may in these proving circumstances be confined to your rooms or beds, and being incapable to earn your bread, may be supplied by, and are under the tender care of the church; be not cast down, the Lord is with you, and as you depend upon him, he will be your comfort; yea, my beloved, he that was your morning light, will become your evening song. The Lord will strengthen you upon the bed of languishing, make all your bed in your sickness, bear up your heads above the waters, and sanctify your conditions unto you, and in a while mercifully remove you out of this troublesome world into his blissful kingdom, where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. And you, my dear poor friends, who may not yet have attained to old age, yet by the permission of Providence, labour under some distempers, infirmities, and disagreeable discouraging circumstances, whether supplied by the benevolence of your friends, with your elder brethren aforesaid, or otherwise, be of good comfort; you are also under the merciful notice and regard of the Physician of value, the most compassionate Shepherd of the sheep, and the glorious Bishop of the souls of his people. As you have your reliance upon him, he will sweeten your passage, grant you patience, strengthen your faith, make all your burdens tolerable to you. And if, my beloved, we be but enabled to bear what is laid upon us with becoming patience, which will be granted, in case we are not wanting on our part, all will be well. May we remember that our brother Lazarus, in the parable, was afflicted with sores, pains, and poverty, and the rich man's dogs afforded this poor beggar more relief than their voluptuous master did; yet being under the tender notice of heaven, he was soon delivered from all his troubles, and conveyed by angels into Abraham's bosom. Humbly and patiently therefore trust in the Lord; do your best to serve him with all your heart, and in a short time, I have to tell you, you will be favoured with the like happy change, and be removed hence from this your house of mourning into the Father's house of joy, wherein are many blessed mansions; where, though ye are poor in this world, ye will be heirs and joint-heirs in the endless kingdom of glory, rest and peace. In the mean time, dear brethren, though many of you, by reason of bodily weakness, cannot personally attend religious assemblies, to worship God with your brethren, your private devotion will be accepted, and you will feel according to your degrees and growths, a drinking of the water that Christ shall give you, which will be in you a well of water springing and bubbling up into eternal life; when your afflicted bodies are confined in your solitary chambers or apartments, and you may have to say, with a good friend now gone to rest, who expressed himself thus, a while before he made his exit: "Although I cannot get to meetings, yet I know the way to my own spring."

Furthermore, for the encouragement of every faithful friend, and sincere lover of holy Jesus, who is not capable personally to attend religious meetings, it is most certain that both the Father and the Son will graciously meet with every such an one, and mercifully grant unto him or her, a comfortable and permanent visit; "If a man love me," saith blessed Jesus, "he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."

And before I take leave of you, and bid you adieu, I must put you in mind for your comfort, there is a most glorious appointment made for you, and all greeted in this epistle, as you and they persevere in well-doing; of which Christ our dear Lord is to be the minister and dispenser, as it is expressed: "To appoint to them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." As these are the heavenly graces and sweet comforts you are in due time to receive, in exchange for all your sorrows and anxieties; as this, I say, is the glorious change of apparel you are to be arrayed with, so I must put you all in mind, who not only profess, but keep, i. e. have in possession, the blessed Truth, though never so poor, you are citizens of a glorious city, into which you are welcomed by an inhabitant of the said city, on this wise: "In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah; we have a strong city, salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks. Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation, which keepeth the truth, may enter in. Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee. Trust ye in the Lord for ever; for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength."

My dear Friends, of all the six classes visited by this epistle, it arises in my heart further to put you in mind of the comfortable expressions of our dear Lord and Master to his deeply tried disciples, which I trust are applicable to your circumstances in your respective degrees: "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God? But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore; ye are of more value than many sparrows." "Fear not little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."

Finally, having thus far paid you, dear Friends, the debt of love I have long owed you, and left you this, it may be, my last legacy after this manner, I recommend you to God, his keeping and preservation; and as I can do no less than sympathize with and pray for you, I humbly crave your prayers for me and mine; having met with comfort in each of your situations, for which I am thankful. I remain your affectionate brother in tribulation and the patience of the kingdom, according to my small measure. DAVID HALL.

Skipton, the 17th of the twelfth month, 1752.

N. B. Notwithstanding the foregoing lines are chiefly and especially intended, and sent as a consolatory salutation, for the encouragement of all the upright-hearted poor Friends, in their several straits and distresses, yet I do not in any wise forget, but comfortably remember our dear faithful Friends, whom kind Providence has favoured with a plentiful share of temporal blessings, whereby they are in a great measure exempted from divers difficulties which generally attend persons in low and pinching circumstances, praying for their preservation, further growth and establishment in the blessed truth. Neither do I at all disregard or overlook those professors of the Truth, in what station of life soever, who are as scattered and straying sheep from the true fold of rest, whether their wanderings be in a loose and immoral conduct, or they under the cloak of a plain outside, and mere superficial conformity in a moral conversation among men; yet are settled down in indolence, with respect to the spirit and vital part of the true religion, or are suffering the precious seed of the kingdom to be choaked in them by the cares of this life, or by the deceitfulness of riches, or by the love of, or lust after other things. Very fervent prayers are often in my heart, and in the hearts of many brethren, that all the scattered and dispersed poor wanderers may be happily prevailed upon, speedily and timely to return unto our glorious Shepherd and his fold, whilst the door of mercy is yet open, and the gracious day of visitation, and his compassionate invitation is yet mercifully afforded and lengthened out unto them, which was the blessed experience of some whom the apostle wrote unto on this wise; "For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls." DAVID HALL.

Fruits of early piety, represented and exemplified in several instances recorded in the Holy Scriptures, and other good books, here recommended to the serious observation of children.

DEAR and tender children,—In much love I I send you this little epistle, whereby I dearly salute you, greatly desiring ye may strive to be good, and never speak any bad words, or tell any false stories, but always speak the truth; and remember the great and glorious God that

made you, in whose hands your lives are, who can call you to the silent grave when he pleases, who many ages since gave out that special command, duly to be observed by all children who have fathers and mothers living, with a gracious promise joined thereto, as follows: "Honour thy father and mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Be sure constantly endeavour to keep this special cammandment, that so the Lord's enriching blessing may attend you. And oh! seek to be acquainted with him, and the blessed touches and teachings of his Holy Spirit, now in your tender years; for he hath often been graciously pleased in his mercy, to reach unto the hearts of many children, as in the morning of their time, some of which, my dear little friends, are here proposed to you as examples of early piety, for your solid consideration and imitation, by a truly loving and well-wishing friend of yours, DAVID HALL.

FRUITS OF EARLY PIETY, ETC.

1st. I recommend to your notice how Jacob, that pious and dutiful stripling, duly observing his good parents' directions in his young days, entered into covenant with the Lord, and was remarkably blessed every way. Read Genesis xxviii.

2nd. Joseph his son likewise was a remarkable instance of God's merciful regard to, and preservation of, such dear striplings as fear him, and dare not yield to the temptations of the wicked one and his agents; and how the Lord by his almighty power can, and often doth raise pious young persons through many sufferings, yea and sometime through the evil treatment of envious brethren, and false accusations too, to great dignities and signal services. Read Genesis xxxvii. and xxxix.

3rd. Samuel in his tender years, ministered before the Lord, being a child girded with a linen ephod. Moreover, his mother made him a little coat, and brought it to him from year to year, when she came up with her husband to offer the yearly sacrifice. Being dutiful to his parents and to his master, he grew in favour with God and men, and the Lord blessed him, made himself known unto him, and revealed his secrets unto him; so that all Israel, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord. He was also an honourable and mighty serviceable judge in Israel, and went, as saith the Scripture, from year to year, in circuit, to Bethel and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places, being a wonderful blessing and help to the people many ways.

4th. David, son of Jesse, a virtuous and obedient son, faithful in the business his father had committed to his care, was, by divine Providence, promoted from the sheepfold to the crown and kingdom of Israel, and was in the main, denominated a man after God's own heart, the lamentable case of Uriah being excepted. Thus we see, dear children, that the fear of God is not only the beginning of wisdom, but of all true promotion to real service and honour.

5th. The early piety and devotion of Jabez, procured him the title of being more honourable than his brethren, and he was thought worthy to be inserted in the chronicles of sacred writ. And Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying, "Oh! that thou wouldst bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast, and that thine hand may be with me, and that thou wouldst keep me from evil, that it may not grieve me! And God granted him that which he requested." Oh! that all children and youth would seek to be acquainted with their Maker, and in true sincerity thus address him for his blessing and preservation.

6th. Josiah, that remarkably pious young prince, was eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in all the ways of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left. He caused the book of the law to be read; he renewed the covenant of the Lord; destroyed idolatry, and brake down the houses of the Sodomites.

Thus this honourable young prince, lived beloved, and died lamented, after his signal good services.

7th. Richard Bury, in his collection of sundry notable occurrences, gives us the following account of a boy, between three and four years of age, who was remarkable for his religious disposition, very often reproving any person he heard speak profanely. The day he died, though not attended with any apparent illness, when he came from school in the afternoon, as he was sitting on his grandmother's lap, on a sudden said, Hark, grandmother, God Almighty calls; to which she made some answer, but he said the same again, adding, Yes, but he doth call, and I must be gone; and died that night without any illness perceived by him, in the year 1723. Oh! dear hearts, take notice hereby how soon the Lord can, and may make little children sensible of his awakening call.

8th. A worthy and honourable minister, now gone to rest, hath left behind him an account of the Lord's gracious dealings with him on this wise: "That when he was between six and seven years old, being at play with another boy, through the force of a sudden temptation, he swore an oath, which notwithstanding it was to a truth, yet such secret convictions of the

evil of so doing in the sight of Almighty God, so affected his mind with sorrow and remorse, as made a lasting impression on his judgment, and also imprinted that warning and fear in his heart in this respect, that he says, he never did the like since on any occasion." Therefore my dear little children, fear God, and mind the early reproofs of instruction, which are the way of life, and the Lord will bless you.

Likewise this good Friend hath left upon record, that when he was about twelve or thirteen years old, a strong inclination took place in him to have a coat made with some more resemblance of the mode or fashion of the time, than in the plain manner which he, with other Friends had used, and prevailed upon his father to grant it. But he was made uneasy in it, almost at the first wearing of it, and the more so in using it, feeling the certain reproofs of the Spirit of Truth, for his leaning to, and joining with the vain and restless spirit of the world, and turning from the steady plainness of the unchangeable Truth, &c. See Fothergill's Journal, p. 7, 8, 9.

9th. Sarah Scott, who died before she was quite thirteen years of age, a virtuous young woman, is said to have frequently prayed to the Lord in secret; and once being spoken to, when still, she said, Let me alone, that I may meditate on my God: and likewise said, she enjoyed the streams of the love God; adding, she was sorry for all that did live wickedly, and lamented what many would do when they came upon a death-bed; desiring, that one of her acquaintance might take more care of her words and actions, or she would find it hard when she came upon her death-bed. And she said, I have had much trouble, the enemy having been busy when I was in meetings, so that I looked out sometimes, and neglected the inward work, for which I have known sorrow. Lamenting those that live in pride, and spend much time in adorning the body, and walking wantonly; she addressed one on this wise: Be careful of thy words and carriage, especially in meetings, to keep in thy mind, for God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

10th. William Fennell, who died about twelve years of age, was often followed with the reproofs and convictions of God's Holy Spirit, when he had sometimes been wild, and run to play among other boys. When he was brought on his sick bed, he was under an inward exercise of mind, desiring to have the ten commandments read to him, which was done; and he was asked: How far he found he had kept them? He answered: He had not, as he could remember, ever taken the Lord's name in vain, and that he loved and honoured his father and mother, and had been careful not to tell lies, or false stories. Then calling for his sisters and brother, he exhorted them to love and fear God, and his truth, and pray to him to fit them to die; and to attend religious meetings; and to think upon God and good things, and the Lord would love them; and bid them do what their father and mother commanded them, and be obedient to them, and look in their bibles, and they would find it was God's command to children, to obey their parents, for it is well-pleasing unto the Lord. He was sorry he had been wild, and loved play too much, as above, for which he was reproved often, and made so uneasy, that sometimes he went into the garret, and wept bitterly. But when enticed by his comrades, he was again prevailed upon, and so laid a foundation for renewing repentance; and often prayed to the Lord in the night season on his knees, when others have been asleep. And this child cried out, saying: Oh! the Lord loves solitariness; he doth not love laughing and joaking; I never read that Christ smiled, but often prayed and wept. See Piety Promoted, Part IV. p. 56.

It is fully believed, that this mercifully visited stripling made a happy end. Oh! therefore, dear children, I say again, duly observe the reproofs of instruction, which are the way of life, never consenting to any companions, who would entice you to do those things that afterwards will bring trouble upon your tender minds; by avoiding which you will make your parents' hearts glad, and ye yourselves may be blessed and happy for ever.

11th. Nicholas Gates, desirous to have the true knowledge of God in his childhood, took great delight in reading the Holy Scriptures, and private prayer. He received a gift of the ministry, became a serviceable Friend, given to hospitality, a labourer for the preservation of unity, &c. See Piety Promoted, Part V. p. 117.

12th. Mary Post, aged about eight years, was of a tender spirit, sober behaviour, religiously inclined, and a lover of plainness in habit and speech, but a disliker of pride and finery in apparel. Hearing some boys in the street take God's name in vain, she said: They take God's name in vain enough to fright one. She also said: She should delight to go to meetings. See Piety Promoted, Part V. p. 87.

13th. Phebe Daughty was dutiful to her parents and a great comfort to them, being from a child mindful of eternity, meditated on the best things, and had God in her thoughts, and would enquire the meaning of some Scriptures. She was never given to speak that which was not true: so from these good beginnings, she became an honourable woman, lived well, and died happily. Ibid. p. 133.

14th. Taner Costard was of an innocent conversation, dutiful, loving and affectionate to his parents, religiously inclined from his infan-

cy, and greatly delighted to read the Holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament. He experienced the work of Truth in his heart. So living the life of the righteous, he attained to a blessed death like theirs. Aged about twenty-two years. Ibid. p. 136.

15th. Rebecca Toovey, who died about the age of nine years, was a dutiful and pious child, a great reader and lover of the Holy Scriptures and Friends' books; of an innocent and wise behaviour and carriage, and her conversation was pleasing and acceptable; though she was but a young plant, it pleased the Lord to endue her with a large understanding in things both natural and divine. She was very just and equal in all she undertook, and never known to tell a lie, or speak an ill word. She loved to go to meetings, and said, it was sweet to her. Thus proceeding, her short, but pious, life was crowned with a blessed death. Ibid. Part V. p. 148.

16th. George Newland, of the city of Dublin, was also a remarkable instance of early virtue and piety, very well worthy of the observation of the children and striplings, being an orderly and dutiful child, and sought the Lord in his young and tender years; and when he was drawn or persuaded by his school-fellows to play, or be wild, he afterwards would be under such trouble in himself, that he would weep and mourn in the night season. And when about ten years of age, desired he might be sent into the country, and retire from his companions in the city. So his parents sent him into England, where, about eleven or twelve years of age, the Lord qualified him to give testimony unto the Truth, calling him into the ministry, in which he was faithful, and travelled in the work thereof in divers parts of Ireland.

As therefore a virtuous life is the way to an happy death, and to live in the fear of God is the way to die in his favour, this honourable stripling, after a pious and exemplary life, came to an honourable and comfortable death, near nineteen years of age. Ibid. Part IV. p. 155.

17th. Another good Friend and minister likewise, when between eight and ten years of age, was made very sensible of the Lord's dealings with him. Notwithstanding this early visited boy hated to hear wicked words, yet he loved play exceedingly; and one time in the midst of his sport, he was reached with strong convictions, so that he could not forbear weeping. He also loved music, dancing, and playing at cards, though unknown to his honest parents, but was followed with the righteous judgments of God in the secret of his soul; by which righteous judgments he was redeemed from those vanities, against which the Spirit of Truth always appears, and redeems all his faithful followers from, how nearly soever any may have been attached thereto in times past. He began to delight in reading and sobriety, and when he read the Holy Scriptures, he would desire that God would open them to his understanding; and when he read of the crucifixion of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, it would break his soul into tenderness. Yet nevertheless, being advanced to about fourteen or fifteen years of age, he used to shun the cross of speaking in the plain language, which is always used in the Holy Scriptures, to those whom he conversed with, except his father and mother, who would not allow him to speak otherwise. For these evasions he also met with judgment, and was brought to take up the cross to that flesh-pleasing kind of expression of saying *you* to one person, whether high or low. From that time forward he used *thou* and *thee* to one person, and in so doing found peace in his own mind, and got more reputation among considerate persons, than he had done by conforming to the dialect of the vain world, both unsound in itself, and inconsistent with the principle he professed. For people generally know when any of us, either young or old, appear in deportment, habit and speech, inconsistent with our principle. And what do any of us get by running counter to our principle in any shape, but loss, scorn and contempt? Oh! that all our young people, and modern temporizing professors of the blessed Truth, would duly consider those things, and no longer think light of practising what our good Friends have suffered much for, by bearing their testimony against, in this and other respects. T. Chalkley's Journal, p. 3, 4, 5, 6.

19th. Joseph Pike, near Cork in Ireland, upon whose tender mind the divine Spirit began to work very early, even before he was seven years old, to draw him off from childish play and vanities: from which time, until he arrived at the age of eighteen years, he underwent great conflicts of soul, and at length grew up to be a useful member of the church. See Vol. 2nd of the Friends' Library.

19th. In Ireland, the eldest son of a counsellor at law and justice of the peace, who possessed an estate to the yearly value of three hundred and sixty pounds per annum, embraced the Truth and became very religious, and joined with Friends; for which his father, being offended when he met his son with his hat on, not only treated him severely and cruelly with furious blows, but disinherited him, leaving him only ten pounds per annum, to keep him, as he said, from starving or relying on those seducing people, meaning the Quakers, and threatened to turn any of his children out of doors that should go to their meetings: yet this suffering

youth became a worthy man, and by the cross attained to the crown.—*History of Friends in Ireland, p.* 325.

Finally, dear children, I have three things to lay before your serious consideration; 1st. That you, and all, who have good religious parents and guardians, that are much concerned for your welfare every way, and desirous to bring you up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to train you up in the way you should go, affording you all due encouragements to go to meetings, and walk in all the ways of truth, virtue and piety, being also themselves good examples to you therein: I say, that you prize these your highly valuable privileges, and express the true value you have for them, by a conduct agreeable to the good precepts and examples you are favoured with.

2nd.—I would have you know and consider, that many boys and girls have not such favors and blessings, but are, alas! either left without parents or guardians in this dangerous world, or are under the tuition of such as are not properly concerned for their right education; but being left much to themselves, are lamentably exposed to bad company, and corrupting examples, whence they generally learn vicious habits.

3rd.—May, therefore, all children of pious parents be entreated, and prevailed upon, to make a right application of the great favours now put into their hands, even by this consideration,—that many well disposed and religious youths have met with much discouragement and hardship, and cruel usage from their fathers and relations, when in their search after the Truth they inclined to go to the meetings of Friends, as appears by the last cited instance.

DAVID HALL.

Skipton, the 8th of the ninth month, 1753.

A MITE INTO THE TREASURY,

OR SOME SERIOUS REMARKS

ON THAT SOLEMN AND INDISPENSABLE DUTY OF DULY ATTENDING ASSEMBLIES FOR DIVINE WORSHIP,

Incumbent upon all persons come to years of understanding, especially the professors of Truth, whilst favoured with health, strength and liberty; together with some due animadversions upon the neglect thereof; as also a word of consolation to such sincere hearted Friends, as are rendered incapable of personally attending them, by reason of old age, some bodily disorder, or confinement, &c.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS OF KNARESBOROUGH MONTHLY MEETING.

BY DAVID HALL.

For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.—MAT. xviii. 20.

I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.—ROM. xii. 1.

Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another, and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.—HEB. x. 25.

PREFACE.

FRIENDLY READER, may it be remembered that when Moses, that eminent and faithful servant of the Lord, even the Mediator of the first covenant, having been, by divine commission and assistance, signally and successfully instrumental in delivering poor sighing and groaning Israel out of the Egyptian bondage, and was now bringing them on their way towards the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey, being sensible how liable people are, if not truly watchful, who have been very humble while in adversity and affliction, to become careless and forgetful of the Lord, and his succour in their foregoing trials, when prosperity smiles upon them, gave them the following timely precautions and seasonable charges, worthy of their and our due observation and notice, saying; "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be

in thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates. And it shall be, when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land which he sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee great and goodly cities, which thou buildest not, and houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, and wells digged, which thou diggedst not, vineyards and olive trees, which thou plantedst not; when thou shalt have eaten, and be full; then beware lest thou forget the Lord, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage."

But alas! though Israel, during the life of Joshua, and of the elders that overlived Joshua, were preserved in some good degree within the bounds of good order and moderation, yet too many of the succeeding generation took undue liberties, and Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked. Have not we just cause to fear, that this is too much the case with many of the professors of the blessed Truth in these days, wherein so great a calm and quiet, in a toleration is now mercifully enjoyed by us?

We have now a large succeeding generation coming up in our Society, but too few of them growing in the real work of regeneration, and obedience to the Holy Spirit, their professed principle, whence divers undue liberties in speech, habit and deportment, quite inconsistent with our said principle, are run into. Some are seemingly soaring aloft as into the air, as though they were above the reproofs and teachings of the meek spirit of humble Jesus; others are grovelling as in the earth, and they are hiding their talents, though perhaps wrapped up in a napkin of seeming or moral righteousness. Others seem neither to be on the wing in the airy regions, nor yet choaked with gaping and grasping after the earth, but wrapped up, and as it were, lulled in that careless state of indolence and base neutrality, somewhat like the inhabitants of Laish, and the secure Zidonians, as if they were not accountable creatures for any stewardship, either in temporals or spirituals. Others, again, are in the other extreme, pursuing the world as if it were their summum bonum, or chiefest good, launching out into multiplicity of business, as a horse into the battle; mean while neglecting their respective spiritual talents, and consequently the greatest and far most important business of their day and generation, and for want of minding the directions of the great Pilot, even the Spirit of Truth they profess, they are often driven into, and as I may say, miserably shipwrecked upon that scandalous rock of insolvency. Although some of our great, bustling, extensive tradesmen, may not perhaps, as to their outward affairs, miscarry, yet, alas! they are often so much involved and taken up with the hurries, projects and cares about things of this life, that they prove lamentably deficient in those most material and weighty particulars, viz. in working out their own salvation with fear and trembling, and in glorifying God in their respective services in the church, and in their own families. Notwithstanding these last observations, there are, I hope, some, though too few, extensive tradesmen, who are very careful that their hearts may have room in them for the pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, and that the temple may not be unsuitably crowded with money-changers and their tables; but that their hearts, though sometimes necessarily busy in commerce, may be preserved really a house of prayer. These religious tradesmen are truly worthy of double honour, remarkable for their prudent and Christian conduct and fortitude, not suffering mammon to be their master, but keeping him in his place, at a proper distance, as their servant; so they are in a capacity to serve God their Lord and Master, and chiefest Sovereign, and also his church and people in their respective places. This kind of honourable tradesmen, being above all other things concerned to improve their talents of grace, dare not easily omit attending their religious meetings, either on the first-days, or other days of the week; yea, some have even shut up their shops during the meeting time on the week-days, lest their shops should have shut them up, and debarred them from the enjoyment of Christ's company with the two or three met in his name. May not we account these like faithful Abraham, who said to his servants upon a weighty occasion, "abide ye here, and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you." When this sort of highly valuable tradesmen are occasionally called abroad, and are riding their circuits among their chapmen, they endeavour, I believe, to get to as many meetings, even on the week-days, as they well can. These have good ground to hope for and expect the blessing of kind Providence to attend their honest endeavours.

We have also ground to fear, that too many under our name keep and frequent unsuitable company, taking more pleasure in the society of wine-bibbers, at the tavern or alehouse, than with the two or three at the meeting, waiting for the appearing of blessed Jesus.

Moreover, another afflicting sorrowful disorder, and I fear, a growing evil, in these times

of liberty and ease from persecution, is mixt marriages, which generally usher confusion, trouble and perplexity into families and the Society, much grieving, and almost, if not quite, breaking the hearts of good parents, so that many anxious fathers and mothers, observing with sorrow the wide courses which many are taking, do in effect, frequently revolve in their pensive hearts that mournful query of solicitous Rebekah of old,—"If my child or children do as such and such have done, what good shall my life do me!"

Again, it is much to be feared there are some, I wish I had ground to say there are none, guilty of that absolute and absurd contradiction of professing the peaceable spirit of meek Jesus, the King of Salem, and the Prince of peace, and at the same time are litigious and contentious persons, seeming to delight in strife, and striving for mastery, either in the church, or among neighbours, or it may be, sometimes both. The eyes of the people have long been, and still are upon us, and considering the extent of our high profession, have, and do make their remarks upon us, and can quickly observe when our conduct is consistent with our professed principles, and when repugnant thereto, either in habit, speech or deportment. Have not some been ready to make the following observations? Such an one is an honest primitive Quaker, his or her dress, address, and whole conduct, agree to what he or she professeth. But such and such are modern, fashionable Quakers, they profess the spirit, yet it is plain they live after the flesh; so they are but nominal Quakers.

Now inasmuch as the continuance of the above mentioned errors, and all others, are owing to, and caused by men's slighting and disregarding the spiritual appearance and refining work of Christ in their hearts, who is now come in Spirit to put an end to sin, and to finish transgression, to make reconciliation, to bring in everlasting righteousness; and inasmuch as he hath promised his blessed presence to those who, though very few in number, meet in his name, I have in much good will written the following lines for the encouragement of the faithful and diligent, and for the rousing, if possible, the remiss and negligent, to that highly necessary and profitable duty of rightly attending religious meetings, where he hath promised to be in the midst of such meeters. So that men's neglecting, being the cause of these their continual disorders, as Christ said, "while men slept, an enemy did mischief in the field," this being discontinued, and a vigilant diligence being used in the room thereof, that evil cause being thus taken away, the evil effects thereof might consequently cease.

But in case, after these my honest endeavours and labours of love, I should be blamed for making the following remarks, or producing particular instances of the bad effects commonly attending the forsaking of religious meetings, as though I exposed the weakness subsisting in our Society; I assure thee, friendly reader, I am far from upbraiding any of my friends with their failures, but in good will to the cause, and the souls of all, I found myself engaged to write something on these neglects and disorders, and the pernicious consequences thereof, which long before I penned these lines, were too notorious, being plainly exposed by the very persons themselves, found in the errors spoken of here, and in the subsequent lines. So that the remarks made, and the instances produced of the deficiences of any of the professors of Truth, proceed not from ill will, or were hidden things heretofore, and now brought to light, but alas! have long been conspicuous and noted by many. For notwithstanding the prophet of old was commanded on this wise, "cry aloud, and spare not," &c. yet I should be very sorry from hence, to presume to say or write any thing against the real interest of the good and great cause, or to the prejudice of any man's person, condition or character, but compassionating my brethren's ailings and failings, am rather ready to cry out,—"tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Askelon."

In much humility and good will to the souls of all, I cast my bread upon the waters, and subscribe myself, thy really affectionate friend,

David Hall.

To all the professors of the blessed Truth, wheresoever the subsequent lines may come.

Dear Friends, in the universal love of the glorious gospel of Christ, which ever breathes out, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will towards men," I cordially salute you, and therein take freedom humbly to offer the following observations to your solid consideration.

With much comfort I firmly hope, we have a large number in our Society in a good degree faithful to the principle of Truth we profess, giving diligence to make their calling and election sure, walking circumspectly and honestly as in the day, both with regard to their moral and religious conversation, though not without their respective exercises on divers accounts, not daring to forsake the assembling of themselves together whilst capable. For the encouragement of all such beloved brethren and sisters, wheresoever their lots are cast, to whom my heart is nearly knit in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace, it springs up in my mind to remind them of the apostle's tender advice, "Let us not be weary in well-doing, for

in due season we shall reap if we faint not." "Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain. Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts, for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh." "Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end, for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ." "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men; be strong. Let all your things be done with charity."

Yet nevertheless, for the sake of some, yea, alas! with regret be it spoken, many of the professors of the blessed Truth, who through coldness, lukewarmness, inconsiderateness, indolence, and the want of a true hunger and thirst after righteousness, occasioned by their neglecting the work and guidance of the Spirit of Truth they profess, are become very remiss and negligent in this highly necessary and reasonable duty of attending religious meetings on week-days, as well as first-days, I find it to rise in my heart, in much good will, to recommend the following observations to their serious notice and consideration.

1st.—Inasmuch as Almighty God, our faithful and righteous Creator, hath placed us in a station absolutely dependent on him, in whom we live, and move, and have our being, in whose hand and disposal we, our lives, health, abilities both of body and mind, our preservation, our protection, support, favours, privileges and enjoyments, both temporal and spiritual are, we being as it were, tenants at will, having no known lease of our time, or command of any thing, we are under most reasonable and close obligations to behave ourselves as wholly dependent creatures; humbly and honestly to pay due homage and obedience to him our gracious and bountiful Sovereign, Lord and Benefactor, for all his unmerited favours we enjoy under him, in faithfully answerings his requirings, in doing justly, loving mercy and walking humbly with him; which three articles briefly contain all our moral and religious duties, which none rightly perform who are negligent in attending meetings for divine worship.

2nd.—May it be remembered, that in the preceding dispensations, the Lord God required of his people, and commanded them strictly to observe divers convocations, and feast-days; as the feast of the Passover; solemn feasts and fasts, as the feasts of the Tabernacles, of unleavened bread, of weeks, of solemn days and assemblies; in the sincere and devout observation whereof, the people of God were accepted of him. "Blow the trumpet in Zion," saith the prophet; "sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly. Gather the people: sanctify the congregation: assemble the elders; gather the children, and those that suck the breasts: let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet." "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts; the fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth, shall be to the house of Judah joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts; therefore love the Truth and peace." But the neglect and slighting thereof displeased God, and turned much to their own disadvantage, as being the sorrowful effect of their declension, captivity and servitude, through their disobedience to the Lord. Judah, saith the text, "is gone into captivity," &c. "The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts: all her gates are desolate, her priests sigh, her virgins are afflicted, and she is in bitterness."

3rd.—It is worthy our serious notice and consideration, how acceptable and pleasing to the Lord the meetings, communications, and the very thoughts of those that feared him, and what peculiar regard and tender respect he had, what precious promises he made unto them in those depraved times, wherein irreligion so much prevailed, that the proud were called happy; yea, they that wrought wickedness were set up; yea, they that tempted God were even delivered. "Then," saith the prophet Malachi, "they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another, (whence we may conclude they were met together) and the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name. And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of Hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels; and I will spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him." The Passover was so strictly enjoined, that it was commanded on this wise, viz: "The man that is clean, and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to keep the Passover, even the same soul shall be cut off from his people; because he brought not the offering of the Lord in his appointed season; that man shall bear his sin. And if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the Passover unto the Lord, according to the ordinance of the Passover, and according to the manner thereof, so he shall do; ye shall have one ordinance, both for the stranger, and for him that was born in the land."

Yet such was, and now is, the mercy and justice of God, that he neither ever did, nor now doth, require any thing unreasonable or impracticable; for he condescended to allow a second Passover to such as were necessarily deprived of appearing at the first, by reason of indisposition, through uncleanness, or absence in a journey afar off.

4th.—Let us now come to the glorious dispensation of the gospel that we live in, wherein Christ, the Author thereof, our glorious High Priest and blessed Mediator, himself spake unto the churches, who is the complete Antitype, in whom all the types, shadows and figures centre; and let it be with solemn reverence, and all due regard, humbly observed, that he hath graciously promised on this wise: "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, (saith the apostle,) that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." "Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another, and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching."

Now, dear friends, have we not some ground to fear, that so many as under the profession of the blessed Truth, who do, whilst in health and strength sadly neglect the attending of religious meetings, so much encouraged by the promise above, are not truly obedient, but neglecting their own mercies, by so slighting our glorious High Priest, and his blessed company with his two or three gathered in his name. Oh! that all the professors of Truth were rightly concerned duly to regard the said gracious promise, with the full extent and conditions thereof; and also to reduce to practice the advice of the apostle, "purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump; as ye are unleavened. For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

May it therefore, I say, be humbly remembered, how this our gracious High Priest hath not only promised his attendance and most worthy company, where two or three are gathered in his name, as above, but hath also mercifully and tenderly invited needy souls unto him, on this wise: "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls: for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." And again, his call is repeated,—"in the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, if any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive," &c.

5th.—May it be added to the premises, how that soon after the breaking forth of the blessed Truth, after the long and dark night of apostasy, our ancient Friends, in the morning of the day, finding a conscientious concern upon them to decline the formalities then run into, retired and met together to wait upon the Lord, to know and witness the fulfilling of that blessed promise of Christ to his disciples: "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." As they were (we have good ground certainly to believe) led into this practice, and by the same also mercifully regarded and protected therein, through many and great sufferings, occasioned by the penal laws then in force against those that dissented from the national church, established by law; so that our dear forefathers and ancient faithful Friends, conscientiously then attended religious meetings, both on first-days and other days of the week, under the hazard of their lives, liberties and estates. They flocked to meetings as doves to the windows, though sometimes a good many miles distant, and found great peace in so doing, and the enriching blessing of God to attend them, and often their offspring too. So in time, as they increased, by the direction and sweet influence of the blessed Spirit, they were engaged to appoint and settle meetings here and there, as in the wisdom of Truth they saw convenient, both on first-days and other days of the week; and when they were haled from their meetings to prisons, they had often precious meetings there, and found those places, as Jacob said of Bethel on his pillow of stone, to be to them as the house of God, and gate of heaven, being made to sing in the prison as Paul and Silas did, when their legs were put in the stocks, by the then secular powers.

Now, therefore, I beseech all that profess the ever blessed Truth, and especially those that are remiss in this important and so material a duty now before us, duly to remember, and truly consider, how wonderfully the Lord hath wrought for his church and people; how he hath turned the hearts of kings, and in effect, hath said to them, "touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." What peaceable, calm times have we long enjoyed, with respect to those violent storms and rugged billows of persecution aforesaid! Are not we now both tolerated and protected in keeping our religious meetings! What then will become of those poor professors of the unchangeable Truth, who in this time of tranquillity, and, as I may say, sabbath-day of rest from the afore-mentioned probations, are taking their flight from the refining work and baptism of the Holy Spirit they are making a profession of, into the inordinate cares or pleasures of this world, or into indo-

lence, indifference and lukewarmness, touching the vital part of religion, so as miserably to forsake, or at least too much neglect, the assembling of themselves together, in order to worship and pay due homage to the bountiful Author of all our unmerited mercies, temporal and spiritual!

Inasmuch, therefore, as the divine Minister of the Sanctuary and true tabernacle, which God hath pitched and not man, hath so reasonably afforded us such great encouragement to attend religious meetings, though consisting of very few in number, and hath shown so undeniably and indisputably his peculiar approbation thereof, by that gracious and special promise of his vouchsafing to be present with the two or three that so meet; the same duty being also urged and earnestly recommended by the apostle to the believers of his day, that they should not forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some in those times was, and, alas! of too many in these days, though so highly favoured; "And let us consider, saith he, one another, to provoke unto love and to good works: not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another, and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching;" and likewise remembering how the same apostle fervently and pathetically addressed the Roman church, exciting them to pious and devout performance of this their reasonable service, reminding them of the signal mercies of God, as a pressing and cogent argument, moving grateful and truly considerate persons to the faithful performance of their reasonable duties to their merciful Benefactor, and the glorious donor of all their enjoyments, expressed his address on this wise,—"I beseech you, therefore," as above hinted, "brethren, by the mercies of God; that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service;" may we not safely conclude, that the right attending of assemblies for divine worship, is both a duty acceptable unto God, and signally advantageous unto our souls; and that, as this is an indispensable duty, whilst we are in health and strength, and at liberty, therefore the omission of this weighty service is of dangerous consequence. "Then were assembled unto me," saith Ezra, that deeply concerned servant of the Lord, "every one that trembleth at the words of the God of Israel." The true hearted Quakers then did and now do, whilst strength and liberty permit, assemble in order to obtain help and relief from the Lord, to worship him in Spirit and Truth, to enjoy the sweet and edifying communion one with another, as members of one body, by feeling the one quickening Spirit from the Holy Head, the living circulation of the blood of Christ.

And now, my Friends, may I take freedom to make the following remarks.

1st.—It hath been objected by some on this wise; that as the sabbath was but one day in the week commanded and set apart for divine service, in the time of the Mosaic law, what need so much ado about week-days' meetings now? To which very weak and poor objection, I shall in the first place answer thus: Suppose there had been in that dispensation no other day but the seventh in each week, appointed by the Lord, wherein his people should cease from servile work, and devoutly and solemnly perform worship to him; yet in this gospel dispensation we are, or ought to be, brought much nearer to God, and be much more devout and spiritually minded, according to the apostle's testimony—"for the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did, by the which we draw nigh unto God." Besides, the solemnities and holy convocations, above mentioned, sufficiently refute the aforesaid very weak plea and objection, which solemnities were to be observed by the Lord's people in that dispensation; the neglecters whereof were to be taken notice of, and called to an account. What apology then, I say, shall those make, or how shall they answer it, who are remiss and negligent in observing and attending the solemn meetings and assemblies in this glorious gospel day?

2nd.—Some may perhaps object, and seem to endeavour to excuse themselves in this kind of negligence, and omission of so necessary and profitable a duty, as we are, in much good will to the cause of Truth and the souls of its professors, treating of, by alledging, that their meeting is so small, or that they have no public minister settled therein, they may perhaps scarcely think it worth their while constantly to attend the same. Answer. Are not there two or three? If so many, Christ hath promised them his blessed company, if met in a right mind, who being the most excellent Minister of the Sanctuary and true tabernacle, which God hath pitched and not man, without whom, the greatest of instrumental ministers can do nothing, are of no service. But this most powerful, most merciful, and most glorious High Priest, and heavenly Minister, appears with his people and flock, according to his gracious promise. He can when he pleases, whose time is the best time, effectually and suitably supply all the wants of his true followers, without instrumental ministers; although we own, and humbly confess, that the ministry of the gospel, by and through instruments influenced and actuated by the above said all powerful Minister, hath been, is, and ever will be of singular service to the husbandry, heritage and plantation of God, as it is rightly applied, and therefore

ought to be valued in its place. But oh, alas! how do those ungrateful creatures undervalue and put a slight upon our blessed Mediator of this new covenant, our Physician of the greatest value, the Bishop of our souls, and our Saviour, who hath shed his precious blood, and given his life a ransom for us, that in any wise can find in their heart to omit the attending even small meetings, though without any instrumental minister, when he hath upon most reasonable conditions promised his life-giving presence there.

3rd.—As the true hearted and faithful followers of humble Jesus find it their indispensable duty, and peculiar interest, to attend religious meetings, whether they be great or small, whether they have in them instrumental ministers, or they have none, both on first-days and other days of the week, they grow and prosper in the Truth, even in the root of true religion, and are very often signally blessed and favoured by kind providence, even in the things of this life, and come up in the real improvement of their talents, and consequently in their respective services in the church, enjoying peace whilst in health, and the aboundings thereof when on sick and dying beds. On the other hand, those poor unthinking professors of Truth, who, by neglecting the work thereof in their own hearts, become slack and backward in the attending of meetings for divine worship, letting in reasonings, and probably the vain allegations above said, they do not thrive in the true religion, and seem also sometimes blasted, as touching their success in temporal affairs, are of little or no help, but rather nuisances in the Society, and often are made to bewail their past negligence on sick and dying beds, of which more hereafter.

Divers remarkable instances of the peculiar blessing of kind Providence attending the professors of Truth, who witnessed the real work thereof in their own hearts, and were obedient to its requirings, have occurred to my particular notice in my pilgrimage; one whereof I may here mention.

A certain worthy ancient minister gave, in my audience, the following relation: "That in his young years, (having been from his childhood educated in the way of the national church), being favoured with the merciful visitation of the Lord, he became uneasy with the traditional singings and superficial formalities used in the said communion; whereupon seeking and enquiring for the right way of worship acceptable unto God, he dropt into a small meeting of Friends, wherein no instrumental ministry (as I remember) was heard that day; yet nevertheless the seeking youth was made contrite, melted, and thoroughly convinced of the Truth in that silent meeting." The like account I have also heard concerning the convincement of some others: "And thenceforward, persevering under an awful regard to that gracious Hand that had so visited him, he grew in grace and the saving knowledge of God; who, being of poor and low circumstances, as to things of this life, was obliged to labour hard for his bread, and being a taylor by trade, was often obliged to work at other people's houses, yet could not be easy to omit week-day meetings, but laying aside his work, was engaged to walk often a pretty way to week-day meetings; yet such was his diligence and industry before and after the said meetings, that those he worked for desired no allowance or abatement for the time spent on account of the said meetings. Some time after this he married a young woman convinced of the Truth a little while before. Now the storms of persecution rose high, and having now and then a meeting in his house, being himself in the ministerial capacity, they cheerfully suffered the spoiling of their goods for Truth's sake, and were stripped very bare as to temporals, having two small children; yet keeping faithful, according to the best of their knowledge and ability, and consequently not daring to be remiss or indifferent in that important duty of attending religious meetings, they were blessed every way, and their little oil and meal were thereby rendered capable to answer all just demands, and moreover to make many little cakes for the prophets of the Lord, having all along a place and house of reception and hospitality for his messengers to the day of their death, which was in peace inexpressible."

On the other hand many, by their wretched indifference about spiritual and religious matters, though it may be at the same time pretty staunch moralists, have become guilty of this miserable deficiency of neglecting or forsaking the assembling themselves, in order to perform divine worship on week-days. And some have so lamentably been prevailed upon by that indisposition of lukewarmness, or by the surfeiting and choking cares of this world, the deceitfulness of riches, or the love of other things, or, it may be in some weak persons, by taking a disgust against some minister, Friend or Friends of the meeting, [that they] have shamefully absented [themselves from] religious assemblies, even often on the first-days of the week, absolutely contrary to the laws of God, the laws of the land, and the repeated advices and well known rules of the Society, they would unreasonably be accounted members of. But, alas! alas! such are in a miserable dwindling state and habit of soul, laying a foundation for future repentance, anguish and tribulation. Many piteous instances of this kind have appeared, and peradventure some such may at

this day be found, under the profession of the Truth; one of which I shall here take freedom to mention, as a caution worthy to be taken notice of.

"A certain young man, as I remember, beginning trade and business for himself, was thereby so engrossed and hurried in his anxious mind, that he too much omitted the attending of religious meetings; but being attacked by sickness, and brought to a bed of languishing, his past negligence became his burden, under the sense of which he groaned and bemoaned himself; and being asked by a friend the cause of his so great distress of mind, he answered, 'It was because he had been too remiss in going to meetings, especially week-day meetings; but added, that if the Lord would be pleased to raise him up again to his former state of health, he would for the future be more careful and more diligent in that important duty.'"

Oh! therefore, that all in time of liberty, health and strength of body, may consider both their own duty and interest in this respect, as that they may not suffer themselves, through too eager pursuit of, or too close attachment to the enjoyments of this fading world, or supine indolence, to be deprived thereby of the many gospel privileges offered unto us; of which the peaceable enjoyment of our religious meetings is one of great worth, and always so accounted and highly valued by the faithful and truly thoughtful people of God.

4th.—Besides what is aforesaid, touching the great disadvantage that accrues to those who are found deficient in this momentous duty now treated of, they are bad examples to the young people and others, and especially those who have children coming up, and perhaps servants under their care too, being in the station of governors of families, (as they are evidently negligent) lose their authority, and render themselves bad precedents to their children and servants, and so, as such, cannot give effectual precepts and advice to their families; but, alas! through their dismal neglect and indolence, their poor children, being too much left to themselves, often prove libertines, and run to ruin. How then shall such unfaithful parents in the day of account answer for these neglects, both with respect to their own particulars, and poor families, and the meetings they belong to, which if they had been honestly concerned, they might have been of good service? Shall not such unjust stewards be called to an account? Oh! that all parents of children, and governors of families, would seriously and timely consider, how pleasing and acceptable to the Lord Abraham's care and concern for his children, and for those under his immediate care was: "Shall I," said the Lord, "hide from Abraham that thing which I do? For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord."

All those that meet, I say, in the name of Jesus, that is, under a truly awful, religious and conscientious concern of mind, do not only perform their reasonable service to God, and so reap his peace and blessing, but are of singular help and comfort to the true hearted in the meeting; whilst the absent worldlings, being as miserable comforters, are neither just and honest to God, to themselves, nor to their friends and families. Manifold, therefore, I say, are the obligations we are all under, and more especially we that have children and families, to come up in the honest discharge of that our reasonable service, viz., both with regard to the due performance of our duties to God; to our children and families; to the meetings we respectively belong to; and that we may bear our testimony openly to all beholders, in assembling ourselves to wait upon, and worship the Father in spirit and in truth, even on week-days as well as first-days.

5th.—It is almost surprising to observe, how divers professors of Truth, who seem very disregardful of Christ's glorious promise, which they plainly discover by their slighting and absenting themselves from meetings, where two or three are met; yet if a noted public Friend appoints a meeting, how such are raised on the wing, and flock to hear him, and sometimes follow him to the next meeting. Now although we ought certainly, whilst capable, willingly and thankfully to give the Lord's messengers and ambassadors our company, and seriously hear, and rightly apply their messages; yet insomuch as blessed Jesus, our great and good Lord and Master, hath promised to be in the midst of two or three rightly met, we ought to prefer him above all; without slighting or undervaluing the least servant who bringeth glad tidings, whose very feet are beautiful upon the mountains. But they plainly appear to neglect and slight the most glorious Minister and High Priest, who seldom attend small meetings, pursuant to his said conditional promise, and as it were, appointment.

I would by no means have my reader to suppose, by what is afore said, that I am blaming my friends for accompanying the messengers of the Lord to the next meeting, for that is a brotherly duty, which I myself took great delight in, whilst in health and strength in my younger years, and would encourage the right minded in so doing; neither would I hereby discourage any, who, having been neglecters of week-days' meetings, may find themselves awakened and roused up by any instrument. I would not, I say, discourage such from going along with such a Friend to the next meeting,

or further, as the cords of Truth may draw him, and to keep close to that divine touch and influence they have been favoured with, through the ministry of the said instrument, which they may undoubtedly find renewed and increased, as they humbly retire to the Master and Spring of all good in their own hearts, who hath promised to be with the two or three, who are, or shall be, rightly gathered, when such instrumental ministers may be far absent, or even removed from us by death. The great and good Shepherd, speaking of himself and his flock, saith thus:—"When he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice." Whenever therefore he putteth forth any, old or young, masters or servants, rich or poor, and goeth before them, let them readily go forth and follow him. We heartily wish they may grow and prosper; yet I must say, wheresoever any professors of Truth are found and observed from time to time to neglect or forsake, or at least, do not duly attend their respective meetings at home, both on first-days and other days of the week; and yet it may be are forward to attend monthly, general, and sometimes probably quarterly-meetings; may not such their proceedings be justly accounted irregular and preposterous? Or how can we expect those can be of real service at monthly and quarterly-meetings, who slight and forsake the meetings they belong to at home? It is much desired therefore, that all professing the blessed principle of Truth, in whatsoever stations or vocations they are placed, may let the harms of others be their seasonable caution, that they may be effectually roused up and excited to diligence in the honest performance of this weighty duty, now spoken of in much good will to souls, the right discharge whereof has often been, and is, attended with the enriching blessing of kind Providence in spiritual things, and sometimes in temporal; and the neglect thereof is attended with leanness of soul, with many disappointments and disadvantages.

And further, with regard to that great duty Friends owe to their children, in the due nurture and education of them, to which they are bound by the laws of God and nature. We ought in the first place to look well to ourselves, and then to our children;—"Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me," said Christ, "but weep for yourselves and for your children." How shall any be rightly concerned for their children, who are negligent touching their own conditions? It is to be feared the wide courses of many children, have been often occasioned in great measure, by the indolence and irreligion of their parents. I cannot well omit taking notice of one stripling, whose parents were professors of Truth, rich in things of this life; yet alas! these parents, being themselves too remiss in attending week-day meetings, and consequently not good examples, did not train up their son in the performance of that duty, wherein they themselves were deficient. So he grew up so much indulged in liberty, that I was credibly informed he has been seen, even in the very time of the meeting, which was held near their dwelling-house, to walk into the fields with his fowling-piece, &c. But oh! what was the consequence of such irreligious proceedings and liberties; this youth became rather an affliction than a comfort to Friends, lived fast as a libertine, and died soon in the flower of his age. Which sorrowful remarks I make with much awe, humility and reverence.

6th.—Some professors of Truth, as hinted before, have betrayed so much indiscretion and unmortified temper of mind, as to absent themselves from religious meetings, and it may be, meetings of business too, through some dislike or offence taken against some particular Friend or Friends, or perhaps against some steps in the discipline, or it may be, against the minister belonging to the meeting. This unjustifiable step leads to confusion, the loss of unity with the Society, and oftentimes is attended with great disadvantage to the immortal souls of these unhappy persons, who foolishly fall into so bad a practice; and besides all this, it affords a very bad example to the young people especially, whose quick eyes are upon them, and these their by-steps, and will very likely make shrewd remarks on such misconduct, which is grievous to all good men that behold it, but most pernicious to those guilty thereof; of whom we may say,—"Wrath killeth the foolish man, and envy slayeth the silly one."

7th.—As the truly concerned and faithful Friends to what they profess, do, whilst capable thereof, find it their incumbent duty diligently to attend meetings, both on first-days and other days of the week; so it is their care both to observe, as much as they well can, the hour appointed for the gathering of the meetings, and also when there, to sit under a fervent and inward concern, that they may be made sensible of the fulfilling of Christ's gracious promise abovesaid, that Christ will be in the midst of them that meet in his name. On the other hand, many careless and lukewarm professors are both slack in meeting together, and when they do come, often come very late and straggling, and when met, sit too much unconcerned, if not sleeping, while the honest-hearted are in a deep travail, and perhaps weeping; to whom those negligent professors are so far from being help-meets, that they are often a burden to others truly concerned. Yet, alas! the greatest loss and disadvantage is to their own souls; so that, though they go at

times to religious assemblies, they do not reap that spiritual benefit that they might do, because they do not diligently sow to the Spirit. Faithful Friends, truly concerned to improve their time and talents, find meetings of worship times and places of improvement, pleasure and profit; and therefore are like careful, industrious tradesmen, very desirous, though through some difficulties, to attend those places, where the most gain and advantage may be in all likelihood obtained. But how should they, who through the neglect of their talents of grace and Truth, find little or nothing of either profit or pleasure in religious meetings, be desirous to press through crowds to get to them? Nay, may we not safely conclude those, who are remiss in getting to religious meetings, do not experience, by reason of their own neglect of the gift of grace, that sweet and excellent gain of godliness, which the faithful do, and therefore may probably think it scarcely worth their while to take much pains about such a matter; when it is very likely the same persons, in case they had ground to hope they could gain a sum of money, or make a considerable improvement of their temporal stock, in the way of their outward business, would be very careful not to miss the opportunity, although they can scarcely be prevailed upon to use such endeavours for obtaining the most blessed, most excellent company and presence of Jesus, our glorious High Priest, our Saviour, the King of Salem, and the Prince of peace, though so lovingly invited by him. May not they, who slight such a gracious promise, apply to themselves those words of the Almighty: "They that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." On the other hand, may not the true and faithful attenders of religious assemblies, by faith lay hold on that promise,—"Them that honour me, I will honour." And likewise receive consolation and encouragement from these words of Christ: "Fear not little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." Faithful Friends forecast their business, so as nothing, so far as in them lies, may interfere and hinder them from attending week-day meetings. Do not we generally know on what day the week-day meetings will fall? We ought therefore, I say, so to forecast, and as much as we can, to order our temporal affairs, that nothing which may be well done on another day, may be suffered to fall in our way as an impediment to hinder us from meeting with Christ and his two or three. If I attend religious meetings only on such days, wherein the very laws of the land suffer no fairs or markets to be held, nor will allow me to open my shop, or to be engaged in servile work; if, I say, I serve, or pretend to serve, God in religious assemblies on those days only, on which the laws of the land do not allow me actually to labour for the things of this world, what reward have I?

8th.—As king Solomon adviseth, "Train up a child in the way he should go," &c., it is fully believed by a large cloud of living witnesses, that as men should go to, and diligently attend meetings for divine worship; so even children ought to be trained up in attending such assemblies, when in the wisdom of Truth, pious parents, guardians and schoolmasters, may see convenient and suitable. All those that have these tender plants under their care, as they mind their own conditions and growths in grace, will be moved and helped prudently and gradually to train them towards, and in due time in, the real performance of this so important a duty; neither over-driving the little lambs, nor, through a too fond indulgence or carelessness, leaving them behind, or suffer them to loiter, but always watching over them with an eye of regard, in a due consideration of their tender age, capacities and circumstances. Being thus conducted, I do not much question but they will find themselves engaged to bring the little ones to meetings at proper times.

Objection. Some have objected to such proposals on this wise,—Let them first have sense, and then bring them to meetings. Answer. He that was represented by a certain householder, who went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard, hath often touched the tender minds of children in the early part of their time, and, as it were, in the dawn and morning of their day; some about the sixth, seventh, eighth or tenth year of their age, or some sooner, have been graciously visited, broken and tendered by the sweet influences of Him, who blessed the little children that were formerly brought unto him, commanding, that such should be suffered, and in no wise forbidden. We cannot fix the time of children's visitations, whether at the third, sixth, or ninth hour he shall be pleased to give them an invitation out of the market-place into the vineyard. It is firmly believed that it is the indispensable duty of parents, school-masters, and those entrusted with the nurture of children, humbly to present them before the Lord in the solemn meetings of worship abovesaid, and fervently to beg his blessing upon them; which I am sensible is and will be undoubtedly the concern of all those parents, &c., that are, or shall be, rightly engaged for their own souls. But, oh! Friends, how can it be expected, that they who neglect their own states and conditions, and their own respective duties in attending meetings, should be effectually concerned for, and rightly bring those up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, who are under their care? How should those parents, who do not weep for

themselves, rightly weep for their children?—"Weep not for me," said Christ, to the lamenting daughters of Jerusalem, "but weep for yourselves and your children." Nay, some of those parents, remiss in their duty to God and their own souls, in regard to attending meetings, &c., and consequently to their offspring, have too often rejected and taken amiss the advice of their well-wishing Friends, for their negligence, respecting their own welfare, and consequently their children's good. Some parents, it may be, have gone to meetings themselves, but have often left their children, or at least too many of them, at home, exposed, very likely, to unsuitable company, and undue liberties. Nay, some living in the town where the first-day and week-day meetings were held, have both themselves and their children too much forsaken the assembling themselves together, especially on the week-days, and perhaps some of those irreligious professors would be sitting, or walking, or talking in the street, during the week-day meeting-time; and when admonished to a more becoming conduct, they have taken it amiss, and spurned the advice and the adviser; and by such behaviour it has been thought they have hardened their children against Friends. But, alas! those imprudent creatures, both elder and younger, have been attended with manifest tokens of the great loss they sustained thereby divers ways. May therefore the harms of others be our seasonable precautions.

In answer to the objections some have made, or may make, against bringing children to religious meetings, scarcely thinking them perhaps capable of receiving profit therein, I much desire the words and observations of our worthy Friend Robert Barclay, in his Proposition on Worship, may be seriously considered, as follows: "And this power would sometimes also reach to, and wonderfully work in meetings, even in little children, to the admiration and astonishment of many."

When honest parents have done what they could or can do, on account of their own and their dear children's souls welfare, all may be little enough; but happy those poor parents, who being tried with that exceeding bitter cup, and heart-breaking exercise, of having a prodigal son or daughter, can in sincerity appeal unto the Lord on this wise,—Lord, thou knowest I have done my best for my children, both by humble prayer and frequent intercession with thee for them, as well as by example and precept, for their preservation.

But what will become of those unhappy parents, who have afforded their children neither good examples nor precepts, but disregarded the greatest business of their time, that is, of working out their own salvation, and therefore have neglected, and by that neglect rendered themselves incapable, to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord? What, I say, will become of such parents, when they see the miscarriages and bad courses of any of their offspring, being conscious to themselves of their sinful neglect touching their education, and may be obliged to confess, and sorrowfully reflect on themselves for this their deficiency, as being in some sort accessary to the ruin of their poor children.

I find in the journal of our worthy Friend Thomas Chalkley, that he was sometimes concerned to exhort Friends to bring their children to meetings, and educate them when young, in the way they should go, that they might not depart from it when old; which I am persuaded faithful Friends have all along been and still are, conscientiously concerned to do, as being to them not a matter of indifference, but ever esteemed by them as their incumbent and paternal duty. We read that, besides the five thousand men, women and children followed and were fed by Christ, even in a wilderness or desert place, when he appeared amongst them in the body of flesh! Shall any therefore now be so unwise in these calm and quiet times, wherein we may sit together peaceably and undisturbed in our religious meetings, and wait for the spiritual appearance of Christ, as now to neglect religious meetings? Should we not by all means, in point of gratitude to our gracious God, in point of justice to our own souls, our children, families, and our friends, flock to our religious meetings, both on first-days and other days of the week, taking our children along with us, and allowing all reasonable liberty to our servants? But oh! how shall those answer for it at the great day of account, who are, or shall be found negligent in an affair of so great importance! The late and disorderly coming to meetings of some of the professors of Truth, who generally drop in, when those who carefully observe the hour appointed have sat perhaps half an hour, or most of an hour, not only interrupts and hurts the meeting, but is a bad example to the young people and others; but the greatest loss is their own. This irregular practice of coming late to meetings is inconsistent with our reputation as a religious Society, and contrary to the practice of Friends in the beginning, of whom we read, that not only those of advanced years were good examples in this respect, but also that some of their children, who were left at home during their parents imprisonment for keeping up this testimony, were concerned honourably to attend their religious meetings, and were themselves also called in question by the secular powers for this their Christian testimony in those trying and proving times? Shall there-

fore any, either parents or children, dare through indolence and lukewarmness, to be guilty of such ingratitude in neglecting, or not duly attending religious meetings in these peaceable times, wherein there is, through the mercy of kind Providence, a great calm to the churches.

Here I take freedom to insert some sensible expressions of some pious children, a little before their death, touching religious meetings, as a convincing argument that children have received benefit in attending them, and to obviate the objections that some parents may make, against the concern of such Friends as advise fathers and mothers professing the Truth, to bring their children to meetings whilst young.

Mary Post, aged about eight years, a little before her death, expressed her delight in going to meetings. Piety Promoted, Part V. p. 87.

Rebecca Toovey, aged about nine years, said near her death, she loved to go to meetings; they were sweet to her. Ibid. p. 143.

William Fennell, aged about twelve years when he died, calling for his sisters and brother, on his sick bed, he exhorted them to love Truth, and to go to meetings, and think upon God and good things, and the Lord would love them.

It is plain therefore, that young plants have often been, and may be truly sensible of the singular benefit to be reaped in religious meetings.

9th.—It is admirable to observe what difficulties, even through hail, rain and snow, up early and down late, will some professors wade through, in order to attend markets and fairs; but what small matter will sometimes deter them from setting out to a religious meeting. I had, said one, intended to have been at such a meeting, but there came a shower of rain, when I was just going off, and prevented me. May we not say to such a poor cold one, O thou of little faith.

Our worthy friend Thomas Chalkley observes in his Journal, p. 324, That "one John Pickering, the governor of Tortola, made several new forms to accommodate the people in religious meetings in his own house, which he sent six miles on men's heads, the roads not being passable by carriage, by carts, &c. This I think worth noting, says he, that their zeal may be had in remembrance, and that ours may be stirred up to a more religious concern, who will scarcely go six steps to a religious meeting, or will not go at all.

10th.—When we remember and consider, as above observed, the heavy exercises and deep sufferings, spoilings of goods, imprisonments, &c., our forefathers were tried with, and mercifully enabled faithfully and nobly to endure and go through with Christian patience for their testimonies sake, in holding their religious meetings; and when we also humbly consider, how our gracious God has rebuked the storms of persecution, and has caused a long calm to his church and people, this marvellous work of the Lord ought never to be forgotten, but thankfully, and in deep humility, ever to be remembered and duly acknowledged by all the professors of Truth, by a conduct truly religious, circumspect and agreeable to these invaluable favours, and in the sincere, diligent and fervent performance of all the several duties we owe unto him the Author and Giver of all our privileges.

But oh! Friends, the faithful in our Israel, with much sorrow and regret take notice of the lamentable lukewarmness of too many under the profession of the blessed Truth in divers places, who have not only too much forsaken the attending of week-day meetings, but in some places have quite dropt them, as many faithful brethren think, to the great and certain loss of themselves, their families and their children, and to the dishonour of our gracious God, to the disadvantage of our Society in general, and the great affliction of the living members thereof, and is likely to prove, as many good Friends fear, an inlet to other undue liberties and hurtful things.

While I am writing these words, the mournful expostulation of Moses, with backsliding Israel of old, springs in my mind, wherein he movingly cries out on this wise: "Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? Hath he not made thee and established thee," &c. Wherefore, with much concern of mind, for the Lord's sake, for the welfare of yourselves, families and children, that have them, I cordially and compassionately address you, who may be guilty of this defection and revolt here mentioned and mourned for. Consider in time of this your negligence, as the certain effects of your slighting the reproofs, teachings and operations of the Spirit of Truth ye make profession of; and I beseech you, take away the cause, that the effects may cease, by timely, diligently and devoutly retiring to, and obeying this precious gift of God in your own hearts, whereby ye may be helped, before your day be over, to repair those lamentable breaches, and as I may say, rebuild these very sorrowful desolations. Oh! Friends, is this a time to drop your religious meetings, when the Lord hath so marvellously opened your way, so that through the clemency of the mild government we live under, we, as a people, are not only tolerated, but protected in attending them? He hath wonderfully, as I may say, opened our way through the opposition of secular powers, penal laws, prison-houses, &c. Shall any of us now sit down

at ease in any engagement of this uncertain world, short of a truly religious concern and perseverance in the way and work of regeneration, when I say, our way is thus opened? I beg of you, by the mercies of Christ, duly to remember, and practice according to the command of the Almighty, when he had opened the way for his people, saying: "Speak to my people that they go forward." And my beloved, herein earnestly sought after, and in the good will of the gospel treated with, suffer me to say, as this grievous dropping of week-day meetings may justly be called a backsliding from the purity and integrity of our worthy ancients, and the practice of the faithful in this day, and from the repeated advices and directions of many particulars, as well as our yearly-meeting from time to time, who have been engaged to counsel in divine love; let such remember the tender call of the Lord to his backsliding Israel of old, with the heart-affecting conditional promise annexed thereto: "Return ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings." This gracious and compassionate promise, I humbly hope, will be vouchsafed unto you, in case ye shall rightly observe the gracious invitation to return, and shall be sincerely and heartily concerned henceforward to let your past negligence suffice, and for the future use your utmost diligence to make your calling and election sure, and shall, as the apostle exhorted the Ephesians, "walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise; redeeming the time, because the days are evil;" that when the great and notable approaching day shall come, wherein each of you shall be called to an account: "Come, give an account of thy stewardship, for thou shalt be no longer steward;" each of you may receive this most desirable and welcome sentence: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

But, alas! alas! how can they expect to be then denominated good and faithful servants, who are thus ungratefully neglecting or dropping their week-day meetings, and so slighting the encouraging expressions of blessed Jesus, the righteous Judge of the quick and dead, while they are yet in health and strength, and in a capacity to meet together with the two or three?

Again, may it be observed, that when Moses, that faithful servant of the Lord, was near leaving the people, being one hundred and twenty years old, he wrote the law, and delivered it to the priests which bore the ark of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel, with this positive command and charge, saying: "Gather the people together, men, women and children, and thy stranger which is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law; and that their children, which have not known any thing, may hear and learn to fear the Lord your God, as long as ye live in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess it."

Please to mark here, strangers, and even children, were not to be overlooked or left at home, but to appear among the elders at the time and place appointed; neither were the people of the Lord to drop or omit the due performance of this charge so long as they should live in the land. Shall gospel duties then be dropt in this glorious gospel dispensation? How many good Friends, even upon their dying beds, have been frequently concerned to advise their survivors, diligently and duly to attend religious meetings?

May we remember that the Jews began their preparation of the sabbath at three o'clock in the afternoon of the foregoing day, that is, of the sixth-day of the week: should we not therefore now, as the meeting-day and time approaches, be after a suitable manner, abstracting our minds and thoughts from earthly things, and get into a proper concern for meeting in the name of Jesus, with the two or three, in order to know him in the midst of us. But would it not be a very sorry and piteous case, if any of us should have our minds so engrossed and employed with things of this world, that we should go talking and communing, on the meeting-days, about earthly concerns, almost to the meeting-house door, and likewise, meeting being broken up, resume the same worldly subjects of discourse? If such should in the meeting receive any share of the heavenly seed into their hearts, being too much like the highway ground, are they not in danger of having the same devoured by the fowls of the air? Oh! therefore, how great care and circumspection ought we to be found in, both in going to our meetings, waiting reverently in them, and awfully returning from them, and even in the whole course of our short and uncertain time? If therefore an honest concern of this kind was come into, and duly observed by the professors of Truth, that is, a proper exercise, a strict observation of the hour appointed, and a suitable concern and waiting for the sensible enjoyment of the divine Presence; all which necessary steps I am well assured the principle we profess would, if rightly obeyed, lead all its professors into; our religious meetings would, in the best sense, become times and places of pleasure and profit united. And as for the most part, or often, our meetings have in them some children, some infirm persons, who are scarcely able to endure very long meetings, though we

cannot limit the continuation of our meetings by the clock or hour-glass, yet by the methods abovesaid, through the Lord's blessing thereupon, meetings would be short and sweet, and the performance of this our reasonable duty would be rendered unto the general not grievous, but joyous and profitable, even to the sincere weaklings of the flock, according to the assertion of him who has promised his blessed company: "My yoke is easy, and my burden is light." And inasmuch as our profession of the guidance and teachings of the Holy Spirit in the gospel dispensation, implies an abrogation of the typical ceremonies commanded and practised under the Mosaic law, how greatly it behoves us, and under how close obligations do we lie, who profess the blessed Truth, so to demean ourselves at all times, and in all places, but especially in our religious meetings, that nothing inconsistent with our high profession may appear; no scandalous dulness or sleepiness, no gaping or yawning, no wandering eyes, no unbecoming or restless postures may ever appear in the times of our devotion. For, whether we watch ourselves rightly or not, the eyes of the people are upon us; and if, while we profess to be come beyond ceremonies, formal prayer, premeditated sermons, formal singings, and the like, any of us should be so unhappy and unwise, by an imprudent conduct, lukewarmness, and an unconcerned frame of mind in our religious meetings, to give occasion to any that have their eyes upon us, some it may be for good, and some otherwise, to say, we, or any of us, are so poor, that we have neither shadow nor substance, we shall certainly hurt our souls, and be bad examples to others.

Finally, my friends, having in much love, charity and good will, not I assure you, with a view churlishly to expose the failings of any weak brother or sister, but rather by way of caution to all where these lines may come, made the foregoing remarks, I now most dearly salute you our dear and near friends, who have dedicated the day of your health and strength to the service of Truth, in diligently attending meetings, and faithfully discharging your duties therein, but now either through want of health, or by reason of old age, or other circumstances, are rendered incapable of appearing in religious assemblies; be not discouraged, the Lord is with you, his holy arms are about you. "Trust in the Lord, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength." He, who accepts of a man according to what he hath, and not according to what he hath not, will accept of your sincere and private devotions, and you may, I trust, by faith, lay hold on these words of Christ, as if spoken to you: "Fear not little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." And also, I am satisfied ye may lay hold on that promise: "If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." O my dearly beloved, although you be deprived of appearing personally with your dear friends in public assemblies, you have here each of you, through the most merciful condescension of the Lord, a comfortable, most gracious promise of the permanent company of the Father and the Son, who will make their abode with you.

In the love of the everlasting gospel I greet you, and bid you all farewell, who am your truly well-wishing friend, DAVID HALL.

P. S. Some may perhaps have said, or may say, I can have as good a meeting with a good book by my fire-side, as you can have at your public assembly. Answ. We must own the Lord is Omnipresent, and will undoubtedly own his people's private devotion, though they cannot personally attend with their friends; but whilst they are favoured with the blessing of of health and strength, it is according to the apostle's exhortation, Heb. x. 25, and divers others Scriptures, their undoubted duty to meet and assemble together, to demonstrate their care for the maintenance of the public worship of Almighty God. And it is often observed, that this pretended fire-side devotion is only an excuse, and tends to the destruction rather than edification, not only of such particulars, but of the Society in general.

I much desire that the worthy and wholesome advices, lovingly and suitably, from time to time, recommended to us by our yearly meeting on divers particular accounts, and especially these that follow, as pertinent to the matter in hand, may be read and duly observed by us all.

YEARLY MEETING'S EPISTLE, 1754.

"We farther find ourselves, dearly beloved brethren, earnestly concerned to remind you of another mark of degeneracy too visible among us, viz. a negligence of attending our appointed meetings for worship, both on the first-days and other days of the week; a neglect which calls for seasonable reproof, and a pressing exhortation, that a religious concern of attending all your meetings, and especially of your week-day meetings, may grow, increase and become more general. This we recommend as the proper means of renewing your strength, and as suitable opportunities of abstracting your thoughts from the hurries and incumbrances of

worldly affairs, and of habituating your minds to a serious meditation on heavenly things. And dear Friends, let not the smallness of your numbers discourage you from constantly attending those meetings, inasmuch as the words of Christ remain unchangeably true and stedfast: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." And as your affections come to be set on things that are above, your delight will be in frequent retirement from the world, its trade and concerns, and your chiefest care will be to lay up treasure in heaven, secure from the reach of corruption and disappointment; and then where your treasure is, there will your hearts be also. But on the contrary, it hath been justly observed, that where remissness and neglect of attending meetings for worship hath prevailed, it hath been too often an inlet to farther declension, and an introducer of such other undue liberties, as the Truth and its guidance do by no means admit of.

"The real and substantial enjoyment of peace, increasing in proportion to your progress in obedience, your assemblies for the worship of Almighty God will become your chiefest joy; and your own taste and experience of the consolations therein received, will attract you to those places of spiritual feeding and refreshment, with an earnestness of desire, even superior to that of a natural man, when being hungry, he resorts to the place of receiving his daily bread. As you attain this excellent disposition of mind, you will rather come before than after the appointed time of assembling, and render the repetition of the wholesome advices, often given on that account, less necessary in time to come."

YEARLY MEETING'S EPISTLE, 1755.

"Let us, we earnestly entreat you, brethren, under the present circumstances of outward ease and liberty in matters of religion, which God in his mercy hath influenced the king and parliament to continue to these nations, beware of indulging ourselves, and of sitting down at rest, or falling asleep, in a state of indolence and carnal security, &c. And dear Friends, be mindful to attend your religious meetings at the times appointed, and labour diligently to have your minds gathered to the gift of divine grace in your own hearts, that so you may witness a profiting by your coming together. Wherefore, assemble yourselves in fear, and hold your meetings in an awful, humble, and reverent frame of spirit, considering yourselves as under the inspection of his all-seeing eye, who penetrates into the inmost recesses of men's hearts, and from whom nothing can be hid."

To Friends of Knaresborough monthly meeting, held at Asquith, the 29th of the Fifth month, 1755, with desires the same may be presented to the next ensuing quarterly meeting at York; which at the request of the said quarterly meeting, is here printed with the foregoing treatise.

DEAR FRIENDS!—Notwithstanding I have sometimes heretofore taken the freedom to write to you in brotherly love, it may be, in some degree, to the like import with the following lines; yet nevertheless, often remembering you in my prayers, in a renewed manner I now find drawings in my mind again hereby to salute you in the love of the gospel, even in a dear and near manner, with earnest desires that ye may every one, in your several stations, growths and capacities, whether elders or younger, parents or children, masters or servants, be truly obedient to the dictates and guidance of the blessed Spirit of Truth ye profess, that thereby ye may be preserved from every hurtful thing, and may be guided into all truth, both in your temporal concerns and religious duties, and in faithfully bearing your several Christian testimonies for God, when called thereunto against tithes, and all anti-christian impositions, customs, and demands whatsoever, and may be graciously helped to reduce to practice those excellent precepts of the apostle to the Ephesian church, viz: "Children obey your parents in the Lord, for that is right. Honour thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise, that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth. And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your Master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him. Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil."

My dearly beloved friends, in much brotherly kindness and charity, I tenderly sympathize with you that may be under suffering or discouragement in any respect, and particularly in this, that divers of the worthy elders and ministers, in some places, are removed from you

by death, and divers meetings may now be small and reduced. I beg you will not be too much discouraged on this account; for the all-sufficient rock and root remains, which, as ye duly observe it, will supply all your wants, and will qualify and teach parents and elders to be good examples, and rightly to instruct their children, and young generation, by precept and pattern, as nursing fathers and nursing mothers, and likewise would direct and help children and youths to demean themselves aright toward parents and elders, servants towards masters, and masters towards servants.

O dear friends, I beseech you go not out after the lo-heres, and lo-theres, now crying aloud in the nation, but diligently attend your religious meetings, both on the first-days and week-days, and other meetings for Truth's service, as you may find your way opened, while you are favoured with the blessings of health and strength, and there devoutly wait for the spiritual appearance of Christ, who hath given this gracious promise: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

It is now in my heart lovingly to address and advise you, concerning two particular things of no small importance, viz.

1st.—Be sure to watch against the least appearance of any thing that would gender to discord, and with all care and circumspection, labour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. "Now I beseech you," as saith the apostle, "brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment." Wherefore, whenever any matter of debate may happen to be, wherein Friends may be of different sentiments, it is much to be desired, that all Friends would labour so to keep to and under the government of the meek spirit of Jesus, as that all animosities, ill temper, exasperating expressions and resentments, may be prevented, and that mutual love, that certain distinguishing characteristic of the disciples of Christ, may ever be in all cases maintained and retained among us. This honest care and concern, would, I firmly believe, greatly tend to the praise of him our heavenly Head, and to the edification of his church and people, through the influence of the divine Spirit, so that we might thereby really and experimentally know the blessed efficacy of divine love, according to the apostle's moving assertion: "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." O blessed dwelling! O glorious, safe and comfortable habitation!

2nd.—That all the young and rising generation, and children of believing parents especially, may carefully wait, and truly endeavour to know and dwell under the cross of Christ, and to be acquainted with the blessed Truth, even the glorious appearance of Christ in their own hearts and souls, being the principle of their education, and the refining, absolutely necessary saving baptism thereof, that thereby they may be made truly useful members of the one church and body of Christ, be serviceable and honourable instruments therein while here, as right successors of the faithful ministers and elders now gone, and going off the stage, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven hereafter. "Acquaint thyself therefore with him, and be at peace, so shall good come unto thee," saith one in Job. If our dear young people would be persuaded to choose the blessed Truth for their portion, and the God of Jacob for the lot of their inheritance, then would the enriching blessing of God attend them in all their enterprizes; then would the Lord bring up many that are low, to sit as among princes, and would provide for them, and supply their wants, according to the gracious promise of blessed Jesus: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you:" and as the royal Psalmist saith: "The Lord God is a sun and shield; the Lord will give grace and glory; no good thing will he with-hold from them that walk uprightly." And thus would they be preserved from the various snares and gins that are cunningly laid by our common adversary for the feet of the youth, especially in this afflicting case of mixt marriages, wherein so many of our careless, disobedient youths have so often fallen, and alas! yet are falling, to the inexpressible sorrow of their honest parents, and to the great trouble and exercise of their truly well-wishing friends, and the Society in general; but alas! the greatest loss is their own. And verily, we have many instances at this time of the miserable situation such poor resolute, inconsiderate creatures have brought themselves into, by their imprudent and disagreeable proceedings and contracts, on account of that very momentous affair of marriage. Let therefore, I beseech you my dear young and unmarried Friends, the harms and by-steps of others, with the dismal consequences thereof, be your timely cautions.

Faithful Friends in these sorrowful times, can but deeply lament to see so many of our young men and women so far straying from the principles of their education, and the settled and well known rules of our Society in divers respects; but in particular, I say, in that, which is now weightily before me and many others, even that disagreeable, dangerous error, of mixt marriages, whereby confusion and perplexity are ushered into families, meetings, and

the Society. How many that might probably have been of singular service in the Society many ways, have forfeited their unity with Friends, rendered themselves lame, and rather causes of affliction, than help to the community; having involved themselves in many inconveniences, by resolutely deviating from the wholesome and safe rules agreed upon by the Society in the wisdom of Truth, in this very afflicting case? Wherefore in the bowels of love, once more I earnestly entreat you, that are not yet enthralled in that dismal yoke of bondage, stand upon your guard; watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation of any kind, and especially that ye be not allured into these snares of being unequally yoked in these unsuitable marriages, which have perhaps seemed pleasant to some at the first, but generally have, and do prove bitter cups afterwards, it having long been, and yet is, the sense of solid and judicious Friends, that the hand of divine Providence is against such disagreeable matches. "Bread of deceit is sweet to a man, but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel," saith wise king Solomon.

Finally, my dearly beloved, who have at heart the prosperity of Zion, as the present state of affairs, with regard to the church, and the secular powers, seems loudly, in an especial manner to call upon us, as in times past on a certain occasion: "Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel!" I humbly and fervently beg, that we may dwell so inward with the Lord, so humble ourselves under his mighty hand, that we, being ourselves preserved in covenant with him, may in true brotherly love, and Christian sympathy, be helped rightly to remember and pray for our brethren all the world over, and particularly for those our dear friends who may now be under sufferings and probations, occasioned by the commotions of war, which we in these parts do but, as yet, hear the rumours of; that the everlasting arms may be underneath their souls, that they may be by him directed, protected and supported through, and under all the trials they may, by divine permission, meet with; and with the exhortation of the apostle; "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong. Let all your things be done with charity;" I bid you farewell, who am your brother in the unity of the Spirit, and and bond of peace, DAVID HALL.

Skipton, the 24th of the fifth month, 1755.

P. S. I beseech you, dear Friends, bear this further caution and following word of exhortation, that is to say, carefully beware of, and avoid that vile and antichristian practice of evil surmising, backbiting, or spreading evil reports of any brother or sister behind their backs; but rather, if any of us should hear something amiss concerning any Friend, let such who hear of it, in a friendly and brotherly manner, go to the person of whom the report is raised, lovingly enquire into the truth of the case, and tenderly admonish as the case may require, pursuant to that cordial and Christian direction of the apostle: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken with a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted;" ever mindful of Christ's excellent precept: "And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye so to them likewise."

DAVID HALL.

NARRATIONS

OF THE

CONVINCEMENT AND OTHER RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

OF

SAMUEL CRISP, ELIZABETH WEBB, EVAN BEVAN, AND MARGARET LUCAS.

The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is pure, making wise the simple.—Ps. xix. 7.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The subjects of the following Narrations furnish a few of the numerous instances, in which sincere, seeking individuals, not previously connected with the religious Society of Friends, have been brought to see, with indubitable clearness, that the principles of that Society embrace the Truth as it is in Jesus.

Under this conviction, and for the sake of obtaining a feeding-place with this portion of the flock of Christ, it has been the lot of many such persons to "endure a great fight of afflictions:"—they have been constrained to press forward through strong, and often protracted opposition;—they have been content to make costly sacrifices: and as they have continued faithful to the measure of light and grace received, have been given largely to experience "joy and peace in believing."

These considerations ought surely to induce those who hold the privilege of membership in this Society by birth, highly to estimate it; also to seek, through faithfulness, to retain, with the profession, the life and virtue of the Truth. And how incumbent it is on all who have been made partakers of this heavenly treasure, to be found in the exercise of that watchful care which is implied in the admonition of the apostle:—"Look to yourselves, that we lose not those things which we have wrought, but that we receive a full reward."—2 John 8.

THOMAS CHALK.

Kingston on Thames, Fifth month, 1848.

LETTERS AND EXTRACTS FROM A TREATISE

WRITTEN BY

SAMUEL CRISP;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A SHORT MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE.

Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.—1 Thess. v. 21.

MEMOIR OF SAMUEL CRISP.

SAMUEL CRISP, previous to his joining the Society of Friends, resided in Norfolk. He was educated at College, and took the order of deacon in the church of England (so called); after which he officiated as a parish curate, also for a very short time, as chaplain in a private family.

In the year 1700, being then resident in London, and about thirty years of age, he was convinced of the truth, as professed by Friends,

in the manner described in his first letter. Soon afterwards he was engaged as an assistant to Richard Scoryer, a Friend who kept a large boarding-school at Wandsworth. In this situation he did not remain long, and subsequently opened a school on his own account, at Stepney, near London.

His adoption of the views and principles of Friends, drew on him, not only remonstrances, but also contumely and slander. On his first showing an inclination to unite with them, an acquaintance of his, a priest of the church of England, who was anxious to prevent his so doing, proposed to introduce him to a person, who, he said, was so well acquainted with their writings, that he did not doubt of his receiving satisfaction. Samuel Crisp, desirous of being rightly informed, and of exercising due consideration before taking so important a step, accepted the offer. He was accordingly taken to the proposed instructor, who proved to be no other than Charles Lesly, the writer of that notorious work called "The Snake in the Grass."* It seems this person succeeded in putting him to a stand for a very short time; but he soon discovered the fallacy of his arguments and insinuations, and forthwith joined in communion with the people to whom he had felt attracted; and this, as he feelingly acknowledged, from "a sincere love of the Truth, and pure regard to his own soul." Soon after this interview, two Letters were addressed to him by Lesly, to the first of which he sent a Reply, accompanied with a copy of a Paper written by Richard Scoryer, proving the falsehood of an assertion contained in "The Snake," that the Bible was never read in his school. This correspondence, (with a Preface, to which the title belongs rather than to the Letters,) was published in the following year (1701), under the title of "The present State of Quakerism in England, Upon occasion of the Relapse of Samuel Crisp to Quakerism."

These letters to Samuel Crisp, are as might be expected, of much the same character with the writer's former scurrilous work, both as regards the manner in which the doctrines of Friends are vilified, and Samuel Crisp's conduct relative to his convincement, is maligned.

Some time afterwards, Samuel Crisp published a refutation in detail, of the charges preferred against him by this opponent, as fickleness, enthusiasm, &c., with an able defence of some of the principles of Friends, in a Treatise of three-and-a-half sheets, 12mo, entitled "A Libeller exposed; being a Vindication of the people called Quakers, against the malicious attempts and foul aspersions of a book entitled, 'The Present State of Quakerism in England.'"

This little work, however the circumstance which called it forth is to be repudiated, furnishes interesting information, and a clear exposition of some important points of doctrine; various extracts from it, are therefore given in the present compilation. From this source we obtain the following particulars and remarks, relative to Samuel Crisp's withdrawing from the communion of the established church, and the stations he occupied therein. "As to my leaving the church of England, God is my witness I did it in pure obedience to the convictions of my own mind; and the peace which I have often felt returned into my bosom, is more than I can express: I have had a great and abundant reward from the Lord for what I have done in this matter.

"I desire to fear God, and am heartily sorry that I have spent so much time in the vanities and impertinencies of this sinful world; taking things upon trust, swayed by temporal interests, and following the prejudices of my education. It is true I was in the order only of deacon, and I bless God that I went no farther in such orders. Then I pretended to preach, and could make shift to patch together an hour's discourse, with something that I got from others, and something that I had read from the Bible, filling up the vacancy with the dark conceivings of my own brain—and this was my gospel. I could talk much of Christ, and heaven and hell, and extolled the Scriptures highly, which were nevertheless a sealed book to me; for though I read them often, both in public and private, yet my mind being outward, and not waiting in silence upon that Holy Spirit that gave them forth, I knew not the Scriptures nor the power of God: so then the power of death and darkness ruled in me. I had cure of souls, (as they call it,) but was a physician of no value. I knew, indeed, that I had served my time at the university, as apprentices do to a trade; and that I had passed the examination and the ceremony of ordination—and I thought this would do; but as for any immediate call or appointment of God, to the work of the ministry, I knew nothing of it. I had the care of two parishes committed to me, by the bishop of the diocese, but had never any call from God to go and preach to that people. So I was like those prophets Jeremiah speaks of, chap. xxiii. 21, who ran before they were sent, and therefore they could not profit the people at all. I was a superstitious bigot—a poor

*This book, which came out in the year 1696, was published anonymously: the author, who was a "non-juring parson," was employed by some of the clergy, in this way to render Friends and their principles odious to the world. His misrepresentations were disproved, and his crafty imposture manifested, by Joseph Wyeth and George Whitehead, in a book, entitled, "A Switch for the Snake."

dark creature—a hireling—a blind leader of the blind. I expected thirty pounds a year for preaching—that was my wages; and if any should question my commission, I knew I had a little piece of paper to show, which I called my orders, if that would satisfy them; so brutish was I in my understanding. And yet God did not leave himself without a witness; for in the midst of all this darkness and ignorance, I can truly say, there was a measure of sincerity in me; and good desires, and earnest cries and breathings were oftentimes raised in me, that I might once know the Lord and serve him, and see his glory, and witness peace and joy, and health and rest, and salvation to my soul, before I went off the stage of this world; that so I might live with him in that world which never shall have an end, when time here shall be no more. And God was not unmindful of the travail of his own seed in that day; for blessed be his name, he heard the groanings of it under a great deal of rubbish, and he revealed his Son in me, at the brightness of whose appearance the clouds are scattered and the shadows flee away. May the sense of his goodness and tender mercy never depart from me, so long as I have an hour to live, or a minute to breathe in this world. Even to the same God that had compassion on Israel of old, when they sojourned in a strange land, where the Egyptians and Pharaoh oppressed them with much cruel and hard bondage—to that God I ascribe my deliverance, who alone is worthy to be praised, magnified and adored by all who make mention of his name. He remembered us when we were in trouble, and anguish, and deep affliction; being scattered upon the dark and barren mountains, as sheep without a shepherd; wandering from mountain to hill, from one form and empty profession of religion to another; even there did he find us, and his eye pitied us, and he said to the dry bones, Live; for his mercy endureth for ever."

His office as chaplain, (in which it seems he continued but ten days), proved particularly irksome and unsatisfactory; and it is probable that the circumstances connected with it, strengthened, in no small degree, his desire to be disengaged from the forms and ceremonies in which he had been educated. On alluding to his situation in that capacity, he states, that he has had to wait three or four hours at a time, to know when the family would go to prayers; and that his task was not finished when the prayers were ended, as he was expected to wait, to be ready when called for, in an adjoining room, where servants and others were often passing, and company coming in; and that he was sometimes thus kept in waiting, from morning till night. As he had occasion for some employment by which to procure a livelihood, such inconveniences as these would probably have been borne till an appointment less wearisome presented, could he have continued here, and at the same time have enjoyed peace of mind: but, "I left my chaplain's place," he writes, "purely upon a foot of conscience; the lustre of mammon* could not keep me there; and this was some months before I came amongst the people called Quakers, or had the least thoughts that way. I lived some time privately in London, inquiring after the best things. There was then a great noise about the Quakers, and George Keith (who was just then ordained deacon) was the talk of the town. So meeting one day with Robert Barclay's works, in a bookseller's shop, and understanding that he was a Quaker, and an eminent writer amongst them, I had a great desire to read them; which I did in the fear of God, and with an humble mind; and thereby was so fully convinced of the truth of the Quakers' principles, (notwithstanding the clamour of the world against them), that from that day to this, I have never once communicated in the church of England. And though I was then destitute of any outward business, yet I did not doubt but the Lord would some way provide me a competent subsistence in this world, which was all I desired—and this accordingly came to pass; for within a few weeks I was recommended to Wandsworth school, Richard Scoryer being then in want of an usher. But, just upon my convincement, two things offered to draw me back again into the world: one was, to read prayers in an apothecary's house in Huntingdon—and the other, to be chaplain to one called the Lady Molesworth, as I remember. Here was some prospect of prefer-

* S. C. in his Reply to Lesly's first Letter, had stated, that his "way being cleared up and the Truth shining out again in great lustre, he found a necessity to return into the strait and narrow path, where he hoped to continue," &c. His opponent tauntingly alludes to this expression by saying, "At last we heard you were established as usher to the grand Quaker-school at Wandsworth, and you told us your lustre was come! I will not be so uncharitable as to suppose it was the lustre of mammon, for the sake of such a provision; you being destitute before."

It is pleasant to turn from such a prejudiced, ill-conditioned judge, to one whose testimony savours of truth and love. Samuel Bownas, in an account of a journey which he took in the early part of the year 1702, from London to the west of England, on religious service, says, he "had in company a young man that had been bred at college, his name was Samuel Crisp—a pretty, meek-spirited youth, and rightly convinced:" and a short time afterwards, when engaged in like manner in Hertfordshire, he speaks of him as "a sweet companion, having received the knowledge of the Truth the right way."—*See Life of Samuel Bownas.*

ment, and that before I heard of Wandsworth school, or knew any thing of it. So that if I had been so greedy of mammon as our author's charity would seem to represent me, I might have smothered my convictions and turned back into Egypt again. But blessed be God, who preserved me in that day, and kept me low before him! I trusted to his kind providence, who knew the sincerity of my heart; and I chose rather to be poor and destitute with a good conscience, than to have all the riches and honours of the world without it. I had found the pearl of great price, and I knew I must sell all to purchase it. Truth was my greatest treasure; that was my chiefest joy: 'For,' as the apostle says, 'our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world.'"

This brief Memoir of Samuel Crisp, considered in connexion with the sincerity, humility, and genuine piety which his Letters, &c., exhibit, shows that he had begun to build on the one sure Foundation, and that he bade fair to become a truly serviceable member in the church. But any hopes of this kind that had been cherished by his contemporary friends, were only realized to a very limited extent; inasmuch as it pleased the All-wise Disposer of events to cut short the thread of his life. He died of the small-pox, at Stepney aforesaid, on the 7th of the Fourth month, 1704, aged 34 years.

LETTERS OF SAMUEL CRISP.

[The three following Letters of Samuel Crisp were written about the year 1702; the first and second on the occasion of his withdrawing from the church of England (so called), to join the Society of Friends. These have passed through several editions together, as a pamphlet. The third Letter, a copy of which has been kindly transmitted by a Friend, to the Editor of the present volume, and which, it will be seen, contains the expression of his religious feelings to a fellow-professor of the Truth, is now printed for the first time: this, although very short, is not without its value, showing, as it does, the writer's conviction, that his having so far yielded to apprehended duty, as to unite in religious fellowship with Friends, furnished no ground for relaxing in watchfulness, and diligence in the Christian warfare.]

Letter I.

I received a letter from thee, the week before last, which was sent by thy uncle Bolton: there were a great many kind expressions in it, and in thy sister Clopton's likewise. I acknowledge myself much obliged to you both, and to the whole family, for many repeated kindnesses; and if my school had not engrossed so much of my time, I would have taken opportunity to answer my dear friend's letter now, and upon that account my delay will be the more excusable.

The news thou hast heard of my late change is really true—I cannot conceal it, for it is what I glory in—neither was it any prospect of temporal advantage that induced me to it, but a sincere love to the truth, and pure regard to my own soul. Neither can I be sufficiently thankful to God, that he hath let me live to this glorious day, and not cut me off in the midst of my sins and provocations against him. He is long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. He hath brought me off from the forms and shadows of religion, and let me see, in a more illustrious manner, what is the life and substance of it, as he found me in some degree faithful to that measure of light and knowledge he had bestowed on me, whilst I was in the communion of the church of England: therefore he was pleased of late, as I humbly waited upon him, to make known to me greater and deeper mysteries of his kingdom. And I can truly say, that I find by daily experience, as I keep low and retired unto that pure gift which he hath planted within me, things are more and more cleared up to me, and the truth shines and prevails greatly over the kingdom of darkness; and if I should now turn my back upon such manifestations as these, and entangle myself again with the yoke of bondage, surely I should grieve the Holy Spirit, so that he might justly withdraw his kind operations, and never return more to assist and comfort me. For God is not mocked: religion is a very serious and weighty thing: repentance and salvation are not to be trifled with; nor is turning to God to be put off till our own time, leisure, or convenience; but we must love and cherish the least appearance of Christ, not slighting or despising the day of small things, but embrace the first opportunity of following Christ in any of his commands. When he speaks, it is with such force and authority, that we cannot stand to cavil, dispute, or ask questions: for unless we will be so obstinate as to shut our eyes against the sun, we must needs confess to the truth of his doctrine, and presently strike in with it. And, therefore, when for several weeks I had lived more privately and retiredly in London, than was usual, fasting twice or thrice in a week, and sometimes more, spending my time in reading the Scriptures and in prayer to God, this was a good

preparation of my mind to receive the truth which he was then about to make known to me. I lamented the errors of my past life, and was desirous to attain a more excellent degree of holiness than I had discovered in the church of England. In this religious retirement God knew the breathings of my soul, how sincere I was, and resigned to him when alone. I wanted him to set me free, and to speak peace and comfort to my soul, which was grieved and wearied with the burden of my sin: for though I had strictly conformed myself to the orders and ceremonies of the church of England, and had kept myself from running into any great or scandalous enormities, (the fear of the Almighty preserving me), yet still I had not that rest and satisfaction in myself which I desired, and greatly longed for. I found when I had examined my state and condition God-ward, that things were not right with me.

As for a sober and plausible conversation in the eye of the world, I knew that was a very easy attainment: a good natural temper, with the advantage of a liberal education, will quickly furnish a man with abilities for that; so that he shall be looked upon as a saint, and very spiritual, when perhaps in chains of darkness, in the gall of bitterness, and in the very bond of iniquity. If this sort of righteousness would have done, perhaps I might make as fair pretensions that way as some others; but, alas! I quickly saw the emptiness and unsatisfactoriness of those things: this is a covering that will not protect or hide us from the wrath of the Almighty, when he comes to judgment. It is not a man's natural temper, nor his education, that makes him a good Christian: this is not the righteousness the gospel calls for, nor is this the "truth in the inward parts," which God requires. The heart and affections must be cleansed and purified before we can be acceptable to God; therefore it was death to me to think of taking up my rest in a formal pretence of holiness, wherein I yet saw to my grief, abundance of people wrapped themselves, and slept securely and quietly, dreaming of the felicity of paradise, as if heaven were now their own, and they needed not trouble themselves any more about religion. I could not entertain so dangerous an opinion as this; for then I should be tempted to take up my rest by the way, whilst I was travelling towards the promised land.

I think I made a little progress in a holy life, and through God's assistance I weakened some of my spiritual enemies, whilst I lived in the communion of the national church. I thank my God, I can truly say, whilst I used those prayers, I did it with zeal and sincerity, in his fear and dread: but still I ceased not my earnest supplication to him in private, that he would show me something more excellent; that I might get a complete victory over all my lusts and passions, and might perfect righteousness before him. For I found a great many sins and weaknesses daily attending me; and though I made frequent resolutions to forsake those sins, yet still the temptation was too strong for me; so that I had often cause to complain with the apostle, in the bitterness of my soul, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Who shall set me free, and give me strength to triumph over sin, the world, and the devil; that I may in every thing please God, and there may not be the least thought, word or motion, gesture or action, but what is exactly agreeable to his most holy will, as if I saw him standing before me, and as if I were to be judged by him for the thought of my heart next moment? O divine life! O seraphic soul! O that I could always stand here! for here is no reflection, no sorrow, no repentance; but at God's right hand there is perfect peace and a river of unspeakable joy. O that we might imitate the life of Jesus, and be thoroughly furnished unto every good word and work! This was the frequent breathing of my soul to God when I was in the country, but more especially after I had left my new preferment of a chaplain, and took private lodgings in London. In this retirement I hope I may say without boasting, I was very devout and religious, and found great comfort and refreshment in it from the Lord, who let me see the beauty of holiness: the sweetness that arises from an humbled, mortified life, was then very pleasant to my taste, and I rejoiced in it more than in all the delights and pleasures of the world.

And now it pleased God to show me, that if I would indeed live strictly and holily as becomes the gospel, then I must leave the communion of the church of England; but I knew not yet which way to determine myself, nor to what body of men I should join, who were more orthodox and more regular in their lives. As for the Quakers (so called), I was so great a stranger to them, that I had never read any of their books, nor do I remember that ever I conversed with any one man of that communion in my whole life. I think there was one in Foxly, whilst I was curate there; but I never saw the man, though I went several times to his house on purpose to talk with him, and to bring him off from his mad and wild enthusiasm, as I then ignorantly thought it to be. As for that way, I knew it was everywhere spoken against: he that had a mind to appear more witty and ingenious than the rest, would choose this for the subject of his profane jests and drollery; with this he makes sport, and diverts the company, for a Quaker is but another name for

a fool or a madman, and was scarcely ever mentioned but with scorn and contempt. As for drollery, I confess I was never any great friend to it; but indeed, if all was true that was laid to the Quakers' charge, I thought they were some of the worst people that ever appeared in the world, and wondered with what face they could call themselves Christians, since I was told they denied the fundamental articles of the holy faith, for which I ever bore the highest veneration and esteem. And notwithstanding, I had always lived at the greatest distance from that people, and was very zealous in the worship of the church of England, and upon all occasions would speak very honourably of it, moreover was content to suffer some few inconveniences upon that account, (as thou very well knowest), yet my father still looked upon me as inclining to the Quakers; and some years ago signified to a friend, he was afraid I would become an enthusiast: and whilst at Bungan school, he sent me two books to read that were written against the Quakers; one of which was John Faldo's, who hath been sufficiently exposed for it by William Penn.

Whilst I lived in London, in that private, retired manner I was just now speaking of, walking very humbly in the sight of God, and having opportunity to reflect upon my past life, as I had occasion to be one day at a bookseller's shop, I happened to cast my eye on Barclay's works; and having heard in the country, that he was a man of great account amongst the Quakers, I had a mind to see what their principles were, and what defence they could make for themselves; for sure, thought I, these people are not so silly and ridiculous, nor maintainers of such horrid opinions, as the author of The Snake, and some others would make us believe. I took Barclay home with me, and I read him through in a week's time, save a little treatise at the end, which finding to be very philosophical, I omitted; but, however, I soon read enough to convince me of my own blindness and ignorance in the things of God. There I found a light to break in upon my mind, which did mightily refresh and comfort me in that poor, low, and humbled state in which I then was; for indeed I was then, and had been for a considerable time before, very hungry and thirsty after righteousness; and therefore I received the truth with all readiness of mind. It was like balm to my soul, and as showers of rain to the thirsty earth, which is parched with heat and drought. This author laid things down so plainly, and proved them with such ingenuity and dexterity of learning, and opened the Scriptures so clearly to me, that without standing to cavil, dispute, raise argument or objection, or consulting with flesh and blood, I presently resigned myself to God; and weeping for joy that I had found so great a treasure, I often thanked him with tears in my eyes for so kind a visitation of his love, that he was graciously pleased to look towards me when my soul cried after him. So, though before I was in great doubt and trouble of mind, not knowing which way to determine myself, yet now the sun breaking out so powerfully upon me, the clouds were scattered. I was now fully satisfied in my own mind which way I ought to go, and to what body of people I should join myself.

So I immediately left the communion of the church of England, and went to Gracechurch Street Meeting. After I had read Barclay, I read some other books of that kind, among which was an excellent piece, though in a small volume, called No Cross, No Crown. Thus I continued reading and frequenting meetings for several weeks together, but did not let any one soul know what I was about. The first man I conversed with was George Whitehead; and this was several weeks after I began to read Barclay, and frequent [Friends'] meetings. By him I was introduced into more acquaintance; and still the farther I went, the more I liked their plainness, and the decency and simplicity of their conversation. They do not use the ceremonies and salutations of the church of England, but shake hands freely, and converse together as brothers and sisters, that are sprung of the same royal seed, and made kings and priests unto God. O the love, the sweetness and tenderness of affection I have seen among this people! "By this," says Christ, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." "Put on therefore," says the apostle, "as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering."

Thus, my dear friend, I have given thee an account of my proceeding on this affair. As to my bodily state, if thou desirest to know what it is, I may acquaint thee that I have my health as well as ever, and I bless God I have food and raiment sufficient for me, so that I want no outward thing; and I have the necessities and conveniences of life liberally: let us not burden ourselves with taking care for the vanities and superfluities of it. Let us possess our vessels in sanctification and honour: and as we bring our minds into perfect subjection to the whole will of God, so let us bring our bodies to the most simple and natural way of living; being content with the fewest things; never studying to gratify our wanton appetites, nor to follow the customs and humours of men, but how we may so contract our earthly cares and pleasures, that we may bring most glory to God, most health and peace to our own

souls, and do most service to the Truth. And if this be our aim, certainly a very small portion of the things of this world will suffice us. Seeing we are Christians, we should therefore earnestly pursue those things which bring us nearest to God, and which are most perfective of human nature. For what is more than a competency, seems to be a burden to a generous, philosophical soul, which would breathe in a pure vehicle, that so it may have a quick sense and relish of all blessings, both of the superior and inferior worlds.

Thou knowest, my dear friend, that religion is a very serious thing; repentance is a great work, and one precious immortal soul is of more worth than ten thousand perishing worlds, with all their pomp and glory; therefore let us take courage, and be valiant for the truth upon the earth—let us not content ourselves with a name and profession of godliness—let us come to the life and power of it—let us not despond of getting the victory. We have a little strength for God: let us be faithful to him and he will give us more strength, so that we shall see the enemy of our peace fall before us, and nothing shall be impossible unto us. I say, my friend, let us be faithful to that measure of light and knowledge which God has given us, to be profited and edified by it in a spiritual life; and as God sees we are diligent and faithful to work with the strength we have, he will more and more enlighten us, so that we shall see to the end of those forms and shadows of religion wherein we had formerly lived. But if he sees we are about to take up our rest in those shadows, that we grow cold and indifferent in the pursuit of holiness, running out into notions and speculations, and have more mind to dispute, and to make a show of learning and subtlety, than to lead a holy and devout life, then it is just with God to leave us in a carnal and polluted state; to continue yet but in the outward court, where we may please ourselves with beholding the beauty and ornaments of a worldly sanctuary, and never witness the veil being taken away, and that we are brought by the blood of Jesus into the holiest of all, where alone there is true peace with God, and rest to the weary soul. I could say much upon this head, if time or leisure would give leave.

As for a particular answer to thy letter, I have not time now to give it; and for the present let this general answer suffice: and if thou wilt consider things in their pure abstracted nature, and not suffer the prejudice of education to sway thee, but in fear and humility wilt search out the truth for thyself, thou wilt find that there needs no other answer to thy letter than what I have already given. For by waiting upon God, and diligently seeking him, thou wilt find an answer to it in thy own bosom; and this will be much more full, clear, and satisfactory than I, or any other man living can pretend to give thee, or any other friend who hath lovingly written to me; for whom I desire, with all the sincere-hearted in the church of England, that they may come to witness the almighty power of God, to save and redeem them from every yoke: and that they may clearly see to the end of those things which are abolished, and come to the enjoyment of spiritual and heavenly things themselves, is the daily prayer and deep travail of my soul, God knoweth. Till I can be more particular, if thou please thou mayest communicate this to them, and let them know that I am well, and thank them for their kind letters. Let us remember to pray for one another with all fervency, that we may stand perfect in the whole will of God. Amen, saith my soul. I am thy most affectionate friend and servant in Jesus,

SAMUEL CRISP.

LETTER II.

MY DEAR FRIEND, I lately received a kind and brotherly letter from thee, for which I return thee many thanks. I am now in the communion of the people called Quakers; and I have cause to bless God for this happy change of my life. I am, through mercy, brought off from the shadow of religion, and am pressing forward to get acquaintance with the quickening power, life, and virtue of it, that I may be a Christian indeed, and not in the name and profession only. I had a great while talked and discoursed of holiness, but did not understand what it was to walk with God, to live and dwell in him. Perhaps, indeed, some may think I made a fair show of piety when I was with you; but, alas! I was deeply sensible of my own faults and miscarriages; and I resolved, through God's assistance, to inquire after something more noble and excellent than I had discovered in that state: and blessed be his name for ever, that God hath answered the cry of my soul, and let me see a people, that are hated and despised by the world, but are dear to him; for he hath revealed to them the mysteries of the kingdom; he hath carried them upon eagles' wings, and cherished them as the apple of his eye. As for me, I have been yet but in the outward court, and far short of that truth and righteousness that is taught and practised among this people; for they are come within the holiest of all—they are come into a near communion with God—to behold the cherubims of glory that cover the mercy seat—to be fed with the true manna. These are mysteries that are revealed unto the meek and lowly; but the haughty, insolent, and profane cannot come near them, nor taste

of the sweetness nor comfort of them. Indeed the formal, traditional sort of people of the world may talk of these things, as they have heard them from others, and in their sober moments may have some faint glimmerings that way; but to be come to the real and inward enjoyment of them, they can no more pretend, than to work the greatest impossibilities: all their wit, and subtlety, and learning, cannot reach higher to handle of the word of life; this is peculiar only to those who are content to forsake all, and become fools for Christ. They are those who are in a good temper to receive and co-operate with the influences of the Holy Spirit, and have seen the emptiness and vanity of all those things that are so much admired by the world. The schools and universities, and learned doctors, and great rabbies, have not profited me; they are ravened from the Spirit of God, and gone out into their own notions and speculations, thinking thereby to search out God, and comprehend the truth. Alas! the mysteries of the kingdom are far out of their reach in their carnal minds; they weary themselves in vain; the vulture's eye cannot pierce into these secrets; all the great critics, scholars, and philosophers of the world, are fools in these things. They are wearying themselves to find the deep things of our God, studying and racking their heads, tossing and tumbling to and fro like a wild bull in a net, that knows not which way to disentangle himself: the more he struggles, the weaker he grows and the faster he is bound; so the more these vain talkers read, the more they write, the more they cavil and dispute, the farther they are from God, and the more they declare their hatred and enmity to the spirit of Christ, and to the simplicity of the gospel. I have been a long time weary of the folly and impertinency of these men, and chiefly the celebrated fathers of the church, as they call them: the councils and synods of old are now of very small account with me. I am not ashamed to sit under the teachings of women and mechanics, howsoever they may seem in the eye of the world; for they teach me more Christianity, and instruct me more perfectly in a divine life, than all the studied, elaborate sermons and discourses that ever I heard at the universities or since; their words are with power—they are mightily assisted with the spirit of God—they speak with majesty and authority—and there is a native beauty, clearness, and solidity of expression, that shines through their discourses, which is sufficient to answer that groundless calumny, viz., the Quakers' preaching is nonsense, and nobody can understand them. This I have heard often refuted by many living testimonies; so that I do rather think them the best wits, and the most ingenious people in the world; for they employ their parts and learning in the fear of God, to his glory and service, and to promote the true interest of mankind. As for the little jests, wittiness, and vain pedantry of the age, which I know the world hath esteem for, (and nothing will please but what abounds with such fooleries); I say, if the Quakers be deficient in any of these, it is not for want of abilities, or because they have less wit than other men, but because they have more prudence and wisdom to govern it; and that is the reason why they avoid such childish vanities, which are so freely used and indulged in by others, to the great dishonour of God, and the Christian religion. Therefore because they do not seek to please a wanton age, and make people laugh and be merry, nor to entertain that carnal, airy mind with pleasant stories, fine notions, and witty expressions of natural things; from thence it is that they have been shamefully traduced by the world, as the most ignorant, blind, and foolish people that ever made any profession of religion: and yet this is the people to whom I have now joined myself in a sincere love to truth, God knoweth. I glory more in this fellowship and acquaintance with these lambs of Christ, than if I were related to the greatest kings, lords, and potentates upon the earth. Oftentimes hath my spirit been refreshed with theirs, when we have met together to wait upon God; and my soul still longs and pants more and more to be filled with these divine comforts. He is ready always to pour down blessings upon us, if we would qualify ourselves for the reception of them; if we would put away vain thoughts, which cloud and darken the mind, and so hinder the favourable influences and irradiations of heaven. And since it has pleased God to visit me of late, and to make known to me excellent things in righteousness, he alone is to have the praise and glory of all; and now I freely resign myself to the conduct of the blessed Spirit.

Now let the truth prosper; now let it run and be glorified in the earth; let it shine out in its full lustre, to the terror and confusion of all the enemies thereof, and to the reviving of the souls of the hungry and thirsty, who are ready to faint, waiting for and expecting the consolation of Israel, until the time of refreshment comes from the presence of the Lord; who will open a fountain for Judah and Jerusalem, so that rivers shall run in dry places: there will he speak peace to his people. And after they have sat silent a little while in the dust, suffering patiently the chastening rod of his love to pass over them, he shall then comfort the daughter of Sion, and say, "Arise, thou afflicted, and weep and mourn no more, but put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem! raise thy head, uncover thy face, and gird

up thy loins with strength; see the day break, and the morning spread itself upon the mountains; now the sorrowful nights of affliction are gone over, the clouds are scattered and gone, the sun is risen in its brightness, and now joy and peace shall be multiplied; in a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer." O! let us wait, in humility of soul and tenderness of heart, before the Lord, that we may witness this great change and salvation wrought in us and for us; that the Scripture may be no more a sealed book to us, but that we may feel the precious truth therein recorded, to be fulfilled in our own particulars. Then we shall never be weary of praying, and reading the Holy Scriptures; we shall never be loath or unwilling to come into God's presence: for his love, and the sweetness of his ointment, will draw and allure us to dwell always under his canopy, that we may feel life and power to flow from him, who is the ocean that supplies all the wants of the children of men. And how shall we come to taste that heavenly banquet which he hath prepared for us, that we may eat and drink at his table, and that our souls may delight in fatness—I say, how shall we attain to this, but by a strict and mortified life? Certainly the more we retire from worldly joys, and empty ourselves of earthly comforts and false delights, the fitter we shall be to receive those that are spiritual and heavenly; and not only to receive and rejoice in them for a time, but to live and dwell in them for ever. For this is the life of Jesus; and here the kingdom of God reigns in the heart and soul, by which it is changed from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

And now I would ask all the wise and prudent, all the rich, all the noble and learned men of the world, what they think of these things? Whether this is to be learned in their courts and palaces? Or whether any of the great scholars and universities in Christendom can furnish us with such a system of divinity as this? No; they hate it and despise it; and instead of a sober answer to my query, they return scoffs and contempt. "This is canting," they say,—"an idle dream, and forged chimera of his own brain;" and a great many more opprobrious names they have for such inquiries as these. Sometimes perhaps they will soften the expression with an hypocritical show, will pretend to pity me, calling it an unhappy effect of melancholy, and too much retirement from the world; and this they think too much condescension—that I ought to think myself beholden to them for giving it so mild a character; for at other times they deal more sharply, and say confidently that it is madness, delusion, witchcraft, and diabolical enthusiasm. But I am content to lie under all these odious imputations from the world, knowing very well, that better men than I, have suffered the same things before me, and do at this present time. As for my enemies, I can truly say, I thank God I pity them and pray for them: they do not hurt me, but themselves.

And now my dear friend, before I conclude, suffer me a little to speak of thy present circumstances; for as God knoweth, my bowels yearn towards thee in the tender love of Jesus. I suppose thou art now where I left thee, viz. with the lord Richardson, (so called), in the capacity of a chaplain; an office which I have had a little experience of myself, since I last saw thee; but was quickly so weary of that servile yoke, so unworthy of that holy function I bore, that in ten days' time I quitted my new preferment, and left it more free than ever I undertook it. What peace or satisfaction thou canst have in such kind of employment, I know not; for my part I could find none; my soul was grieved and burthened every day with seeing and hearing their evil deeds, beholding their vanities and excesses; this was a sword to my soul and spirit, it wounded me very deep: and I do solemnly profess, I had rather beg my bread from door to door, than to live in the like bondage again, where I must be obliged to such ceremonies and formalities,—to flatter men in their sins,—to cry, "peace, peace;"—and to sew pillows under the armholes of delicate people, who can never bear the least check or frown; but expect the mercenary priest should always laugh or smile in their faces, even when he sees plainly they are going to hell and destruction. And yet I must tell thee, the family I was in was looked upon as one of the most sober and regular, as the world goes now; and I must needs say, I did not leave them for any drinking, gaming, or swearing, that I perceived amongst them; as to all these filthy, scandalous practices, as far as I could see, they were blameless: but yet I saw their hearts were not right, for they were lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; and thou knowest that he or they, let them be great or small, if they live in pleasures, grow fat, and wanton against Christ; such persons are dead whilst they live. I say, whatever their faith, or principles, or professions may be, yet in religion they are dead. I shall say no more, but hasten to a conclusion. If thou desire a particular account of my convincement, thou mayst see it in a letter I wrote lately to Richard Lake, junior, wherein I gave him a fair and true relation of my proceedings in that matter—what steps I took—and how God did graciously assist me, when he had raised in me sincere desires and inquiries after truth and holiness. Dear friend,

I have no more at present, but to let thee know, I do most heartily pray for thee, that thou mayst consider things without prejudice, and not suffer any of the temptations and allurements of the world to draw thy mind from God, and to hinder thee in thy pursuit of holiness. He that loves father or mother, brother or sister, or any of the endearments of this world, more than Christ, is not worthy of him: but if thou wilt come into communion with Christ, and follow the guidance of his light and spirit, O what a blessed and happy rest shalt thou find to thy soul! O what rivers of living waters will spring up in thee! of which thou mayst drink freely, and praise God for all his mercies and benefits. That thou mayst indeed come to such spiritual enjoyments and refreshments as these, is the sincere desire of

Thy loving and affectionate friend,

SAMUEL CRISP.

LETTER III.

Leeds, Sixth month 7th, 1702.

LOVING FRIEND, G. PAXTON,*

These may acquaint thee, that last fourth-day was a week since I got well to my journey's end. But though my body rests as to the outward, yet I still feel a necessity to continue my inward, spiritual travel towards the new Jerusalem, the heavenly Canaan, where my soul may be satiated with everlasting and unchangeable felicity. I must still keep on my watch, that the enemy of my soul may not at any time take an advantage against me: I must still stand upon my guard, go on in the Lamb's warfare, and diligently pursue such things as may make my calling and election sure: and this I think is the state of every Christian, so long as he sojourns in this world. Perfect and complete rest and peace are only to be expected when we have laid aside these mortal, frail bodies, and shall enter those mansions of glory that Christ our Head hath prepared for us. But if we would reign with him in another world, we must suffer with him in this—if we would wear the Crown, we must first bear the Cross; if we would be conquerors, we must fight—if we would win the prize, we must not be cool and indifferent, but exert all our strength in the Christian race—in short, if we would be perfect, we must sell all, part with all our lovers, and [be willing to] sacrifice all the nearest and dearest enjoyments, that we have in this world [when called for]: this is self-denial—this is mortification indeed—and this is the repentance unto life, never to be repented of. My love to thy uncle and Friends.

I am thy loving and affectionate friend,

SAMUEL CRISP.

* A Friend who resided in Durham.

EXTRACTS

FROM SAMUEL CRISP'S "VINDICATION OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS."

[THE first of the three following pieces is extracted from the Preface to Samuel Crisp's *Vindication*, the next from the Treatise itself, and the remaining one from the Appendix to it.

It is believed that the weighty counsel, sound doctrine, and instructive remarks which these Extracts contain, will commend them to the cordial acceptance of the serious reader.]

A PLEA FOR THE TRUTH, AND AN EARNEST EXHORTATION TO BE FOUND WALKING THEREIN.

"Stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."—JER. vi. 16.

READER,—I desire thou wouldst be serious and unbiassed in the reading of what I here present to thy view—so mayest thou reap benefit and advantage by it to thy soul. The noise and clamour against the Quakers, has of late years been carried on and promoted with great diligence by their adversaries; insomuch as few, I think, who converse with the world, can be ignorant of it. This gave me occasion to inquire into their principles; and that I might not take things upon trust, or believe the report of others concerning them, I was willing to see for myself—to read and consult their own authors. To this I applied myself with great seriousness; desiring of the Lord in great humility and bowedness of soul, that he would open my understanding in the great things of his law, and that if the truth was amongst the Quakers, I might, without consulting with flesh and blood, join myself to that people, however slighted and despised I might be by the world for so doing. It was peace with God I wanted; and in comparison of that, I looked upon all other things as dross and dung. I had been always brought up in the national way of worship, and had been strict and punctual in the rites and ceremonies of the church of England beyond many; but yet I found all that would not do my business; the seed was oppressed, and death reigned under all those forms and specious appearances of godliness. It was an easy matter to talk, and go the round of my devotions; but I wanted strength and power to overcome my sins and corruptions. There was a cry raised in my soul after righteousness and truth; and this I found all my outward observations could not give me, for the kingdom of God is within men, though I was seeking for it abroad, doating upon shadows. And thus was I diverted from the pursuit of the knowledge of

the truth, as it is in Jesus. I lived in darkness and ignorance of the true and saving knowledge of God, notwithstanding my high pretensions. But it has pleased God to rend the vail, to disperse the clouds, and scatter the mists and fogs, in a good measure, blessed be his name.

Know, reader, that there is a people in this age, who have paid something for religion; and they will not be put off with shams and pretences, nor decoyed by the wiles of the enemy: they are not easily to be imposed upon, in the great things that concern their everlasting peace: they cannot bow to images, nor satisfy themselves with the husks and formalities of religion, but labour to come into the life of holiness and the real practice of virtue; whom neither smiles nor frowns can prevail with to forsake the truth. These the devil envies, and to render them odious, he paints them out in black colours. To be sure, in his account, they are fools and madmen—fanatics I'll warrant you—schismatics—heretics—a dangerous sort of people: Sirs, look to yourselves, and as you love your souls, beware of the infection of Quakerism. This is the common language, when people do not please him; but if they are tame, and easy to his insinuations, if they can rest in a form, and dwell upon words and notions, then he reigns in peace—his kingdom is quiet—no hard names then.

Well, reader, what I said before, I repeat now—it concerns thee to be serious, and to weigh things with a clear and disinterested mind. If thou wilt serve God, thou must take courage and break loose from the world: if thou wilt come to Christ, thou shalt find true riches, and a fountain of inexpressible joy. If thou die with Christ, thou shalt live; if thou suffer with him in this vain, transitory world, thou shalt reign with him in glory for ever. Look not at thy own weakness, but look unto God, whose grace is sufficient for thee; his strength is magnified in our weakness. Let not then the cross discourage thee, but take it up, and in meekness and patience bear it after Jesus, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens. Strip thyself from the creatures; wean thy affections from the world; strengthen thy hand in God; cleave stedfastly unto him; make him thy friend, and then thou needst not care who is thine enemy; all the rage of men and devils can never hurt thee. Hearken unto God; obey his voice; mind the teachings of his Holy Spirit; give up thyself entirely to the conduct of it, for its ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace. This is that Comforter which is given to lead us into all truth: blessed are all those that are taught and led by it; they see their way—it is made plain, and shines more and more unto the perfect day. Trust not to uncertainties; put not off thy repentance; delay not the time of returning to God. How dost thou know thou shalt live an hour longer? Are all thy accounts fair and clear? Art thou ready to depart, if God should call thee before to-morrow morning?

Reader, once more I say—it concerns thee to be serious; for the day of God hastens, wherein all false coverings shall be rent off; fear shall take hold on the hypocrites, as sorrow upon a woman in travail, and they shall not escape. A name and profession of Christianity without the life and power of it, will then stand in very little stead; it will be a terrible day, who shall be able to stand in it! Certainly none of the hypocrites, and shufflers, and vain talkers, and disputers of this world, and empty notionists, and time-servers, and men-pleasers; no, they will be all swept away, as chaff before the wind. "For behold the day cometh that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch."—Mal. iv. 1. And therefore now is the accepted time, prize it; now is the day of salvation. Know, reader, that by the grace of God, thou art capable of great attainments; true faith will remove mountains; by that thou mayst escape the pollutions of the world, and come clean out of Babylon and Egypt, and all such things as would let or hinder thee in thy Christian race. Why then should we trifle away our precious minutes? Why should we die short of true happiness? Let the time past suffice us, to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, serving divers lusts and pleasures, and walking in the vanity of our minds. God has borne long with us; his mercy and loving-kindness has been great; let us provoke him no longer, but instantly return to him and humble our souls before him. This is the labour and travail of my soul, God knoweth, desiring that all men might be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. O that all would taste and see how gracious he is! If they would wait upon him in silence, with their minds retired from the world, and staid upon him, they may come to see wonderful things in righteousness; the mysteries of God's kingdom should be opened and revealed to them, yea things which were kept secret from the foundation of the world. Such should find true peace and rest to their souls; they should find strength administered according to their several wants, and grace to help in time of need; yea, they should go from strength

to strength and grow in grace daily, as the Apostle said, Eph. iv. 13; "till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ:" which, reader, that we may all come to know, witness and experience in ourselves, is the earnest supplication and prayer of thy hearty well-wisher and sincere friend, to serve thee in the Truth. SAMUEL CRISP.

ON DIVINE WORSHIP, GOSPEL MINISTRY, AND THE TRUE CHURCH.

"God is a Spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth."—JOHN iv. 24.

OUR Christian belief is, that every man ought to wait upon God, in the measure of his own good Spirit; that he is to follow its motions, observe its counsels, and make it the great rule and guide of his life; and we say, as men wait in this and are led and governed by this, so, and not otherwise, are they accepted and approved in the sight of God. For this, and this only, can work all acceptable works in us, and for us. "Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh." Gal. v. 16. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." Rom. viii. 14. In the performance of all religious worship, we say there is especial need that men should wait upon God, in the gift of his own Spirit, to feel the conduct and assistance of it; for this is the salt of the sacrifice, it is this gives savour and life to every duty, it is this must make known our wants to us, and instruct us how to apply ourselves to God for suitable relief. The apostle of the Gentiles is excellent in this: Rom. viii. 26, 27,—"Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities;—and he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God." God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth; and we wait upon him in silence, that we may be enabled to perform this worship and service, believing that his Spirit will help and teach us to pray, better than all directories and common-prayer books. Shall we for this be ridiculed? and because we are tender of the righteous seed of light and life in ourselves and others, observing what the apostle enjoins, not to quench the Spirit nor despise prophesyings, must we therefore be called fanatics and enthusiasts?

It is not men's running over their prayers by heart, or reading them out of a book, or undertaking to pray or preach by the strength of their own reason and natural faculties, that finds acceptance with God. None of these can be said to be that spiritual worship and service which God calls for in the days of the Gospel, now that he hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, whereby we cry Abba Father: not now, I say, when he has poured forth his Spirit upon sons and daughters; so that they can and must prophesy; not now, when God has so clearly revealed himself to the world, and told us expressly by his Son, that he is a Spirit; that the true worshippers shall worship him in spirit and in truth; and that he seeketh such to worship him. These are Gospel days; this is the last and most glorious dispensation that shall ever be in the world; now God calls for a more than ordinary strictness and purity of life. The times of ignorance, it is said, God winked at; but now he commandeth all men every where to repent; to leave off their dead forms, their empty ceremonies and hypocritical will-worship, a worship which they can go about in their own time, begin and finish it when they please. Here many are making a profession of religion and godliness outwardly, going on in a round of bodily exercises, and pretended devotions, from one year's end to another, and yet are destitute of the inward, experimental knowledge of Jesus Christ. But blessed be God for ever, that he has in this generation, made bare his arm in a wonderful manner, and brought a remnant near to himself: they have seen to an end of types and shadows, and are come to Christ, the life and substance, and to the one spiritual baptism, that purgeth the conscience from dead works, to serve the living God. And they are come to the true supper, and inward communion of the body and blood of Christ; where they feed daily at his table, and eat of that bread that came down from heaven, which nourisheth the soul unto eternal life. These are brought off from all the world's carnal and literal teachers, and are come to the ministration of the Spirit, and the teachings of Christ Jesus, who is their Prophet, Priest, and King, the only true Shepherd and Bishop of their souls. These are come to a true silence, and ceasing from all their own words; they wait for the arising of that Divine Power and Life which shall render their service accepted of God and useful and beneficial to men. They preach and pray as the Spirit helps them. They observe Christ's rule and precept, which is, to watch and pray; plainly showing, that before men pray, they should watch; that is, retire in their minds, and wait upon God, that they may "serve him acceptably, with reverence and godly fear. For (as the apostle says) our God is a consuming fire." Those who rush hastily into his presence, without due preparation and watchful-

ness, they offer the sacrifice of fools; they do not come up with acceptance on God's altar.—Isa. lx. 7. It is said of Nadab and Abihu, that "they offered strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not. And there went out fire from the Lord, and devoured them, and they died before the Lord."—Levit. x. 1, 2. Let the ungodly and uncircumcised priests and people of the world, who on all occasions are so full of their prayers and devotions, consider this: they would, I am confident, be ashamed to appear in that posture before some of their superiors, wherein they many times appear before God. But, as I said before, they who know God rightly, have learned to wait upon him in the silence of all flesh. "Without me," says Christ, "ye can do nothing." Being sensible of this, they have learned to bow and humble themselves before God; not daring to open their mouths, or speak a word, but as God is pleased to make known to them the mysteries of his kingdom, to prepare a sacrifice for himself, and to touch their lips with a live coal from the altar. When the well springs up, then they can sing unto it.—Numb. xxi. 17. When God opens, none can shut; and when he shuts none can open. These wait, as the apostles at Jerusalem, to receive power from on high; when God bids them speak, they must speak—they may neither add to [that which is given them,] nor diminish from it. They must not quench the Spirit, nor despise prophesyings.—1 Thess. v. 19, 20.

This is our Christian belief, with respect to the worship of God, and the solemn offices of religion, such as praying and preaching. And by the places cited, it may appear to every impartial eye, that these are no new lights or upstart notions, but agreeable to Holy Scripture, and the practice of the primitive Christians; to whose blessed example, holy and pious life, we desire in all things to conform ourselves.

The church of God is the pillar and ground of Truth: it is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. The church of God consists of living stones; they are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ; they are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, who in life and conversation, show forth the praises of Him who hath called them out of darkness, into his marvellous light. This is a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but holy and without blemish. This is the true church and true religion, which we desire all people would seriously consider and diligently press after.

A Warning given to the present generation, to consider their ways and turn unto the Lord; wherein they are reminded of the late dreadful tempest of wind.

"Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did he in heaven, and in earth, in the seas, and all deep places. He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth; he maketh lightnings for the rain; he bringeth the wind out of his treasuries"—Psalm cxxxv. 6, 7.

How gloriously has the Truth broken forth in this latter age of the world, and how has England been favoured with the bright sunshine of the gospel, and the revelation of eternal truths! And how has God waited with much long-suffering and patience, to gather this nation to himself! How has the word of the Lord been proclaimed in towns and cities, and that with much dread, and great majesty and power! And how has the Lord stretched out his hand to the inhabitants of this island, day after day and year after year; that if by any means he might gather them in the arms of his love, and bless them, and make this land as a garden of pleasant plants, an eternal excellency, the joy of the whole earth! But O, how ill have many requited him for his kindness, and mercy, and long-suffering! How have they hardened their hearts, and rebelled against his Holy Spirit, and slighted the overtures of peace and reconciliation! How have they abused his servants, and shamefully treated those that came purely in love to their souls, and sought neither their silver nor gold, but their eternal welfare; and were willing to leave their families, friends and relations, and travel many hundreds of miles to invite others to come in and partake with them, in the glorious communion and fellowship of the saints in light! And O how shily and disdainfully have the poor worldlings and their blind priests—who were settled in the earth—looked upon these innocent servants of the Lord! And what an outcry have they raised against them! treating them as rogues and vagabonds, of whom yet the world was not worthy, and by calling them seducers, and heretics, and blasphemers, and jesuits, and fools, and madmen, and anything that malice or ignorance could suggest! And O what flouts and jeers, and stripes, and knocks, and bruises, have they met with, for their obedience to the Lord! and all this from a sort of men that called themselves Christians; from whose profession, one would expect better things at their hands.

And how ill both priests and people have requited the servants of the Lord, for their testimony against the works of darkness! Surely God will judge for these things. And notwithstanding the gospel has been so fully and de-

monstratively preached in this nation, yet how do sin and wickedness, injustice and oppression, fraud and violence, and all manner of abominations, run down the streets of towns, cities and villages, like a mighty stream! How madly and desperately do many lead their lives! What prodigious excess, and pride, and vanity, and superfluity, are found amongst the inhabitants of England! How do ungodly men devour the creation, and spend it upon their lusts, and weary themselves to commit iniquity! They bid defiance to all religion, and cast off all seriousness; they rant and swear, dance and sing, and fill the land with oaths and blasphemies. They wallow in pleasures, and indulge themselves in ease and softness perpetually; and are not valiant for the truth upon the earth, but live enslaved to the devil's kingdom. They speak every man vanity with his neighbour: and as for lying, and flattery, hypocrisy and deceit, there is no end of them. Hypocrites and formalists, shufflers and mammonists spare one another, wink at one another, daub one another, and bolster up one another in their unrighteous and ungodly ways and practices. And such God hates; and his fierce wrath will be manifest against them, except they repent. What a deep sleep and prodigious carelessness possesses the minds of such men! What do they study? What do they regard? Nothing but to satisfy their lusts, and please themselves. As for religion and meekness, sobriety and virtue, they are bantered and ridiculed, hissed and spurned at, and kicked off the stage of the world. Honesty, truth, and plain-dealing, find no room in men's hearts; they cannot bear to be told of their faults; daub them over and wink at them, and then you please them. The consideration of these things cannot but wound any Christian heart. Ah sinful nation! a people laden with iniquity! The Lord, in mercy, put a stop to this torrent of wickedness! The Lord touch every soul with a deep sense of their provocations, and make them truly penitent, and incline their hearts to the serious study and practice of holiness! May the great men and rulers of the earth make it their business, both by their example and authority, to check vice and wickedness, and discourage and suppress all profaneness, debauchery and immorality. They may be instruments of much good in their generation, if they would zealously and impartially exercise that power which they have in their hands; otherwise they cannot escape, but their condemnation will be great in the day of the Lord. O, may the judgments of the Lord, awaken people to a speedy and timely repentance! that they may learn righteousness, and know the things that belong to their everlasting peace, before they be hid from their eyes, and the wrath of God break forth against them, to their utter desolation.

What do people think of the late great stormy wind*—the most dreadful calamity of the kind perhaps that ever afflicted this nation? How were thousands distressed then, both by sea and land! What a consternation was upon the minds of people—fear without and fear within! And what weeping, and crying, and lamentation, was there in many places! And how were many cut to the heart, and knew not what to say, nor what to do! For the hand of the Lord was upon them, and the arrows of the Almighty wounded them; and they knew not which way to escape, nor where to hide themselves from the fierceness of his indignation, who was come and coming to shake terribly the inhabitants of the earth. And then many a rotten, hypocritical heart, I believe, was rip-

* This was a truly awful visitation: the following account of it is extracted from some authentic published Records of remarkable Events.

"One of the most terrible storms of wind that was perhaps ever known in England, occurred on the 26th of November, 1703, attended with vivid flashes of lightning. It commenced about ten o'clock at night, and continued to rage with extreme violence till seven the next morning, when it gradually moderated. So tremendous were its effects, that people feared a total wreck of nature. Although the devastation was particularly afflictive in the Metropolis, yet every part of the kingdom experienced more or less of its ravages. The damage sustained within the city alone, was estimated at two millions sterling; besides vast loss in other parts of the Metropolis. Upwards of two thousand stacks of chimneys were blown down; and the streets covered with broken tiles and slates from the roofs of houses. The lead on the tops of several churches, was rolled up like skins of parchment; and at Westminster Abbey, Christ's Hospital, St. Andrew's Holborn, and many other places, it was carried off from the buildings. Several houses near Moorfields, were levelled with the ground; as were about twenty others in the outparts, together with a great number of brick walls, and gable ends of houses. Twenty-one persons were killed by the fall of the ruins, and about one hundred others greatly injured. All the ships in the river Thames, between London Bridge and Limehouse, except four, were forced from their moorings and thrown on shore; upwards of four hundred wherries were entirely lost; more than sixty barges were driven foul of London Bridge, and as many more were either sunk or staved between the Bridge and Hammersmith: these events were also attended with the loss of many lives. The loss sustained at Bristol, was computed at £200,000. But the destruction at sea far exceeded that on land: for in this dismal night, twelve men-of-war, with upwards of eighteen hundred men on board, perished within sight of their own shore; great numbers of merchantmen were also lost: and in fact the entire damage was so great, that its amount exceeded all computation."

ped up, and the false covering torn off; men saw their shortness in many things, and were ready to cry to the Lord for mercy; wished they had lived better lives, and that instead of talking of Christianity, they had practised it. But alas, how soon are these things forgotten! And what amendment or reformation do we see in men's lives? He that was a hypocrite and a formalist, and a time-server and a hireling last year, for aught I see, is so still. He that was bitter, passionate, peevish, uncharitable, covetous, selfish and earthly-minded, and even without natural affection, is so still. He that was scraping and raking up wealth then, is doing so still. He that was puffed up with pride, and a loose liver, and a libertine, and strutted about with his sword and long powdered wig then, is and does so still. She that was dressed a-la-mode then, and could patch, and paint, and take her pleasure, and live in wantonness upon the earth, does so still. O how the lusts of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, abound amongst them! And the priest drives on his trade, and looks for his gain from his quarter; and his wife and children must be in the proud fashions, or else what will the neighbours say of him? But how to rebuke vice sharply and boldly, and set a good example, he knows not; the poor man has no heart to it, he fears it will not be for his interest. And so he that was at ease in a dry and empty and fruitless profession, thinks himself secure still; the old clothes go on, and he runs the round of formality and hypocrisy. And the careless daughters still walk about the streets, with stretched-out necks, and their monstrous head-dresses, mincing as they go, so delicate, as if the ground were not good enough for them to tread upon. Is this our improvement upon God's judgments—our mourning in sackcloth and ashes? Oh the incorrigibleness of mankind! He that could fight and swear, and curse and damn, and revel and be drunk, and cheat and lie last year, for aught I see, can do so still. And few are humbled under the hand of the Lord as they ought to be: few mourn in secret, and turn unto the Lord, and seriously lay things to heart, and consider their latter end. But they go on, every man in his own way, and set up their idols in their hearts, to commit abomination therewith. And the wanton, the voluptuary, and the ambitious, pursue their pleasures and delights, and worldly interests, with as much eagerness and resolution as ever. And is this a time, now when God has so eminently signalized his displeasure against us, to plead for sin and imperfection, and strengthen the bands of wickedness, and for any to stir up persecution? Surely we way find other work to do. What! are not the sins of this nation great enough? Is this a time to wink and spare, and daub and bolster up men in their sins? What! shall profaneness and the most scandalous immoralities still go unpunished? And shall the play-house still be suffered to laugh at religion, and droll upon everything that is serious, to debauch the age, and propagate a stock of atheists and libertines? Surely these things are not consistent with Christianity: and truly whatever men may talk, nothing short of this, is like to avert those judgments that seem to hang over our heads. How it may please God to visit us the next time, we know not: but surely if we still go on in our impenitence and stiff-neckedness, it may be just with God to be more severe with us.

And now, that the Gospel may prosper, and righteousness increase, the church flourish, and truth and peace, love and good works take place in the earth, is the desire of my soul.

The 15th of Second month, (called April), 1704.

A LETTER FROM

ELIZABETH WEBB TO ANTHONY WILLIAM BŒHM;

CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF HER RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, WITH HIS ANSWER.

Tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.—Romans v. 3, 4, 5.

INTRODUCTION.

The inducements to the publication of the following Letter at this distant period from the time it was written, are—the hope entertained by some devout persons, who have been edified by the spiritual experiences it contains, that it may prove instructing and comforting to others alike piously disposed—and the desire to prevent the further circulation of incorrect copies in manuscript, such having been handed about. It has therefore been revised, and is now recommended to the serious perusal of all those, who, having entered on a religious life, may desire

to find instruction and encouragement to press forward with stability and humble resignation, through the various probations and conflicts attending them in their Christian progress, that they may obtain under their spiritual leader, the grace of God, "the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls."

It may also be satisfactory to the readers, to have some account of the writer, and of the person to whom the letter was written. They are therefore briefly informed, that ELIZABETH WEBB was an acknowledged minister among the people called Quakers, who, from an apprehension of religious duty and the constraints of gospel love, went from Pennsylvania to Great Britain, to visit her Friends there, about the year 1712. When in London she contracted some acquaintance with ANTHONY WILLIAM BŒHM, who was chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, the consort of Anne, Queen of England, and by birth a German, yet well acquainted with the English language: he died in the year 1722. The divers writings on religious subjects which he has left, show him to have been a man of a truly pious and catholic disposition; which is also confirmed by the testimonials given of him by men of character in his time,* who, from their personal knowledge, mention him with great respect for his piety to God, and benevolence to mankind.

Philadelphia, Eleventh month, 1781.

A LETTER FROM ELIZABETH WEBB TO ANTHONY WILLIAM BŒHM.

WORTHY FRIEND,—The kind respect thou showedst me, when in London, hath laid me under an obligation wherein I find my mind drawn to communicate to thee in the openings of divine love; on which I must desire thy favourable construction, as I am almost a stranger to thee. What I have to write, hath been on my mind these several weeks, in that pure, innocent love in which is the communion of saints. I have no learned method in which to deliver my religious experience, either by word or writing, but plainly and simply as the Spirit of Truth directs: and I being the weaker vessel too, have the more need to beg to be excused. I shall not write from notions and speculations; I look on such things as unsafe, and I know they are many times unsound: but I shall write a small part of what I have gone through, and what my soul hath tasted of the good word of life, which is near; that we may have fellowship together in God the Father of our spirits, and in his Son Jesus Christ our Lord; whom my soul hath known both in mercy and in judgment, to the mortifying, in a good degree, the fallen and corrupt nature, and to the purifying of my heart so far, as that I can say to his praise, I do not see him through particular forms, sects, party impressions, or any such thing. No, my dear friend, I never sought after the Lord in these ways, nor for any of these ends; but I sought after him in my young years for salvation, and I still seek to him for the perfect restoration of my soul in him. I have nothing of my own to boast of, unless it be weakness and infirmities; but desire to rejoice in the cross of Christ, by which I am crucified to the world in a good degree, and the world to me; so that I can say, I die daily.

And as touching the fondness for education, religious profession and conversation, these things have cast no mist before my eyes. I can see, own and love the image of my Lord and Saviour in any sort of profession, if the soul hath been educated in the heavenly university or school of Christ. Nevertheless, we cannot see God in, or have fellowship with all sorts of conversation; that of the wicked is as if there was no God; "God is not in all their thoughts." And such as despise the image of the meek, humble Jesus, and will follow none of his precepts, nor his self-denying example, whilst they are here, the Lord will hereafter despise their image: for they shall have an image according to the seed or spirit in which they lay down their body: every seed shall have its own body in the resurrection of the just and the unjust, and every one shall receive his own sentence.

Thou well observest that sin, self-love, self-will, &c., contract the soul into a very narrow compass; but the love of God breaks down all those walls of selfishness by which the soul is hedged in and restrained from universal love and benignity. This is very true; but there are those who will not receive our love as it is in Jesus: nevertheless, some have felt [towards such], the flowings of the love and compassion of Him, who "would not the death of a sinner, but rather that all would return to Him, repent and live." I am a witness for the Lord, that the shedding abroad of his love over the inhabitants of this nation, hath been like showers of rain in the spring time. I well remember that I told a Friend in London, I felt the divine extendings of the love of God so to flow to the people, as I walked in the streets of the city, that I could have freely published the salvation of God, which is near, and his righteousness

* In addition to the productions of his own pen, A. W. Bœhm translated from the German a valuable work, entitled "True Christianity," written by John Arndt. Among those who bore testimony to his worth, as a religious character, was the pious Isaac Watts, who said of him, that he feared there were few such men in England, British or German, Episcopal or Nonconformist.

which is ready to be revealed, in the public places of concourse: the Friend said, he hoped it would not be required of me. This I mention to convince thee that universal love prevails in the hearts of some who are unknown to the world, and hardly known to their own brethren; and this is not to be wondered at. Eli did not know the inward exercise of Hannah, and the prophet Elijah thought he had been left alone, until the Lord told him he had seven thousand in Israel who had not bowed to Baal. The prophet Samuel also, when he looked out with an eye of reason on the goodness of the stature of Eliab, said, "Surely the Lord's anointed is before him;" so now, unless the Lord be pleased to reveal things to us, we are liable to mistake. But blessed be the name of our most gracious God, who is the same that ever he was, he sees not as man sees; for man looks at the outward appearance, but God looks at the heart.

I received thy second letter just as I was going out of London, of which I have sent thee a copy, with some annotations: my view therein is, that if thou thinkest it may be of benefit to any, thou mayst communicate it; if not, let it lie by thee.

I take great notice of thy Christian love and good advice in thy second letter, and do accept of it very heartily; and can assure thee, that my labour is not to gather people into a formality, but I labour according as the Lord enables me, to gather souls to Christ, who is able to make the deceitful hearts of the children of men, plain, honest, upright and clean; and when "the inside is clean, the outside will be clean also." But I freely acknowledge that the glory of the true church or mystical body, or bride of Christ (which is made up of souls, who have entered into covenant with the Lord, to love and serve him for ever), is within; "her clothing is of wrought gold," and the curious needlework of virgin wisdom is upon her; for she hath been stripped of all her old rags or garments of righteousness and unrighteousness. Having been washed in pure water, her Bridegroom hath anointed her with holy oil—the holy unction of his Spirit; and he is clothing her with the beautiful garment of his salvation—the robe of his righteousness. She is depending on him for her daily bread; so that she is not eating her own bread, nor wearing her own apparel. She cannot be content with only bearing his name, but longs to be made more and more a partaker of his divine nature. And the love of her Lord hath been and still is so largely extended to her, with her love so to him, that she is wholly subject to him; he ruleth in love, and she obeys in love, and this makes all things easy. She hath no will of her own, but the will of her Lord is her will in all things: all his commands are pleasant to her, because she delights to wait on him, and to serve in his presence, and had rather be deprived of all outward enjoyments, than of his presence, and the enjoyment of his favour. Her conversation is adorned with humility and meekness, her steps are comely in the eyes of her Beloved; "all her children are taught of the Lord, established in righteousness, and great is their peace." And my soul may say to the praise and glory of God, that no greater comfort can be enjoyed on this side the grave, than to be a child or member of this church.

And now, my dear friend, I will give thee a short account of the dealings of the Lord with me in my young years; how he brought my soul through fire and water. For what end this has lived in my mind I know not, except it be for our spiritual communion; but when my soul is lowest and nearest to the Lord in the simplicity of truth, then is my heart opened and my mind filled with divine love respecting this matter. I desire thee to peruse it inwardly, when thou art retired, and not to judge of it before thou hast gone through it; and then judge as freely as thou pleasest:—

I was baptized and educated in the way of the church of England; and went to school to a minister thereof, whom I loved and honoured greatly; he showed great kindness and tenderness to me. In those days I looked on the ministers to be like angels, that brought glad tidings to the children of men. When I was about fourteen years of age, I went to live at a knight's house, who kept a chaplain; I observed his conversation, and saw it was vain, and I thought it ought not to be so, and was troubled in my mind; for I then began to think on my latter end and also on eternity, and I had no assurance of salvation or a state of happiness, if it should please the Lord to send the messenger of death to call me away. So the fear of the Lord laid hold on my mind, and I began to search the Scriptures, and found they testified that "the wicked should be turned into hell, and all those that forget God." And I saw that both priests and people did too generally "forget God," as soon as they came off their knees, or from their devotion. I was much afraid of hell, and wanted an assurance of a place in the kingdom of heaven. Then I began to think on the great promises that were made for me in my baptism, as they called it, whereby they said I was made a member of Christ, a child of God, &c., that I should renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh, and should keep God's holy will and commandments. I thought indeed this was the way to obtain a

place in the kingdom of heaven; but I had no power to do what I ought to do, nor to forsake what I ought to forsake, for I was very proud, vain and airy. But as I was thus inwardly exercised, and outwardly searching the Scriptures, my understanding was more and more opened. I read and took notice that the ministers of Christ, whom he qualified, and sent forth to preach, were to do it freely; for Christ said, "Freely ye have received, freely give," and that those who run when the Lord never sent them, "should not profit the people at all." Many such things opened in my mind, and I used to ponder them in my heart; also the promises to the flock in the 34th of Ezekiel, where the Lord promised to bind up that which was broken, and strengthen that which was sick. These and similar portions of the Scriptures were very comfortable to me, for I was sick of my sins, and my heart was broken many times before the Lord. I thought, Oh! that I had lived in the days of Christ, I would surely have been one of those that followed him; and I grieved because the Jews crucified him. Thus I loved Christ in the outward appearance, and could have said, as Peter said, far be it from thee Lord to suffer: yet I did not know he was so near me by his Holy Spirit. But I was convinced that the hireling shepherds, who teach for hire and divine for money,* were not the ministers of Christ, by the testimony of the prophets and of Christ himself, who said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." So I left going to hear them, and walked alone: for I had gone till a fear followed me into the worship-house, and I thought it would be just upon me, if I was made an example for my inattention to the Spirit of Truth. When I was about fifteen years old, it pleased God to send the spirit of grace and supplication into my heart, by which I prayed fervently unto the Lord: there was a divine breathing in my soul: I had no life in my forms of prayer, except that one which Christ taught his disciples, for which I have always had a reverent esteem; but when I was in a state to pray, I found that the Spirit made intercession in me and for me, according to the present want and necessity of my soul. I remember the expressions that used to run through my mind were—"O Lord! preserve me in thy fear and in thy truth,—O Lord! show me thy way, and make known thy mind and will unto me;"—and I thought I was ready to obey it, and much desired to know the people of God; for my soul cried, "O Lord! where dost thou feed thy flock; why should I be as one that is turned aside from the flocks of thy companions?" O, the drawing cords of thy divine love! O, thou didst draw my soul with longings and breathings after the knowledge of the only true God, and of Jesus Christ! There was then no condemnation for the sins of ignorance, which the Lord winked at; but he called me to repent and forsake my pride and vain company, which was a great cross to the will of the flesh. Yet I took it up for several months; and while I did so, my soul had great peace and divine comfort; so that many times the enjoyment of divine love was more to me than my natural food, or any outward thing. I remember when the family used to ask me why I did not come to meat, I used to think I had meat to eat that they knew nothing of. And in those times of retirement, I had manifestations of sufferings that I should go through, and a sight of several things which I met with since; and in those times I walked alone.

I was convinced that the Quakers held the principles of Truth, and that their ministry was the true ministry: but I dwelt then far from any of them, only thus it had happened:—When I was about twelve years old, I was at a meeting or two of theirs, and the doctrine of one man that preached there, proved to me, as the wise man terms it, like bread cast upon the waters, for it was found after many days: the sound of his voice seemed to be in my mind when I was alone, and some of his words came fresh into my remembrance; and the voice and the words suited with the exercise of my mind. At that time I met also with a little book of theirs, and finding the doctrine it contained agreed with the doctrine of the apostles, I was confirmed in my judgment, that their profession agreed with the truth: but I did not join with them; for by that time flesh and blood began to be very uneasy under the yoke of retirement, and to groan for liberty. I was about sixteen years old; and the subtle enemy lay near, and did not want instruments: so I was persuaded by reasoning with flesh and blood, that I was young, and might take a little more pleasure, and might serve God when I was older. I let go my exercise of watching and praying, left off retirement, and let out my love to visible objects. Pride and vanity grew up again; the divine, sweet, meek, loving Spirit withdrew, and I could not find it again when I pleased, although I did seek it sometimes: for I could have been pleased with the sweet comforts of his love, yet I did not like to bear the daily cross. And being convinced that was [required by] the Quakers' principles, and believing they did enjoy the sweetness of divine love in their meetings, I went sometimes a great way to a meeting to seek for divine refreshment there; but to no purpose; for I was like some dry stick that had no sap nor virtue, unto which rain and sunshine, summer and winter are all

* Micah, iii. 11.

alike.—Thus it was with me for about three years.

Oh, the remembrance of that mispent time! Oh, the tribulation that came on me for my disobedience, is never to be forgotten! But when I was about nineteen years of age, it pleased the Almighty to send his quickening Spirit again into my heart, and his light shined into my mind; all my transgressions were set in order before me, and I was made deeply sensible of my great loss. And then, oh then! the vials of the wrath of an angry Father, were poured out on the trangressing nature. Oh, then I cried, "woe is me! woe is me! I am undone—I have slain the babe of grace—I have crucified the Lord of life and glory to myself afresh, although I have not put him to open shame." For I had been preserved in moral honesty in all respects, to that degree, that I durst not tell a lie, or speak an evil word, and could be trusted in any place, and in any thing; for this would be in my mind many times, that if I was not faithful in the unrighteous mammon I should not be trusted with heavenly treasure. But notwithstanding my righteousness, He whose eye penetrates all hearts, found me so guilty, that I thought there was no mercy for me. Oh! that testimony of our blessed Lord Jesus, I found to be true, viz: Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, there is no admittance into the kingdom of heaven or favour of God. But after many days and nights of sorrow and great anguish, having no soul to speak to, it came into my mind to give myself up into the hands of God; and I said, "O Lord! if I perish, it shall be at the gate of thy mercy; for if thou cast me into hell, I cannot help myself; therefore I will give up my soul, my life, and all into thy holy hand: do thy pleasure by me; thy judgments are just, for I have slighted thy sweet love and have slain the babe of grace." And as I sunk down into death, and owned and submitted to the judgments of God, my heart was broken, which before was hard; and it pleased my merciful Father to cause his divine, sweet love to spring again in my hard, dry, and barren soul, as a spring of living water; the fire of the wrath of God was mightily abated, and the compassionate bowels of a tender Saviour my soul felt. I had living hope raised in my mind: yet greater afflictions came afterwards; so that I may say by experience, "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way," indeed, "that leadeth unto life." And I have cause to believe, none but such as are made willing to be stript of all that belongs to self or the old man, and do become as little children, can rightly or truly enter in at the strait gate. And I do find by experience, that no vulture's eye, no venomous beast, nor lofty lion's whelp, can look into or tread in this holy, narrow way—Oh! the longing there is in my soul, that all might consider it. But to proceed:—

I thought all was well, [and said in my heart,] "The worst is now over, and I am again taken into the favour of God:" so I was led into an elevation of joy, though inwardly in silence. But in a few days my soul was led into a wilderness where there was no way, no guide, no light that I could see, but darkness such as might be felt indeed: for the horrors of it were such, that when it was night I wished for morning, and when it was morning I wished for evening. The Lord was near, but I knew it not: he had brought my soul into the wilderness, and there he pleaded with me by his fiery law and righteous judgments. The day of the Lord came upon me, which burnt as an oven in my bosom, till all pride and vanity were burnt up, my former delights were gone, my old heavens were passed away within me, as with fire, and I had as much exercise in my mind of anguish and sorrow as I could bear, day and night for several months, and not a drop of divine comfort. I could compare my heart to nothing, unless it were a coal of fire, or a hot iron; no brokenness of heart or tenderness of spirit; although I cried to God continually in the deep distress of my soul, yet not one tear could issue from my eyes. Oh! the days of sorrow and nights of anguish that I went through, no tongue can utter, nor heart conceive which hath not gone through the like. I could have wished I had been some other creature, that I might not have known such anguish and sorrow; for I thought all other creatures were in their proper places. But my troubles were aggravated by the strong oppression and temptation of Satan, who was very unwilling to lose his subject: so he raised all his forces, and made use of all his armour which he had in the house: and I found him to be like a strong man armed indeed; for he would not suffer me to enter into resignation, but would have me look into mysteries that appertain to salvation, with an eye of carnal reason. And because I could not so comprehend, he caused me to question the truth of all things that are left upon record in the Holy Scriptures, and would have persuaded me into the Jews' opinion concerning Christ; and many other baits and resting places he laid before me. But my soul hungered after the true bread, the bread of life, which came from God out of heaven, which Christ testified of, see John vi. beginning at the 27th verse, to the end, which I had felt near, and my soul had tasted of. And although the devil prompted me with his temptations, my soul could not feed on them, but cried continually, "Thy presence, O Lord! or

else I die—Oh! let me feel thy saving arm, or else I perish—O Lord! give me faith."

Thus was my soul exercised in earnest supplications unto God night and day; and yet I went about my outward occasions, and made my complaint to none but God only. And I have often since considered, that the subtle serpent finds suitable baits for the soul that can be content to feed on any thing below the enjoyment of God. So having known the terrors of God and the subtle wiles of Satan, I am concerned sometimes to persuade people to repent, and to warn them to flee from the wrath to come.

Now all my faith which I had before, whilst in disobedience, proved like building on a sandy foundation. All the comfort I used to have in reading the Scriptures, was taken away; and I durst not read for some time, because it added to my condemnation. So I was left to depend on God alone, who caused me to feel a little hope at times, like a glimmering of light underneath my troubles, which was some stay to my mind: if it had not been so, I had fallen into despair. But I much desired to be brought through my troubles the right way, and not to shake off or get over them in my own time. I had not freedom to make known my condition to any person; for I used to think, if the Lord did not help me, in vain was the help of man: and I have since seen that it was well I did not, on several accounts; for I might have come to a loss if I had done so, as it was the will of God to humble me, and to turn up and throw down all that which might be imputed to man or self, that I might know the work or building of the Lord to be raised from the foundation of his own power, where there is none of man's building; that all the glory might be given to him alone. For we are very apt to say in effect, "I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, and I of Christ," as if Christ was divided: but the Lord will not give his glory to another, nor his praise to graven images. For as thou, my friend, well observest, the chief that we ought to labour for, is to make people sensible of their corruption, to direct them to the word nigh, and to be good examples to them.

So, in the Lord's due and appointed time, when he had seen my suffering of that fiery kind to be sufficient, he was pleased to cause his divine love to flow in my bosom in an extraordinary manner; and the Holy Spirit of divine light and life did overcome my soul. Then a divine sense and understanding was given me by which to know the power and also the love of God, in sending his only Son out of his bosom into the world, to take upon him a body of flesh, wherein he did go through the whole process of suffering for the salvation of mankind; and so did break through and break open the gates of death, and repair the breach that old Adam had made between God and man, and restored the path for souls to come to God.

And the Almighty was pleased at that time to make my simple soul sensible, that he did send the spirit of his Son into my heart, in order to lead me through the process of his suffering; that as he died for sin, so I might die to sin, by bearing the daily cross, and living in self-denial, humility, and obedience to God, my Heavenly Father, in all things he should require of me. And then the baptism of the Holy Ghost, compared to water as well as fire, my soul came to witness; and the ministration of judgment and condemnation I saw had a glory in it, which made way for the ministration of life. The axe of God's word was laid to the evil root of the tree, and the voice of him who preached repentance my soul heard, that called for the mountains to be laid low, and the valleys to be raised, viz. the mountains of my natural temper, that a plain way might be made for the ransomed soul to walk in. And the Lord showed me how John the Baptist came to be counted the greatest prophet that was born of a woman, viz. because he was the forerunner of Jesus Christ, and is rightly termed the mourner; and how the least in the kingdom of heaven, is greater than he that is under his ministration only, which was to decrease; but the ministration of Jesus was to increase, whose baptism is with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and he will thoroughly purge his floor. Then I came to witness that it is indeed the work of God to believe rightly and truly on Him whom God hath sent; that this purifying, saving faith is the gift of God, and the very spring and vital principle of it, divine love. Then I mourned over Him whom I had pierced with my unbelief and hardness of heart; and I did eat my bread with weeping, and mingled my drink with tears.

I was between nineteen and twenty years of age when these great conflicts were on my mind: by them I was brought very humble; and I entered into solemn covenant with God Almighty, that I would answer his requirings, if it were to be the laying down my natural life. But when it was showed me that I ought to take up the cross in a little thing, I had like to have hearkened to the reasoner again, and been disobedient in the day of small things: for although I had gone through so much inward exercise, yet I was afraid of displeasing my superiors, being then a servant to great persons. It was shown me, that I should not give flattering titles to man; and I was threatened inwardly, that if I would not be obedient to the Lord's requirings, he would take away his good Spirit from me again. So I was in a

strait; I was afraid of displeasing God, and afraid of displeasing man; till at last I was charged by the Spirit, with honouring man more than God: for in my address to God I did use the plain language, but when I spoke to man or woman I must speak otherwise, or else they would be offended. Some would argue, that God Almighty being that only One, therefore the singular language was proper to him alone: and man being made up of compound matter, the plural language was more proper to him, &c. Oh! the subtle twistings of proud Lucifer that I have seen, would be too large to insert; but although God Almighty is that only One, yet is he the Being of all beings, for in him we live, move, and have our being. But let the cover be what it would, I had Scripture on my side, which they called their rule; and I knew proud man disdained to receive that language from an inferior, which he gave to the Almighty. So it became a great cross to me: but it was certainly a letting thing in the way of the progress of my soul, until I gave up to the Lord's requirings in this small thing. These things I signify to thee, dear friend, in great simplicity, that thou mayst see how the Lord leads out of the vain customs that are in the world, not only in what I have mentioned, but also in many other things; and into that humble, self-denying way which Christ both taught and practised, when he was visible among men. Christ is the true Christians' pattern, and his Spirit their leader.

And now I show thee this in truth and sincerity, because I would not be misunderstood by thee, viz: I am a single soul, wholly devoted to the Lord, and so do not plead for a form for form's sake; neither do I plead for a people as a people; for we are grown to be a mixed multitude, much like the children of Israel, when they were in the wilderness. But this I may say to the praise and glory of God; the principle that we make profession of, is the very Truth, viz. Christ in the male and in the female, the hope of glory: and Christ, thou knowest, is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and none comes to God but by him. So there is a remnant, who, like Joshua and Caleb of old, are true to the Lord their spiritual Leader, and follow him faithfully; and they stand clear in their testimonies against all dead formalities, which are but as images, when the vital principle, viz. the divine love is withdrawn. And yet as the spirit of Jesus leads out of all vain customs and traditions which are in the world, and into the plain, humble, meek, self-denying life and conversation which Christ walked in while he was visible among men, I could wish all to follow the leadings of his Spirit herein, that thereby they may confess him before men. But if it please the Almighty to accept of souls, without leading them through such fiery trials as he brought me through, or without requiring such things of them as he required of me, far be it from me to judge that such have not known the Lord, or the indwellings of his love, if the fruits of the spirit of Jesus be plain upon them: for every tree is known by its fruits, and to our own master we must stand or fall. But dear friend, as thou well observedst, purification is a gradual work—I may say so by experience: for when the old adversary could no longer draw me out into vain talking and foolish jesting, then he perplexed me with vain thoughts; some of which were according to my natural disposition, and some of them quite contrary. Oh! I cried mightily unto the Lord for power over vain thoughts; for they were a great trouble to me; and I stood in great fear lest one day or other I should fall by the hand of the enemy. But the Lord spake comfortably to my soul in his own words left upon record, "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom;" and the Lord gave me an evidence along with it, that my soul was one of that little flock. Another time, when I was very low in my mind, these words sprang with life and virtue, viz: "Although thou hast lain amongst the pots, yet I will give thee the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers of yellow gold." Oh! it was wonderfully comfortable to me when the Holy Ghost did bring a promise to my remembrance, and gave me an evidence that it was my portion. So I pondered on this, concerning "the wings of a dove," and I thought it must needs be the wing of innocency, whereby my soul might ascend unto God by prayer, meditation, and divine contemplation. I took delight to pray in secret and fast in secret, from the secret outgoings of my mind as well as I could, and my Heavenly Father who seeth and heareth in secret, did reward me openly. For then, when I went to meetings, I did not sit in darkness, dryness and barrenness, as I used to do in the time of my disobedience; but I did reap the benefit of the end of the coming of Christ, who said, "The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy: I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." The thief had, in the time of my disobedience, stolen my soul from Jesus, who said, "Whoso loveth father or mother, &c., or his own life more than me, is not worthy of me." So it had been with me, and I missed the benefit of reaping the end of his coming, for several years; but he in mercy being returned, afforded my bowed-down soul the enjoyment of his divine presence, and was pleased to cause his love, which is the true life of the soul, so to abound in my bosom in meetings, that my cup did overflow. And I

was constrained, under a sense of duty, to kneel down in the congregation, and confess to the goodness of God, also to pray to him for the continuation of it, and for power whereby I might be enabled to walk worthy of so great a favour, benefit and mercy, that I had received at his bountiful hand. And I remember after I had made public confession to the goodness of God, my soul was as if it had been in another world: it was so enlightened and enlivened by the divine love, that I was in love with the whole creation of God, and I saw every thing to be good in its place. I was showed things ought to be kept in their proper places, that the swine ought not to come into the garden, and the clean beasts ought not to be taken into the bedchamber; that as it was in the outward, so it ought to be in the inward and new creation. So every thing began to preach to me; the very fragrant herbs, and beautiful, innocent flowers had a speaking voice in them to my soul, and things seemed to have another relish with them than before. The judgments of God were sweet to my soul, and I was made to call to others sometimes, to come taste and see how good the Lord is, and to exhort them to prove the Lord, by an obedient, humble, innocent walking before him, and then they would see that he would pour out of his spiritual blessings in so plentiful a manner, that there would not be room enough to contain them; but the overflowings would return to him who is the Fountain, with thanksgivings, &c. And I was made to warn people, that they should not provoke the Lord by disobedience: for although he bears and suffers long, as he did with the rebellious Israelites in the wilderness, yet such shall know him to be a God of justice and judgment, and shall be made so to confess one day.

Thus, dear friend, I have given thee a plain, but true account of my qualification and call to the service of the ministry. But it was several years before I came to a freed state, or even temper of mind: for sometimes clouds would arise and interpose between my soul and the rising Sun, and I was brought down into the furnace often, and found by experience that every time my soul was brought down as into the furnace of affliction, that it did still come up more clean and bright; and although the cloud did interpose between me and the rising Sun, yet when the Sun of Righteousness did appear again, he brought healing as under his wings, and was nearer than before. Thus dear friend, I express things in simplicity, as they were represented to me in the manifestation of them in the morning of my days. I came to love to dwell with judgment, and used often to pray, saying, "O Lord! search me and try me, for thou knowest my heart better than I know it; and I pray thee let no deceitfulness of unrighteousness lodge therein; but let thy judgments pass upon every thing that is contrary to thy pure, divine nature. Thus my soul used to breathe to the Lord continually, and hunger and thirst after a more full enjoyment of his presence. Although he is a consuming fire to the corrupt nature of the old man, yet my soul loved to dwell with him. I found many sorts of corruptions would be endeavouring to spring up again; but I resigned up my mind to the Lord, with desires that he would feed me with food convenient for me. And this I can say by experience, that the soul that is born of God doth breathe to him as constantly by prayer, as the sucking child, when it is born into the world, doth draw in and breathe out the common air; even so the child of God doth draw in and breathe forth the breath of life, by which man was made a living soul to God. And this breathing that is pure and divine, all that are in the old man or fallen nature, know nothing of; it is a mystery to them; but the babe in Christ knows it to be true. And although the children in our Father's family are of several ages, growths or statures, both in strength and understanding, yet this I have observed in all my travels, that those who live to God, continue in a state of breathing to him while here, and hunger and thirst after a more full enjoyment of his divine presence; that as every day brings us nearer to the grave, so every day the soul may be brought into a more divine union and communion with God. It is a certain sign to me, of the divine life and health of a soul, if I find it sweetly breathing unto the Lord, and hungering and thirsting after his righteousness. And it is very evidently seen, and easily known by the conversation of persons, what manner of spirit doth govern in them; although many will not believe these things if declared to them; neither will they try whether it be so or not, but they are satisfied with the husk of religion. Oh! what will they do when the rudiments and beggarly elements of this world fall off, and all our works must pass through the fire: my very soul mourns for them; but we must press forwards and leave them, if they will not arise out of their false rest.

Dear friend, as thou well observest, it is a great help to the soul to know its own corruptions, and from whence it is fallen, that it may know whither to return. These things are very true: the knowledge of them hath been a great comfort to me, and so have the experiences of the servants of the Lord, agreeably to the testimonies left on record, which are as waymarks to the spiritual traveller; and we have a great privilege in and by them: but above all in and by Christ our holy Pattern and heavenly Lead-

er, who hath said, "My judgment is just, because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me." My soul prizeth the knowledge of his footsteps, the leading of his Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter, whom the Father hath sent, to lead us into all truth. And O saith my soul, that we may follow the leadings of our unerring Guide in all things that he may lead us into! I have good cause to believe he will bring us through all tribulations to the honour of God and our comfort: for the Lord hath brought my soul through many trials, one after another, as he saw meet, some more of which I may give a hint of, viz:—

After my inward tribulation was abated, then outward trials began; for there were some of no small account, that endeavoured with all their might and cunning, to hinder the work from prospering in me: and as Saul hunted David, and sought to take away his natural life, so these hunted my soul to take away its life, which it had in God: but all wrought together for my good. I have often seen, and therefore may say, the Lord knoweth what is best for his children, better than we know for ourselves: and so my enemies, instead of driving my soul away from God, drove it nearer to him. This trial caused me to prove the spirit which had the exercise of my mind, and I found it to be the Spirit of Truth, which the worldly and self-minded cannot receive; for I found the nature of it to be harmless and holy, and to lead me to love mine enemies, to pity them and pray for them. This love was my preservation; and as I gave up in obedience to the operation and requiring of this meek Spirit, it ministered such peace to my soul, as the world cannot give. But there was a disposition in me to please all, which I found very hard for me to be weaned from, so as to stand single to God: for when I did fear man, I had nothing but anguish and sorrow; and I used often to walk alone and pour out my complaint to the Lord. But after a long time, when the Lord had tried my fidelity to him as he saw meet, one day as I was sitting in a meeting in silence, waiting upon the Lord, to know my strength renewed in him, this portion of Scripture was given to me, viz. "Comfort ye my people, saith your God: speak comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned; for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins." This brought great comfort to my soul; I treasured it in my heart, and made this observation, that from that time the Lord gave my soul, as the apostle Peter expresses it, a more abundant entrance into the heavenly kingdom or New Jerusalem, whose walls are salvation and her gates praise; my mind was brought into more stillness, and troublesome thoughts were in a good degree expelled; my outward enemies grew weary of their work and failed of their hope. The praise I freely, in great humility, offer up and ascribe to Almighty God; for it was his own work to preserve me from many strong temptations.

So after I had [been favoured with] peace at home every way, I was drawn by the Spirit of love, to travel into the north of England. On my journey my soul had many combats with the evil spirit: when I was asleep he tormented me as long as he could. I have, indeed, had a long war with the devil many ways; abundance of courage was given me to make war with him; and I always gained the victory when cowardly, fearful nature was asleep, which was comfortable to my mind: and I did hope that the Lord would give me perfect victory over the devil when I was awake, as he had let me see it to be so when I was asleep. The Spirit which led me forth, was to me like a needle of a compass, touched with a loadstone; for so it pointed where I ought to go, and when I came to the far end of the journey.

In those days I had certain manifestations of many things in dreams, which did come to pass according to their significations; I was many times forewarned of enemies, and so was better able to guard against them. I travelled in great fear and humility, and the Lord was with me to his glory and my comfort, and brought me home again in peace.

In the year 1697, in the sixth month, as I was sitting in the meeting in Gloucester, which was then the place of my abode, my mind was gathered into perfect stillness for some time, and my spirit was as if it had been carried away into America; and after it returned, my heart was as if it had been dissolved with the love of God, which flowed over the great ocean, and I was constrained to kneel down and pray for the seed of God in America. The concern never went out of my mind day nor night, until I went to travel there in the love of God, which is so universal that it reaches over sea and land. But when I looked at my concern with an eye of human reason, it seemed to be very strange and hard to me; for I knew not the country, nor any that dwelt therein. I reasoned much concerning my own unfitness, and when I let in such reasonings, I had nothing but death and darkness; and trouble attended my mind: but when I resigned up my all to the Lord, and gave up in my mind to go, then the divine love sprang up in my heart, and my soul was at liberty to worship the Lord as in the land of the living. Thus I tried and proved the concern in my own heart, till at last these words ran through my mind with authority,—"The fearful and unbelieving shall have their

portion with the hypocrite, in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone; which is the second death." This brought a dread; I then told my husband that I had a concern to go to America; and asked him if he could give me up. He said he hoped it would not be required of me; but I told him it was; and that I should not go without his free consent, which seemed a little hard to him at first. A little while after, I was taken with a violent fever, which brought me so weak, that all who saw me thought I should not recover. But I thought my day's work was not done, and my chief concern in my sickness was about going to America. Some were troubled that I had made it public, because they thought I should die, and people would speak reproachfully of me; and said, if I did recover, the ship would be ready to sail before I should be fit to go, &c. But I thought if they would only carry me and lay me down in the ship, I should be well: for the Lord was very gracious to my soul in the time of my sickness, and gave me a promise that his presence should go with me. And then my husband was made very willing to give me up; he said, if it were for seven years, rather than to have me taken from him for ever. So at last all those difficulties passed over, and I sailed from Bristol in the ninth month, 1697, with my companion Mary Rogers. The dangers we were in at sea, and the faith and courage the Lord gave to my soul, would be too large here to relate; for I had such an evidence of my being in my proper place, that the fear of death was taken away. Oh! it is good to trust in the Lord and be obedient to him, for his mercies endure for ever.

About the middle of the twelfth month, 1697, through the good providence of the Almighty, we arrived in Virginia. As I travelled along the country from one meeting to another, I observed great numbers of black people that were in slavery. They were a strange people to me; I wanted to know whether the visitation of God was to their souls or not; and I observed their conversation, to see if I could discern any good in them. After I had travelled about four weeks, as I was in bed one morning in a house in Maryland, after the sun was up I fell into a slumber, and dreamed I was a servant in a great man's house, and that I was drawing water at a well to wash the uppermost rooms of the house. When I was at the well, a voice came to me, which bid me go and call other servants to help me, and I went presently. But as I was going along in a very pleasant green meadow, a great light shined about me, which exceeded the light of the sun, and I walked in the midst. As I went on in the way, I saw a chariot drawn with horses coming to meet me, and I was in care lest the light that shone about me should frighten the horses, and cause them to throw down the people whom I saw in the chariot. When I came to them, I looked on them, and I knew they were the servants I was sent to call: I saw they were both white and black people, and I said unto them, "Why have you staid so long?" They said, "The buckets were frozen, we could come no sooner:"—So I was satisfied the call of the Lord was unto the black people as well as the white; and I saw the fulfilling of it in part, before I returned out of America, with many more remarkable things, which would be too tedious here to mention. But O how great is the condescension and goodness of God, to poor mankind! it is a good observation on the tender dealings of our Heavenly Father, to set up our Ebenezer, and say, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us:"—and indeed I may say to his praise, it hath been [so with me] through many straits and difficulties, more than I can number; and they have all wrought together for the good of my soul. And I have cause to believe, that every son or daughter whom he receives, he chastens, tries, and proves; and those who do not bear the chastisements of God, do prove bastards and not sons. But I may say, as one did of old, "It is good for me that I have been afflicted," &c., and that it is good to follow the leadings of the Spirit of God, as faithful Abraham did, who was called the friend of God, and who did not withhold his only son when the Lord called for him. And it is my belief the Lord will try his chosen ones as gold is tried, and will yet refine them as gold is refined. And what if he brings us yet down again into the furnace, which way it shall please him, until we are seven times refined; we shall be the better able to bear the impression of his image upon us in all our conversation. And if the day should come, wherein none shall buy nor sell, that have not the mark of the beast, either in their right hands or in their foreheads, it is but what hath been told us beforehand: and those that will know an overcoming, it must be by the blood of the Lamb, (viz. by abiding in the meek love and suffering seed), and by the word of their testimony; not loving their lives unto death. We may observe that those who had not the mark of the beast in their foreheads, if they had it in their right hands it would do; they could show it if there was occasion, to take off a stroke.

O the mystery of iniquity, how secretly it works! We may well say, the testimony that Jesus bore to the Scribe who desired to follow him, is very true—"Foxes have holes, and the fowls of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." O innocent Truth! O plain, meek, humble Jesus! Where

doth he repose? Where doth he reign without molestation?

Dear friend, excuse my freedom with thee, for the love of God constraineth me: and I do believe the Lord will show thee yet further, what testimony thou must bear for his name, and what thou must suffer for his sake, if faithful. For trying times will come, and offences will be given and taken; but there is nothing will offend those that love the Lord Jesus above all. Many murmured and were offended at Jesus when he told them the truth, and that which was of absolute necessity for all to know and witness in themselves; as we read in the 6th of John, beginning at the 32nd verse. By that time he had done, many of his disciples went from him: then said he to the twelve, "Will ye also go away?" but Peter said, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." So God hath given the faithful to believe; yea, and we are sure that the Spirit of Truth is come, that leads the followers of it into all truth; and that Christ who is one with his Spirit, and who was once offered to bear the sins of many, has appeared again the second time without sin unto salvation. Oh! surely the goodness of God hath been very great to the children of men from age to age, and from one generation to another, ever since the fall of our first parents. The more my mind penetrates into it, the more I am like to be swallowed up in admiration of his condescension and goodness through all his dispensations, but above all in the manifestation of Jesus Christ, our holy Pattern and heavenly Leader. O my soul! praise him for the knowledge of his holy footsteps, whom God gave for a light to us Gentiles, and to be his salvation unto the ends of the earth; and hath given his Spirit to dwell in us, and accepted our souls to dwell in him. O admirable goodness! Shall we leave him? He is the Word of eternal life, and whither shall we go? So far as any are followers of Jesus, so far I desire to follow them or to be one with them, and no farther. Let these do what they will, if any will go back into the sea, out of which the beast ariseth, and receive his mark, our Leader is not to be blamed; He holds on his way, and causes his trumpet to be blown in Zion, and an alarm to be beaten in his holy mountain: and whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet, and taketh not warning, if the sword of the Lord do come, in any kind, and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head; he heard the sound of the trumpet and took not warning: but he that taketh warning shall deliver his own soul. Great is the duty of the watchman, and great is the kindness of God as expressed in the 33rd chapter of Ezekiel. O my dear friend! my heart is full of the goodness of the Lord. But I must stop writing, lest I should be too tedious to thee; and indeed, it might be accounted foolishness for me to write after this manner, to one in thy station. But I find a constraint thereto, and must commit it to thy judgment, be it what it may: and this I will assure thee, my heart is plain; I mean as I speak, and I find it safest so to do, and to keep in humble obedience to the Lord in whatsoever he requires of me. Yet I know the wisdom of God appears to be foolishness in the eyes of the wise men of this world, and we know that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, and will prove so in the latter end to those poor souls that so mightily esteem it. But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of the Lord, and then shall no torment touch them; although in the sight of the unwise, both their life and their death are taken for misery—nevertheless, they are in peace.

If thou findest anything on thy mind, please to let me have it. So in the love that is pure, doth my soul greet thee, and remain thy friend in true sincerity, ELIZABETH WEBB.

THE ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.

DEAR FRIEND,—I am heartily glad you are come to town again, so that I might have an opportunity of seeing you before you leave England. Your letter hath been read with great satisfaction by myself and many of my friends; but I have not been able to recover it yet, out of their hands. Some have even desired to transcribe it for their edification, and this is the reason I did not send you presently an answer; though it hath been all along upon my mind to express the satisfaction I had at the reading thereof, and to assure you how welcome it is to me to meet with a fellow-pilgrim traveling to the city adorned with twelve pearls, which is to receive all such who have made up the family of God in this wicked generation, and have been presented for his peculiar people in all parts and denominations of Christendom. . . . I had a mind to have given you at large my thoughts upon your letter. True love is of an universal and overflowing nature, and not easily shut up by names, notions, peculiar modes, forms, and hedges of men; and if you will be pleased to correspond with me, even after you return from America, I shall always be ready to answer your kindness, and to make up again wherein I have been wanting at present; and so recommend you to the infinite favour and protection of the Lord. I remain in sincerity, Your friend and servant,

ANTHONY WILLIAM BŒHM.

Strand, Jan. 2, 1712.

MEMOIR

OF

EVAN BEVAN,

WHO DIED AT PONTYMOIL, IN MONMOUTHSHIRE, THE 17TH OF THE SECOND MONTH, 1746;

WITH HIS

LETTER TO A FRIEND,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS CONVINCEMENT, &C.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace.—PSALM XXXVII. 37.

EVAN BEVAN* was the son of Charles Bevan of Lantwit Vardre, in Glamorganshire, and was born about the year 1678. His father having determined to give him a liberal education, sent him to the university of Oxford, where he made considerable progress in various parts of literature. He subsequently applied himself to the study and practice of the law in Glamorganshire, and served the office of deputy-sheriff of that county with reputation. But after a time, he was visited in an extraordinary manner with the convictions of the Holy Spirit; and whilst judgment was thus passing over the transgressing nature in him, he was brought into deep sorrow and anguish, until after long mourning and various baptisms, he was favoured to know mercy to cover the judgment seat: the Lord was pleased to bind up the bruised reed, so that he seemed to be brought forth pure, as gold seven times refined, and was made a chosen vessel, fit for the great Master's use.

This part of his religious experience, the manner in which he was brought to embrace the principles of Friends, and his answers to some charges which appear to have been urged against him for so doing, are well set forth by himself, in the following

LETTER TO A FRIEND.

Since it has pleased the Divine Goodness to endue me with reason, I heartily thank his most excellent Majesty; and that it has been the further product of his good will to give me life and being in that part of the world, where I have had the freedom to use it; especially in the choice of my persuasion, and way of returning my acknowledgments to him. I wish that all who make any pretensions to religion, would make use of this noble faculty with subjection to the divine will, to determine their choice in this grand affair; and not [be tenacious of] the religion of their education [unless it] be that of their judgment. If people were thus truly wise unto their own salvation, and did not too lazily resign themselves to the conduct of their guides, thereby regarding more their ease than safety, they would not only be the better able to give a reason of the hope that is in them, but they would show more warmth in their devotion, more charity in their religion, and more piety in their conversation, than at present they do.

When I was visited some time ago by the chastising hand of the Lord, for sin and my disobedience to his holy will, I laboured under great affliction of mind and anguish of spirit: and though I was constant above many in my attendance on the public prayers of the church, strict in my observance of its ceremonies, and exceedingly frequent in the use of private devotion, yet my burden increased and I waxed worse.

* W. Sewel, in his History of Friends, designates him "Evan Jevans," and it seems, not without some reason: in the Testimony of his monthly meeting, he is called "Evan Bevan alias Jevans," and so he sometimes signed himself, but generally only, "Evan Bevan."

In this wretched and doleful condition I was, when at a relation's house who had providentially returned from Pennsylvania to his native country, I lighted upon R. Barclay's Apology for the Quakers; by reading which I was well persuaded of their principles: and by turning my mind inward to the divine gift—according to their doctrine—it gave me victory, in a great measure, over our common enemy, banished away my disorderly imaginations, and restored me to my former regularity. I received such comfort and satisfaction to my distressed soul, that thereupon I left the church of England, and joined myself in society with them: and I am the more confirmed in my change, especially where it respects the worship of our Creator, because it is not only the most agreeable to the Scriptures of truth, but Heaven has given us assurance of its approbation thereof; it having been at times, to my own experience, most powerfully attended with the presence of the Most High.

I hope none will grudge me this mercy, because I received it not by their ministry; if they do, I have cause to suspect their charity is not of a Christian latitude, since our blessed Redeemer approved not of that narrowness in his disciples in somewhat a like case.

But here, to obviate an objection some may make to my change, because of the distress I lay under, and the discomposure I was subject to at times, I would have it remarked, that I read the said Apology beyond my expectation, with more sedateness than usual, and a more quiet composure of mind: so that with the influence of the Almighty, or Providence, or both, I had also the benefit of that distinguishing faculty of man [reason] in the change of my opinion. O that I may never forget the Lord's mercy to my soul! who had compassion on me when I wallowed in my blood, and who said to the dry bones, Live. O that all such as are visited by the chastising hand of their Maker, would seriously lay it to heart, and consider their own welfare and salvation. I could wish with all my heart, that those who labour under this anxiety of mind, would take encouragement to hope in the Lord's mercy through their blessed Redeemer, by his kindness and long forbearance with me. I am a living monument of it now; and I hope I shall be so, while he affords me a being here. If these lines should come to the hands of any that are afflicted and distressed as I was, I have an effectual remedy through mercy, to prescribe unto them: Turn your minds inward to the grace of God in your own hearts—refrain from your own imaginations—be still, and quietly resign yourselves to his holy will; so you shall find health to your souls, refreshment to your spirits, and the sweet consolations of the Lord in your own bosoms: you shall find your mourning turned to gladness, and your heaviness to joy. This has been my experience of the goodness of the Holy One of Israel, who abhors sin and iniquity, therefore I recommend it to you: and I think this is no mistrusting of the cause, for they are the sick and wounded in spirit, not the whole, that need the Physician.

As for renouncing the covenant, which I and every Christian ought to be under, of forsaking the devil and all his works, I am so far from entertaining one thought of neglecting that duty, that I think myself wholly obliged to observe it: and if I should affirm, that through the grace of God, and his assistance, for otherwise I am satisfied I cannot do it, the observance of it is possible, I can find no reason why it should be false doctrine in a Quaker more than in a Churchman.

As for deserting that church and ministry which the Son of God came down from heaven to establish, I am not conscious to myself thereof; for I say, Christ himself is the Head of our church, and by his Spirit and grace, the Ordainer of our ministry.

As to the last query my ingenious acquaintance is pleased to propose, I do let him know that my former despair and forlorn condition has been, since my adhering to that reproached people, changed into a sweet enjoyment of the goodness of God. I could not conceal the Lord's goodness, lest he should withdraw his mercies from me.

I had no secular interest to corrupt me in this change—it is apparent to many, I declined it: but as it was peace with God my Maker, and mercy to my soul I wanted, so having found the pearl of great price among them, I parted with all to purchase it; or rather, I was restored to all, I mean the enjoyment of the divine goodness and of myself, by setting a due value upon it.

This Letter presents lively traces of humility, sincerity, disinterestedness, meekness and modesty, which qualities seem to have been conspicuous in the character of the writer. For although qualified by his abilities, both natural and acquired, to occupy a prominent station in civil and religious society, yet he declined rather than courted popularity, and sought in a retired life, to show himself approved unto God, to experience a growth in grace, and to be made a partaker of solid peace of mind. He was engaged at times, during the last twenty years of his life, as a minister of the gospel, chiefly it is believed in the place and neighbourhood of his residence; and his brethren were

often edified and profitably affected, not only by his lively ministry, but also by the awful, weighty frame of his spirit, manifested in the solid gravity of his countenance, as he sat in religious meetings, feeding in solemn silence on the bread of life. And when from the fulness of his heart, his mouth was opened to minister, his words were few and savoury, seasoned with grace, to the affecting of the hearts of the well-minded, but to the disappointment of some, who knowing his talents, expected to hear lengthened discourses delivered in elegant language. For, abiding under the power of the cross of Christ, as in his general conduct, so particularly in the exercise of his gift in the ministry, his aim was of a higher nature than to attract the admiration of men; the unity of the brethren in the bond of peace—the edifying them in love—and the approbation of his Maker for the discharge of his duty in simplicity and godly sincerity, were the important ends which he had in view. He could therefore acknowledge with the apostle, 1 Cor. ii. 1—5, "I came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God; for I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And my speech and my preaching was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."

He was pressing with Friends to be faithful towards God in the various branches of our Christian testimony; and especially to keep clear from the anti-christian yoke of tithes; and would often exhort them to be thankful to God for the manifold mercies received and enjoyed, and particularly for the privilege of meeting together without interruption in order to perform divine worship; also to consider what hardships and sufferings our worthy ancestors were exposed to on this account. So good an example of diligence was he in the discharge of this important duty, that the Friends among whom he resided could not remember that he ever missed the attendance of one meeting, except on account of illness.

After he had united in religious fellowship with Friends, he employed himself in the education of youth, and kept a school in their meeting-house at Pontymoil thirty-five years. He instructed his pupils in the useful parts of literature, as Latin, Greek and Geography, with various branches of the Mathematics; but he was chiefly concerned that they might be imbued with the love of virtue, and that by having religious impressions fixed on their tender minds, they might be preserved in innocence. He conscientiously declined instructing them in the heathen authors, lest they should acquire a disrelish for the principles of true Christianity. It was his general practice to assemble his family and the scholars in the evening, for the purpose of waiting upon the Lord in silence, thus initiating them in serious meditation and retiredness of mind; and, as he felt his way open, encouraged them in the performance of their moral and religious duties—particularly this of waiting in silence; laying before them the benefit arising from this practice, as affording facility for seeking after that divine influence which would season their minds with profitable considerations, and strengthen them to draw near to their Heavenly Father, with the prevailing language which proceeds from the heart, when it is awakened to a feeling sense of what it stands in need of.

He officiated as clerk of the monthly meeting to which he belonged, during most of the time he lived at Pontymoil, and was very exemplary in the discharge of those duties which devolved upon him, connected with the discipline, condescending to the weakest member in charity, good-will, and pure love. His meekness, patience and forbearance towards such as by their unguarded conduct had incurred the censure of the church, were conspicuous; and the mild manner in which he treated them, has reached some and brought them to a sense of their deviations.

In addition to many other services which he rendered to the church, he was frequently engaged with other Friends in visiting the families of the monthly meeting to which he belonged.

His susceptible mind was sorrowfully affected on account of various unseemly and immoral practices which prevailed around him, as "Horse-racing," "Cock-fighting," "Common Harvest Shouting," "Profane Swearing," &c., &c.; and he felt it to be his religious duty, from time to time, to manifest his concern for the true welfare of his countrymen, by writing dissuasives from such practices. These papers he was accustomed to submit to the consideration of his friends; and they generally directed them to be printed.*

* The following copy of a minute of the monthly meeting, under date of tenth month 2nd, 1730, is a specimen of these proceedings, and will serve to introduce the narrative to which the latter part of the minute refers—

"Evan Bevan proposed the printing of his Paper against Profane Swearing and Cursing, and taking the Lord's holy name in vain; and it was assented to print [it].

"It is desired that the Paper also which he wrote concerning the affliction and trouble our friend Joseph John fell under, on his dying bed, on

His friends were affectionately attached to him; and regarded him as a tender nursing father in Israel—an elder and pillar in the church, worthy of double honour—one who exercised the oversight thereof, not as a lord over the heritage, but as an example to the flock. He was a man of very tender conscience, strict over himself, and ready to confess his faults to his brethren.

His conduct corresponded with his doctrine and the principles which he professed: in his conversation he was affable and engaging, instructive and edifying. His surviving friends manifested their estimation of his character and exemplary walk by testifying concerning him, "His memory is dear to us; and being dead, he yet speaketh."

Thus having denied himself and taken up the cross to the riches, honours, and preferments of this world, with the pomps and pleasures thereof, he looked forward with patience and humble confidence, to the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus, and finished his course in this world in peace, the 17th of the second month, 1746, aged about 67 years. His remains were interred in Friends' burying-ground at Pontymoil aforesaid, and his funeral was attended by a numerous company of most persuasions and ranks in life.

A Testimony from the monthly meeting in Monmouthshire, concerning Evan Bevan.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.—Psal. xxxvii. 37.

The 17th day of the second month, 1746, departed this life, our dear worthy innocent Friend, minister and elder, Evan Bevan, aged about sixty-seven years. His father's name was Charles Bevan, of Lantwit Vardre in Glamorganshire, who gave him a liberal education at Oxford, where he made a great progress in various parts of literature.

After he left Oxford, being duly qualified, he practised the law in Glamorganshire, where he

---

the account of his wife paying the tithe for him clandestinely, may be printed."

A short Narrative of our friend J. John's affliction and trouble on account of his wife's paying the tithe.

Joseph John of Trevthin, in the county of Monmouth, a Friend of sober life and conversation, well reported of in the world, and of good esteem among Friends, held a faithful testimony against anti-christian tithe before his marriage; and although afterwards he paid it not, yet inasmuch as he allowed his wife, through his too great indulgence to her, both to pay it herself and out of his stock to reimburse her relations who privily paid it for her, he fell under great exercise of mind and distress for the same, on his death-bed. He had often spoken to her about it from time to time since their marriage, but towards the latter end of his days, he had quite omitted to do so. When on his death-bed, he spoke to her to this effect: "I am jealous some body or other has paid the tithe, or else they would not leave me alone more than others. The Lord will pass by thee—it was I who was in fault: but I thought to win thee by tenderness: yet now it is a burden to me; dost thou not pity me?" "Yes," said she, "if I could, I would help thee." "O God!" said he, "what shall I do?" Then she and others endeavoured to comfort him. But he said again to her, "if thou hadst hearkened unto me formerly"—and she being conscious that she had erred in not doing so, pleaded that she then saw no evil in the payment. "I am a hyprocrite," said he, "I should not care if all the world knew it." "O," said some of the standers-by, "you are no such man, you ought not to be cast down." "It is no matter to me," said he, "if all the world spoke well of me, if God rejects me; or if God receives me, if all the world spoke ill of me. I desire the tithe-mongers would return the money that has been paid them, and let them come and take it openly, or distrain my goods according to the course of the law;—but it will be a great matter if they will." His wife was sorely grieved that she had been the occasion of this grief and exercise to her husband; and his brother-in-law who paid the tithe for her, commiserating his condition, went to the receivers of the tithe to desire them to refund the money. One of them was very compassionate and readily restored his share, adding withal, that he remitted him with all his heart; the others likewise, in pity to his afflicted condition, sent their shares of the money to him. When the afflicted Friend heard of it, he said, "Well, they were kind! tell them I thank them." His wife being very desirous to know the state of his mind, would be asking him now and then, how he was? Once he answered, "I am almost gone through the crowd;" and a few days before his departure, he said, "Well, now I have nothing to do but to return thanks: the Lord works his work without deceit; blessed be his holy name for ever!"

As all things work wonderfully where obedience is given to the will and requirings of the Lord, so the present case is a special instance of his goodness. His wife is brought under a right sense of her error and wrong-doing, being not only grieved, as aforesaid, for causing that sore exercise to her husband, but also resolved to bear a faithful testimony against that oppressive yoke of tithe for the time to come. And whereas before she absented herself from meetings for discipline, she now heartily joins her beloved sisters therein, and takes a part with them in those affairs of the church which concern the prosperity of the blessed Truth.

Blessed and praised be the Lord's most holy, most worthy and most excellent name, for his merciful dealings with the sons and daughters of men; and let all the world say, Amen, Amen,

E. B.

4th of the Seventh month, 1726.

served and executed the office of deputy-sheriff with much reputation; yet, after some time, it pleased Divine Providence to visit our said Friend in an extraordinary manner, he being cast down, as into the deep, in anguish and sorrow, until after long mourning and various baptizings the Lord was pleased in mercy to bind up the bruised reed with strength, so that he seemed to be brought forth as pure as gold seven times refined, and made a chosen vessel. And finding unity in his spirit with those of the Society called Quakers, he joined himself in fellowship with them; as appears more fully by an Epistle of his, published in Sewel's History of the Quakers, page 705, under the name of Evan Jevans.

He was concerned as a minister about twenty years; not made so by man, although he was brought up in the languages and sciences of men, but by a real experience of the power of truth, and through the demonstration of the gospel.

Oh! in what an awful weighty frame of mind we have seen him sit in meetings, solidly feeding on the bread of life, which the world knows not of; and when words flowed from his lips, they were sweet as the honey-comb, and seasoned with the divine salt; which, with his innocent deportment, affected the hearts of the hearers, unless grown cold through the love of the world.

He was pressing with Friends, to be faithful towards God, in the various branches of our Christian testimony; especially to keep clear from that anti-christian yoke of tithes; the upholding whereof is an indirect denial of the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who, by the one acceptable sacrifice of the offering himself upon the cross, made atonement to God the Father, brought mankind from under the law, and put an end thereto, with all types and shadows. He would often remind Friends to be thankful to God for the manifold mercies received and enjoyed; more especially in this time of our uninterrupted meeting together, in order to perform divine worship; and likewise, to consider what hardships and sufferings our worthy ancients were exposed to on this account.

His words were few and savoury, his testimony short; which was a wonder to such as knew him, and expected long discourses and eloquent orations; yet he, through divine assistance, confounded the wisdom of the wise of this world, who therein know not God. He would most nights wait in silence, together with his family, and the scholars who lodged with him, and would advise them to that practice, laying before them the benefit thence accruing.

He kept a school in Friends' meeting-house in Pontymoil, for about thirty-five years, and conscientiously refused to teach any of the heathen authors; however, he brought up many in the useful parts of literature, as Latin, Greek and geography, with various branches of the mathematics; most of which time he was clerk to our meeting, and was a tender nursing Father in Israel; very condescending and forbearing with those who, by undue measures, had justly deserved the censures of the church. Sometimes his mild behaviour has reached and convinced the disobedient, and brought them to a sense of their out-goings.

We do not remember that he missed the opportunity of one meeting, unless through sickness. He had a great love for Friends, and would visit those who were indisposed. We had entire love and good will to him, as a cordial, sincere Friend, and as an elder and pillar in the church, who was worthy of double honour. His memory is dear to us, and being dead, he yet speaketh. He did not lord it over the church, although his knowledge and wisdom, both spiritual and natural, might have entitled him to bear rule; but being clothed with the spirit of meekness and patience, he would condescend to the weakest member, in charity, good will and pure love; thereby plainly demonstrating whose disciple he was: yea, a noble pattern and example was he: his conduct kept pace with his doctrine, and with the principles he made a profession of. He was no respecter of persons, yet his conversation was free and agreeable, chiefly tending to instruction and edification.

He having denied himself, and taken up the cross, to the riches, honours and preferments of this world, with the pomps and pleasures thereof, despised the shame, looking forward, in patience, to the prize of the high calling in Christ Jesus, which is the recompense of reward; in hope of which, the humble contrite soul is enabled to persevere in fear unto the end.

We question not, but our loss is his great gain; and that now his spirit enjoys the crown of rest and peace, which is laid up in store for the righteous in the mansions of glory, where there needs not the light of the sun or moon, for the glory of God is the light thereof.

His body was interred in Friends' burying-ground at Pontymoil, and was attended to the grave with decency and gravity by a great number of most persuasions and degrees.—*Collection of Testimonies*, 1760.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

CONVINCEMENT AND CALL TO THE MINISTRY

OF

MARGARET LUCAS,*

WHO DIED AT LEEK, IN STAFFORDSHIRE, THE 24TH OF THE SIXTH MONTH, 1769.

I will bring the blind by a way that they knew not.—ISAIAH xlii. 16.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages contain the substance of a letter from the author to a relation: some of her family and several Friends who have seen them, apprehend that they contain much instruction to the Christian traveller, who hath "put his hand to the plough." They hold forth encouragement to bow under the earliest impressions of the power of the Most High, to be attentive to the Shepherd's voice, and to suffer all within them to be humbled in submission to his requirings. They show how important it is for those who, like the writer of this narrative, have purchased an inheritance in righteousness, to take heed that they do not let go their hold, but attend to the injunction of the wise man, "buy the truth, and sell it not." And they are a call on those who have a birthright in our religious Society, to prize their privilege; seeing the instance before us is a proof, among many, of the difficulties and trials through which those have to pass, who are called out of the world, to be faithful labourers in the heavenly vineyard.

From the following lively specimen, it is to be regretted that no further documents are to be found of the religious progress of this our dear friend, who lived and died respected and beloved.

I WAS born in the year 1701, in Fleet-street, London; my father, whose name was James Brindley, kept a china-shop at the corner of Fetter-lane. I was the youngest of fourteen children: my mother died when I was one year and a half old; after which my father removed to Vauxhall, where he erected a pottery, for making Dutch or stone ware, and married a second wife, who, dying before him, left two children. When I was about seven years old, my father died, leaving six orphans, two of them younger than myself, with no other relation that we knew of, except my aunt, who was my father's sister, and married the person hereafter mentioned as my uncle. My father dying without a will, left things in disorder; and Elias Turner, who was one of the three directors of the South Sea Company, being the greatest creditor, sent for my uncle from Leek to London, and advised him to act as guardian for us. Three of us, at my father's death, were under the care of his housekeeper, the wife of one of his clerks. She was very careful over us, and brought us up strictly in the protestant religion. My eldest sister, being weakly, lived much with my aunt in the country, except in the time of her education; and my little brother and sister were taken down to Leek by my aunt, on her return from visiting us, after my father's death; but the little boy did not live long. My uncle had a mind, at this time, to bring me down also, saying that, upon seeing my innocent amusements, he had a particular respect for me; but Elias Turner would not consent to it, and I, with my brother and sister, continued under the care of the housekeeper some years longer. My uncle at times repeating his desire to have us with him, and it being left to my choice, in the year 1713 I came down.

I had conceived the country to be a more delightful place than I at first found it; and I expressed to the maid, that accompanied me, my dissatisfaction and disappointment. She staid with me till the return of the coach, and

* This account was originally edited by Frederick Smith: two editions of it were published in the year 1797.

left me a little sad; yet my uncle and aunt were full of love towards me, and I was careful of my expressions on the difference of situation. But what added to my grief at this juncture was the behaviour of my eldest sister, whom I did not remember to have seen before my coming down: she gave my uncle so much uneasiness, that he sent her out of the town; and, though he strove to prevent it, she married his apprentice, and never was re-admitted to his house while I lived there. On occasion of this, and the irksomeness of my situation, my uncle thought proper to board me at school, though not altogether on account of my learning, for I was then thought dexterous beyond most of my years; and indeed, from a child, there was a flexibility in my temper, which, like the softened wax, seemed fit for impression and improvement. My uncle concluded that I might meet with something there to improve and divert my mind, though I concealed my sorrow to the best of my power. He took me to governess Hyde's, in order to board me there: but there lived in Smythy Door, Manchester, a widow whose husband died some pounds in my father's debt; and my uncle calling for the money, and telling her whose daughter I was, she said, if he pleased, she would board me, and I might go to a day school. My uncle inquired into her character, and consulted with one Nichols, a yarn merchant, in the Deansgate, who advised him to accept the offer; telling me that his house, if I did not like the other, should be my home; and here I always met with a kind reception.

My uncle staid with me a few days, and then left me with the widow and her daughter, the only child she had. I liked my new situation very well; it was much more agreeable to me than Leek. The widow and her daughter were Presbyterians; but my uncle ordered me my liberty, and that I should go to church; which she never forbade, though she was very strict in her own way of worship, and kept good order in the house, with family prayer night and morning. From these I never absented myself, and I still remember the pleasure I then received from the books I read, the repetition of my catechism, and those forms of prayers adapted to my years; always esteeming those I believed to be religious.

I staid at Manchester till the latter end of the year, and spent the winter agreeably both to my uncle and myself. In the spring he took a journey to London, and as my younger sister had been brought thence while young, he thought fit to take her with him for her improvement; and there she staid four years. Though I was left at my uncle's as by myself, I did not regret the loss of these two sisters, who were indeed but as strangers to me, and amends were fully made by my uncle bringing down my other sister, with whom I had lived under the care of our housekeeper. This gave me, as it were, new life, for the month that she staid with us; but her departure went very hard with me; and my uncle, who ever sought before I went to meetings, to make me happy, according to his notion, proposed to take me to Manchester again. This pleased me, and the widow received me kindly. She never asked me to go to chapel, yet I many times went at pleasure, and have since found occasion to remember what I met with there. I staid with her till the town was in confusion about tory and whig; and as she was afraid of the consequence, she desired my uncle to take me home.

I was now past thirteen, and quite reconciled to my station, growing in my uncle and aunt's favour, and in love towards them. They punctually fulfilled their promise, that I should want for nothing that was fit for me to have; and though I had learned to dance in London, a dancing-master coming to the town, my uncle sent me to him, it being a diversion which, as I was very agile, it was said I was fit for; and indeed I was very fond of it.

When I was past fourteen, my brother came down to see me; and my uncle still studying my improvement, sent me to learn writing, to make pastry, and, on the return of the dancing master, to his school again. This gave me an extensive acquaintance; and as I had acquired, from the teachings of my London master, a different air, as it is termed, I generally went off with applause; which was not less pleasing to my uncle and aunt, than to myself. He often showed his fondness for me at my return home—taking me to his knee—asking if there was any thing wanting in my dress, which my acquaintance had, and I had a mind to have—saying he would buy it for me; but his love prevented my much asking, for no sooner did he see a new mode than he mentioned it; nor do I remember that I ever asked him for any thing which he denied me.

I was now past fifteen, and there coming two singing masters, who taught to sing psalms by notes, my uncle sent me to them. I went with many more, having great delight therein, as also in the worship of God, as I had been taught.

Here I cannot but observe, how many different inventions there are, to divert the minds of youth from opportunities of seeking after the one thing needful; yet it was in the midst of these hurries that I began to make reflections concerning the clergy, and to account them worthy of double honour; esteeming them most happy, as their employment consisted of devotion to God. I therefore concluded they had a

peculiar advantage in the mysteries of divine things, and a more thorough knowledge of the Lord than others; often saying, if I had been a boy I would have been brought up at the University, as my brother was designed by my father to have been.

About this time some persons sought my company, by way of courtship; but I gave them no encouragement, for I kept myself much reserved on that account; going on in an earnest pursuit of my duties, as I had been taught, which proved a comfort to my uncle and aunt.

When about sixteen, my uncle made me an assistant in the family, and on the First-days, I not only read and gave out the psalms, but also the family prayers, when my uncle was from home, or any way indisposed; so that now I stood high in their favour, with respect both to their religious and temporal enjoyments. Indeed, I have many times since, thought my distressed uncle was similar to Micah, who, we read, thought himself blest when he had consecrated the Levite for his priest; but, alas! how soon did the priest not only leave Micah, but take away his image: so, though I stole not my uncle's god, yet I broke his peace, and left him to contemplate the uncertainty of the delight which is fixed on transient objects.

My uncle now intending my advancement, as he said, left his own small, though convenient house, to take a larger, for the better accommodation of me and my many acquaintances; little suspecting that the removal would overthrow his happiness; but so it was. This house stood opposite the gates of the church, so called, where I was frequently reminded of the mortality of the body, and was thereby struck with many serious reflections on the state of eternity, and the immortality of the soul.

As I lived so near, I often waited upon the corpse to the grave, musing in myself how it must be with the deceased in the hour of death; for, though I had often heard that sentence pronounced, by the priest, in which it is said, "We commit the body to the ground, (note) in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life;" yet, upon the strictest review, I could not find I had any evidence of that hope abiding in me. And though my reasonings would have led me to conclude it was an immediate gift of God to the soul at the time of departure, and my esteem for the clergy induced the belief, that it was an assurance given to them, and that the people must build their hope thereon; yet my uneasiness was not thereby allayed; for that foundation was so shaken, that my faith could not stand thereon, and I was still uneasy. But although it was such a mystery to my natural conceivings, that I could not fathom it; yet I believed this hope was necessary for a Christian to find, while in health, the better to support his illness, and help him to submit himself to the will of God in his death. My soul was at this time under a weighty pressure; and although I was then ignorant what it was, I have since believed it was no less than the drawings of the Father's love; yet as the natural man discerneth not the things that be of God, so he knoweth not where to seek them. Thinking I wanted that zeal which I saw in others, I was now increasingly fervent in my prayers; I made additions to my private, and waited with attention on my public devotions; and sometimes went on with vigour in the repetition of those exercises.

About the seventeenth year of my age, there came a bishop to the town, in order for a confirmation, which I thought was a singular good for me; for from that ceremony I conceived that a steadier hope and faith in Christ would seize upon my soul; and I entertained thoughts that there was a peculiar power given to this high and holy function, from which I was to reap that which was divine. I doubt not but the Invisible Being looked with compassion on the fervent desire of my soul, and viewed with acceptance the reverential awe in which my mind, as well as my body, was prostrated to receive the earnest of my wish; and I know that my behaviour, both before, at, and after that time, was taken notice of by my relations and intimates.

A little while after, my uncle asked what I thought of receiving the sacrament. I told him I did not believe it was proper for so young persons to adventure; for, as it is said, "those who receive it unworthily, procure to themselves damnation," I durst not receive it. He told me of some that were as young as myself, and whom he thought as unfit—I told him I knew it, but they seemed to exalt themselves amongst their companions on account of that, which I durst not, in the greatest humility, partake of; neither did I find, that my faith was sufficiently ripe to comprehend the mystery betwixt the outward bread and wine, and the body and blood of Christ.

Here I began to flag in my hopes of having received any benefit by the laying on of the bishop's hand; and what if I say, I staggered, not only at one thing or two, but at all that I had done on a religious account. Did I now believe there was no God? Oh no! but to my inexpressible grief, I could not find how to worship him, so as to prove my own acceptance, or the assurance that I longed for; nor could my soul rest without it.

I had now laboured in my inventions—spent all my hopes; and as a person quite fatigued, sitting down, I was made to bear such a morti-

fication as I had never before known—to see that I was dwindling away from that, which I thought was most expedient for me to be exercised in, and that my performances were no more than so many fleeting comforts, continually wasting in the fruition.

At last I went on so heavily, that I began to be weary of them, and willing to leave the burden I had contracted in my own will. I found enough to do to go on with them in their course, for I found I had gotten them only by tradition. This was a close time, wherein I was far from exaltation of any kind; for it was to me hard drawing on without faith, which I now concluded was the immediate gift of God. Under this belief I had to cry like the poor publican, "Lord have mercy on me;" and my soul was more justified from these breathings, than it had ever been in all the wearisome labours I had engaged in. But the enemy, who is always near to damp the good in us, troubled me with many of his suggestions, as that it could never be the way to attain to happiness, to discharge myself of the worship due to God for his favours; yet the more I gave way to the thoughts of throwing myself on the mercy of God, the more also I found a hope to spring within my soul, that the Lord would point out a way for me. This drew me still farther from all ceremonies, and gave my mind such a turn from those diversions I once took delight in, that my uncle and aunt took notice of it, and called it melancholy. But it arose from a deep solidity of thought, not knowing in what manner or path I should be directed—how I should recover a proper sense of my afflictions, or obtain a satisfactory assurance. This pensiveness my uncle and aunt used their endeavours to prevent, and asked my acquaintance to visit me oftener; but their company so frequent, suited not my taste: those nights, that were spent in what I had once thought innocent amusements, were now made to procure dull mornings; and my desire of being alone, with the fatigue of so much hurry, put me on thoughts of shunning the occasions. I therefore desired my uncle to let me go out as a waiting-maid; but they would not hear of parting with me.

When I was past eighteen, we heard that S. Taylor, a Friend, was about selling off the goods of her shop, and going to live at Stafford; and I desired my uncle to buy them for me, thinking that such an employment might abate the perplexities I was in. I was then a stranger to her, and my uncle, who liked this proposal better than the first, being ever ready to please me, sent for her; and in a little time after, agreed that I should have the goods, and be with her at times for my better information of the business and customers. This gave that family and me our first acquaintance, though I had not the least thought at that time, that ever I should change my name in respect to religion. Hence, however, many imagined my persuasion arose, of which I shall speak in the proper place. I went at my own convenience, according to our agreement, still keeping my exercise to myself; nor did I remark any thing particular in my new acquaintance, their exercises lying hidden as well as my own.

When the time came that I was to enter the shop, my uncle had so good an opinion of the Quakers, that he left appraising of the goods entirely to S. Taylor. I continued to board with my uncle, and made it a constant rule to go directly home at night when I had shut the shop, and thus shunned my former associates. The day I spent in business, and part of the night in much thought; the desire of my soul increasing after that revival of hope, which as my little faith in what is called the service of God, still diminished, I found at times drawing me nearer to a reliance on him, and a patient waiting for what might follow.

I was now about nineteen, when we received an account of the death of my sister Lydia, for whom our family went into mourning: and I not only mourned in clothes, but in heart; for I loved her more dearly than any sister I had, and may truly say, her death added to the weight of my exercise, as well as to my belief, that it was requisite for me to know my own election to be sure. And oh! the distress that I now was in, when I looked upon myself and others, to see them posting on with cheerfulness in the respective duties of their religion, and myself not only barren in my desires of it, but so oppressed in the performance, that I could neither assist my uncle, nor myself that way. They who have known the activity of nature, can best judge of my state, when my uncle, who used to show me so much indulgence, signified his happiness in my good behaviour by saying, he could scarcely go into company, but they were speaking in my commendation. It was, indeed, a thing very pleasing to my kind uncle, who told me a little after, he would have me to be prudent; "for," said he, "there are those eyes upon you that you are not aware of:" and I believe he was then, in his own thoughts, near having his ambition concerning me gratified, which was, to see me happily settled in the world. I conclude, that at this time, the parents of my associates had generally a respect for me; for, although I was of a brisk and lively disposition, yet was I, through the goodness of God, preserved from that which was immodest or profane, and kept within the bounds of what is termed innocent behaviour and good breeding. This engaged many, that had daughters, to encourage my

company. But how soon did I see a turn! for that which ought to have raised me higher in their esteem, now seemed to prove my overthrow therein. So true it is, that the greater like, once turned, proves the greater dislike. But to go on—I could no longer remain under the cloud of insensibility; for the Day-Spring from on high had visited me, and the veil was so far rent, that I saw the work of God was in the secret of my heart, and that a spiritual worship must have place there.

I now remembered that I had heard the Quakers recommended people to mind that of God in themselves, and to follow the teachings of the Spirit. This I thought looked somewhat suitable to my condition; and my mind seemed pressed to look at their doctrine again. In order to this, as I was not willing to be taken notice of, I went out between the times of service, as though I would walk. This was an exercise that was allowed by the most strict, to take off any drowsiness that might hang on the mind, and unfit it for the support of the evening devotions. Though this was not what I had a real necessity for, being one of good spirits, and before I knew the want of faith in my way of worship, being in my devotions zealous, in my diversions lively, and in my work industrious; yet I took this freedom, because the meeting lay in my way, where I had a mind to inform myself, and as I passed by the gate, would make a stop. If I heard no voice, I soon went off; but if any one was speaking, I usually stepped within the door, the little end being, as I thought, a good shelter from the eyes of those who sat in the body of the meeting. I made these visits as often as I could; and surely I have to say, the Lord was very condescending, and gave me a more clear understanding than ever I had found within myself at the other meetings, and which, from our house being so near, I had opportunities of. My intentions were good in respect to these freedoms, and I used to stay as long as I durst, then take a turn down the next field, and so to my worship again; whereby I proved the effect which the different doctrines had on me, the former answering to the hope of that justification I have before spoken of, and the latter fruitless and dull. Yet so far did I proceed in repeating these trials, that I plainly saw it was with me like those who are hard to believe the things they would not have to be true; but so closely did the truth and mercy of God follow me, that I found judgment in myself from the Almighty, for persisting in that which gave me not the least satisfaction. Willingly would I have retained this old profession, that I had been brought up in from my childhood, and that was as dear to my natural desires as Ishmael was to Abraham: but I saw it must not remain, and therefore I made a stop, and refused to go to church, so called.

I had signified something of my uneasiness to my sister, who was coming down from London again, and she had told my aunt that I favoured the Quakers, and did not intend to go to church. This greatly incensed her, and she left me, saying, she would fetch out the parson and people to carry me in. But so far had truth wrought with me, that I found I must not only venture that, but also struggle against the oppositions which I felt in myself.

The following night was spent in more confusion than common; and the next day my uncle and aunt went to the parson's, and some time after sent for me. He looked on me with surprise, signifying his great mistake in one whom he had thought so religious, and so good an example to others; for I was a constant attender upon those called Saint's days, as well as other times set apart for worship. He asked me how long I had been uneasy—I told him a great while, and could not find any real satisfaction in any thing that I could do. He signified that a perseverance in those duties I had been instructed in, was the only way, and would, no doubt, bring that satisfaction I spoke of. "But," said he, "your uncle is afraid you are going to be a Quaker." I answered, "I believe not, though I have met with that satisfaction from their preaching, which I never met with elsewhere." He said, it was no more than a delusion of the grand enemy of our souls; and then set forth how dangerous it was for young persons either to go to hear them, or to read their books; saying theirs were seducing, erroneous principles, and he would have me promise, never to hear them any more.

Many heavy things he said of them, and asked me particularly about the family of the Taylors; these I could justly clear, and said, that neither they nor any other person had ever endeavoured to insinuate their principles, or turn me from one profession to another. He then said, if I would desist from hearing them, and reading their books, I might do well, and through the continuance of my duties, and good company, might overcome my uneasiness. Indeed, he said so much against the persuasion of the Quakers, that my respect for the clergy, together with my indifference to the formalities, as I then termed the customs of the said people, seemed to determine me never to go to hear them again. I said, (and that very truly,) I would never be a Quaker, if I could help it: nor was I one till the desire of my soul for peace could be no other way satisfied; and no one could wrestle more to escape it than I did, as the following account will show.

Such now were my childish conceivings, that though I had witnessed the work of God to be

among them, yet I thought, could I but come to a possession of that which they preached, and which I found a savour of in my heart, it would not matter whether I attended any form of worship or not.

My uncle said, the parson, whose name was Leay, would board me, which he and my aunt thought very well of. I understood his meaning, and thanked him, but said, "that would only give the town reason to believe there had been a difference amongst us, and if they would be easy, I would see what I could do in going to church again." But I well remember, what a heavy trial it was; and I went with so much indifference, that it gave my uncle and aunt great uneasiness, and myself no less.

Not long after, parson Bennet sent for me to the widow Brueton's; he also expressed himself surprised at his being so mistaken in me, saying, had it happened with many others, he should not have wondered half so much. We being more equal and intimate, I could be more free with him; he asked me if I was for being a Quaker—I said, "I do not know, yet I believe not." "Why," said he, "they deny the Scriptures!" I said, "If they do, I promise you I will never own them, but I know they do not." "Why then," said he, "they wrest them to their own destruction, and they deny baptism." I said, "They do of water, but they preach a baptism." "Yes," said he, "and a strange one too; put your finger into that fire, (one being in the room,) and see how you can bear that baptism." This filled my mind with indignation, and I said, "No, I scorn it; for I believe they no more mean elementary fire, than the baptism of elementary water." I may conclude that at this time neither he nor I knew that mysterious baptism, which my soul has at times since experienced. He went fluently on respecting the principles of the Quakers, setting some of them forth as quite ridiculous, and told me, if I could not believe him, he would lend me some of their own writings. I thanked him, saying, I was not in a disposition to read the sentiments of any one profession;—and indeed I was not, for even the Scriptures themselves, in which I had been so conversant and taken delight, seemed to me, just then, of little moment; and so great was my separation from all duties, that I found nothing left to trust in, but God alone. But to return,—I said, "I could not judge them by their writings, but was assured they were so far in the right that, as God was a Spirit, he must be worshipped in spirit and in truth." He said but little after, only "If you have got a notion of the Spirit, you are past hopes."

The uneasiness of our family was now no longer a secret: my intimates, one after another, would accost me by the name of "flat-cap," and "Friend," or deridingly ask, "Does the Spirit move thee?" with which, and such other mockeries, my natural inclination was much buffeted. The storm began to be more boisterous, both within and without; my acquaintance abroad and my relations at home: but above these, the enemies of my own house, who were always ready, at each difficulty I met with, to turn the balance against my small hope; and by insinuating the necessity of my being cautious, and deliberate in my proceedings, had run me such a length in trying to go on in the way that I was trained in, that the righteous judgments of the Almighty seized my soul again, and in so weighty a manner, as made that heart, which used to spring with joy at the chiming of the bells, now to fear. That soul, which used to approach the consecrated house with reverence, now trembled at the entrance; and those steps, that used to advance towards the pew with pleasure, lost their former activity; and nothing but horror and darkness ensued, in the room of the once delightful offerings of prayer and praises unto God.

Oh! surely I have enough to remind myself of here, without particularizing the afflictions, which the anxious desire of my kind uncle and aunt for my eternal welfare, produced. Such I believed it was, and therefore I endeavoured to bear them with submission and resignation, as proceeding from a principle of love. Indeed, I did all in my power to allay their trouble: the loss of their rest and appetite, and the disquiet of their minds, being a cause of real grief to me; under which, the little comfort that I could find within myself was, that I was not accessory to it, any farther than by studying to find the answer of a good conscience towards God, and an assurance of that which might go with me beyond the grave: but this I could not find, in the present distressed situation of my mind. Notwithstanding, I secretly longed to hear the Quakers once more; and as my uncle kept a strict eye over me, that I might have no opportunity of gratifying my desire, I must account it a peculiar favour, that about this time, there came a young woman from Newcastle to visit us. She was a stranger to our uneasiness, and my mind being still pressed to hear as above, I took her out, as though for a walk, and when we were near the meeting, asked her if she had a mind to hear the Quakers—she answered me, "Yes; for," said she, "there is no meeting of that people at our town." I am sure, had she known the least of our family's uneasiness, she might have read my confusion in my looks when I asked her the question, and much more when I entered the door, and heard set forth the disadvantage those lay under, who halted between two opinions. The minister proved, from the apostle's expressions, "that a

double-minded man is unstable in all his ways;" and proceeding in that doctrine, it renewed my hope and faith, that the Lord would still be gracious to me. I had before known the witness of God that is placed in the heart, spoken to by several Friends; yet this unexpected testimony was so adapted to my present circumstance, and so answerable to the ardent desire of my mind, of being directed to that path which would lead me to the favour of God, that by this, and our non-acquaintance, all prejudice was removed, and a clench given to the nail of my new profession. For though I did not immediately join the Society, yet as I could not but assemble with some community, I found it must be with those whose doctrine now reached my soul; with a resolution and good intention, not to persist any longer in a way that I had no faith in; but to submit myself to the will of the Almighty, and to follow that which weaned me from a dependence on formal worship.

We returned home; she satisfied with having indulged her curiosity, and I no less with the hand of Providence in this thing; both filled with admiration, she at the whimsies of the Quakers, and I at their doctrine; well resembling the two women at the mill, the one taken with the truth and the other left. I could have concealed where we had been, but she could not. My uncle was informed of it, yet did not take any notice while she staid; but when she was gone, he indulged himself in liquor, as I have reason to believe he did one night before, in order to give a fuller vent to his passion; otherwise he would hardly have carried it so far above his reason, as to use me as he did; for according to his own words, he had watched occasion to chastise me as a child, yet could find no fault with me, which could give him sufficient excuse for so doing; but now he thought nothing was so cruel as to suffer me to run on to my ruin, both of body and soul.

About this time I had put by a young man, who, my uncle thought, was likely to make me happy: he had proposed to settle on me a sufficient jointure, and my uncle had offered, out of his own generosity, to advance a hundred pounds in addition to what I had of my own. But here how different were our views—my uncle thought of the advancement of my body, and I was no less anxious for the welfare of my soul; for I could think of no delight but the immediate favour of God; and this I felt I must prepare to suffer for, as I apprehended it stood opposed to their proposals.

My uncle, as I have observed, having drunk much, was violent in his behaviour; though I could well cover all, as to his intentions, one rash expression excepted, which escaped him in the conclusion of that night's disorder; and which I mention, to show the reason of my departure from them, and to give an idea how it fared with me. He said, "if ever I went to the meeting again, he would bereave me of my life." I stood trembling, yet received the threat in a tender state of mind, and I could perceive he suffered for it the next moment. My life was not much in my notice, neither could I believe my uncle would execute his vow: but oh! the idea of a separation overwhelmed my mind with sorrow; for I found, at that moment, that I durst not flinch from the truth with which my mind had been impressed, nor could I think of leaving my nearest relations thus.

Many thoughts revolved within me, and many tears flowed, under the consideration of my unhappy circumstance, as I then termed it. The enemy of my soul here manifested his malice, by suggesting, how unlikely I was to obtain any conquest over either myself or my relations; and that my rash proceedings might bring on a massacre. But my soul has to commemorate the condescension of Divine Goodness, which, in this very low state, inspired me with some encouragement; and a desire prevailed, though I sought it not, to re-establish my little faith, by again hearing the most penetrating word; and I concluded it would be best, to moderate my uncle and aunt's passion, by returning directly back from meeting to my own apartment, which was furnished with a bed and some few necessaries, bought at my entrance upon the shop: I had hopes they would look on my so doing with a favourable eye, and when their hurry was a little over, send for me home.

They did not miss me till I came from that meeting, and they thought fit to let me stay where I was till the next. They then sent a person to see if I was there: but I did not find an engagement in myself to go, either at that time, or for some weeks after; nor was I so much taken with this *new fangle*, as my uncle called it, as to force my inclination in the least degree; for, could I have indulged myself in the persuasion, that one might serve God acceptably, without going to any public worship, I could, with ease, have remained separate from all. This deliberation, however, gave encouragement as well as opportunity, for my old acquaintance to visit me by turns—the younger sort to show their wit, by railing at what they called the principles of the Quakers—and the more grave, to set forth, according to their notion, the diabolical tenets of that people. As one struck dumb, I had but little to say in reply; only at times, I signified that their doctrine bespoke better things; but as I had not yet obtained knowledge, by a perusal of their writings, I durst not attempt, nor did I desire, to be busy in making any defence for them. My mind, indeed, had not hitherto inclined to consult either men or books, lest thereby I

should be seduced to believe what was not of God; for I plainly saw, that nothing short of what was so, would satisfy my soul. I may say, in thankfulness to that Eternal Power which still preserved me, the arguments used did not abate my travail of soul after the Divine favour: and, though I hope I never was one wise in my own conceit, yet so far did the truth of God in the secret of my soul exalt itself, that I proved its influences to be more wise than all my teachers; who, at best, were but as the hammer to the nail, in fastening in my soul the impressions which I had received.

In this situation my uncle also visited me, and the sternness of his countenance was altered. He kindly signified to me, how hard our separation was to them, and that if I would but bind myself by a promise, that I would never be a Quaker, he would give me a deed of gift, that at his and my aunt's decease I should have all they were worth. I answered him, that if I could make such a promise, I wanted no farther encouragement than the continuance of their love; but oh! I could not do it. We both sat and wept our passion out. My uncle mentioned my leaving them so abruptly; but instead of inviting me home, he signified he could now take no pleasure in seeing me, without an alteration.

In a little time I found the balm of Eternal Goodness, which healed the wound that my mind had been made to endure on truth's account.

There now came a young man to visit me that had been a student, and had received orders with a benefice—not one of the most thoughtful, as will appear. After he had used the compliment of, Madam, how do you do? and I had thanked him, he said, "Why I hear you are turning a Quaker?" I answered, "We sometimes hear that which is not altogether true; but I suppose what you have to say." "Why then," said he, "there must be a great change in you; and a deal of sobbing and sighing, and thouing and theeing." "And pray," said I, "what have you against that language?" "Why," said he, "it is not within the line of morality, or common civility; but what is used betwixt men and their beasts, and more fit to be used to brutes than men." I replied, "I am very sorry you should think I have already forgotten myself; but I remember, and know, it is that language which we, in all our prayers, and in the Litany, put up our petitions in; therefore, take heed what you say, for, by your saying it is fit to be used only to brutes and beasts, of what do you make your God?" "O," says he, "I perceive you side with the Quakers." "Yes, so far," said I, "as to believe that language good enough for man, which is used in honouring God."

He went off; nor was it long before my uncle paid me a second visit. As I now seemed to him at a stand, dubious with whom to join, he laid before me the profession of the Presbyterians, saying, he would freely give me leave to join with them. But from the acquaintance I had with that people, whilst twice at Manchester, I knew they dwelt much upon the same things I was in the practice of before; therefore I was not likely to find with them the satisfaction I was in pursuit of. My uncle further proposed, to take the shop and bear the loss he might sustain in selling off the goods, if I would choose a place agreeable to board at, in any other town; for he thought the removing me out of the way of shame and disgrace, as he called it, might be a means of altering my resolution. But the idea I had conceived of spiritual worship, was so fixed in my mind, that it seemed to me, that I must have carried it with me, had I been removed to the uttermost corner of the earth. I signified this to him; and he, much wondering at my foolishness, left me, saying, I was certainly bewitched. Indeed, I myself could not, at times, but wonder what it was that bore up my soul against the many hard things I met with from others, and the secret temptations that were daily presented to my own mind; which so filled it, that, in the little sleep I got, I frequently dreamed of something relative to my exercises.

In one of my dreams, a man appeared, coming up to my door with a sieve in his hand, and a bag. He sat down, and opening the bag, put out some wheat into the sieve. I asked him what he was going to do; he said, "to separate the chaff from the wheat." Here the enemy shot his empoisoned dart against that fear which lodged in me, and, through his insinuations, made me believe myself the chaff, blown from my former quietness, by aspiring after the knowledge of things too high for me. Oh! the consternation that my soul was in, from these assaults of the enemy, who now brought up the miscarriages of my life, and my foolish actions, as so many witnesses against me; whilst I endeavoured to withstand him by repentance, and purposes of amendment; pleading with myself the just ground of my present proceeding. But as I had not the evidence of hope at my own command, I was obliged to suffer, till I was again revived by the mercies of a God, who would not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax.

In this interval, my uncle came again with parson Leay, and still with hopes, from my staying at home, that they might gain me; but they found their mistake: for, though I said but little, I was as resolute to prove the truth as ever. We sat down, and the parson offered to take in writing, any scruples I had to make; promising either to answer them himself, or to

get them answered by the bishop. I acknowledged his kindness, saying, I did not see how any one could be serviceable to me, for it was faith I wanted in the whole. He signified, it was not for the unlearned to pry into the matter of faith, but to believe according to the canons of the church; and went on largely in commendation of the wisdom and great care there had been amongst the learned fathers, that there might be no default or error in the articles of our faith; thence inferring, that it was requisite we should believe them. I signified that I could not place my trust in man, but had received a better faith already; and that I believe I ought to seek God for myself. He said, "You are obstinate, and if you do not take care, you will renounce your vow of baptism." I answered, "I do not find that troubles me; for I hold it as a matter of indifference, which will do me neither good nor hurt." He said, "You are hardened; and if you persist, you will be damned." This struck us silent; and as soon as I could take my looks off him, I cast them on my dear uncle, whose eyes plainly bespoke his grief. The parson got up, and said, "You have need of the prayers of the congregation." I said, "I know I have need of the prayers of all good people, and desire to have them." As they passed the shop, I heard him say something of my being quite lost, and my uncle shook his head, and left me in great sorrow.

This was a heavy trial to me, for the enemy aimed his dart again to give a fatal blow, by insinuating into my mind the doctrine of election and reprobation; which strengthened those doubtings the late conversation had raised. What had I here to do? no person in the world to flee to, with whom I could entrust my soul! no book to try my cause by! the Bible itself being still to me as if written in an unknown tongue! no God or Saviour at hand, nor even any comfortable desire that I was sensible of! Read, in these expressions, the deep afflictions of my soul, thus lying under the tramplings of a most desperate fiend! Could I have found just reason for his upbraiding me with lightness, it would at this time have certainly appeared; or could I have believed that God was unjust, and would inflict eternal punishment on the innocent, or on a repentant sinner that was willing to turn from every evil way—I say, could I have reconciled this to his attributes of mercy and goodness, I must assuredly have fallen by these suggestions of the cruel deceiver, who now appeared to me in the most surprising manner; producing that exercise, which, to this present time, gives me astonishment. For, one night, as I lay in bed, on a sudden, a voice, as I thought, audible and like my own, cursed the Lord, and defied Heaven; saying, "Now am I damned, for I have sinned against the Holy Ghost, and shall never be forgiven." When the words were passed, I felt bewildered, and immediately flung myself upon my face, crying out, "O Lord! forgive me; but it is not I, yet, O Lord! forgive me." Thus, in confusion, I went on, sometimes begging for forgiveness, and then denying the fact: and when I did so far recover, as to know how I was, I felt, from the agony, in a complete perspiration; the bed whereon I lay, for some time after, shook with my strong trembling; and it was a considerable time ere I could compose myself. Yet when I could, I found that my great God did not accuse me; but encouraged the sincerity of my desire to look up to him, as God, who mercifully saveth those that trust in his providence; and is willing to remit the past transgressions of the truly penitent. And here I proved my hope renewed, and my faith established; yet, even here I stumbled at the honour I had been taught to give to those divine oracles, as I esteemed the clergy; and thought I must surely be mistaken, in supposing there was no more in them than in other men; nor yet could I lower my high esteem of their learning, and set the illiterate, (as I had been taught to call them,) on an equal footing of wisdom, with those having the high title of reverend. Yet here did my God help me; for one evening as I sat, low in mind, musing alone, the everlasting Truth seized upon me, in an exposition of that remarkable thanksgiving of our Saviour, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." This immediate favour, from the loving kindness of the Lord, had a great influence over me; I arose from my chair, and fell upon my knees to receive the overshadowings of his power; and such was the effect, that by its assistance, I ejaculated from my soul, a few words in supplication to the Lord, begging a farther manifestation of his will, and his preservation therein. This, I apprehend, was the most lively prayer I had ever then made.

When I had waited for a time on my knees, I remembered that I had read the passage, yet desired to look at it again. I had no Bible of my own, my aunt having taken mine from me, telling me I should have no use for it, as indeed I had not much till this time; yet, being provided with one, I looked for the text, and casting my eye upon it, found a great alteration in myself, and cause to say, "surely the Lamb of God is found worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof." From this time I knew it was not in my power to read the Scriptures in their right signification, but only as I had the key of interpretation lent me, which I now often received, to my great profit and

consolation. Thus I became again familiar with my book, and prized that good companion more justly than I had ever done before; desiring to be kept in the way I was to go; to have bread to eat, and raiment to put on, and to be enabled to return to my Father's house in peace; concluding that the Lord should be my God.

Whilst I resigned myself to his holy will, it pleased the Almighty to show me, that it was not right that I should thus believe, and yet live alone, without assembling myself with those that I was satisfied were believers in the same Divine principle: neither do I now think it would have been good or right; for, as sure as the Lord thought proper, in his wisdom, to provide helpmates for the body, so surely does he condescend to qualify many of his faithful servants, to be helpful, in a spiritual sense, to each other. I therefore believed it was right for me to attend meetings, in order to retain my favour with him.

In this my aunt did not interrupt me till I had been a few times; notwithstanding which, I had enough to do within myself; the tears I shed at my entrance at the door, and on presenting myself before the Invisible Being, were so many renunciations of my own will. I used to sit down on the first seat I came to; yet so well did it answer, that what I sowed in tears at my getting there, I reaped with joy at my coming away.

Going with a soul desirous of improvement, I was often highly favoured, and had to remember S. Radford's recommendation to me, to "buy the truth and sell it not;" as also to be assured of the justice of the Almighty, and that man's destruction is of himself. I think it was about, or a little after this time, that I heard my present uncle, Joshua Toft,* give his testimony to the truth; and I remember it was as one having authority, pressing Friends to come out of Babylon, and exhorting them not to partake with her of her sins, lest they should also be partakers of her plagues; and though I was very young in the truth, yet the Lord was pleased so to enlighten my understanding, that I read him spiritually, and was made a partaker of that life from which the power came. Nor do I forget the encouragement which I received from another Friend, when, like a shower of the former and latter rain, he watered the plantation of the Lord, by setting forth the blessedness with which he will reward those who forsake all for his name's sake, &c. But, though I could take delight, yet I was not to build a tabernacle here; my troubles were not quite over; for, though my aunt let me go free a few times, yet she proposed to perplex me in my new design, by aggravating the passions she found in herself, and by giving way to the foolish excitations of others.

The first time she met me in my going to meeting, was with a whip, and the next with a black hood and green apron. But I shall endeavour here to be as brief as I can; for I do not desire to remember the foolish pains she took to mortify me: yet I feel engaged, gratefully to acknowledge, that I was preserved above all the ridicule I met with; though, to many I was a subject of entertainment and diversion. Some, however, seemed to have compassion for me; though I cannot say that of such, I knew at that time above three or four. Among these was one that frequently expressed a concern for my preservation, and offered to assist me in having my aunt bound over to her

* Joshua Toft joined the Society of Friends by convincement in the early part of his life, and through obedience to the teaching of Divine grace, became whilst young, a good example of religion and virtue. His concerns in business at that time, occasioned him to be much from home and in company with such as were unacquainted with that circumspect demeanour which his religious profession required; from some of whom, in consequence of his consistent conduct, he met with ill-treatment. But his mind was so clothed with patience, meekness, and love, that he was enabled to silence the ignorance of foolish men; and sometimes their enmity against him for his faithfulness, gave place to respect and friendship. He began business in a small way; but the blessing of Divine Providence crowned his honest endeavours, and whilst yet in the full vigour of life, he acquired a moderate competency. Thus circumstanced, and with a flow of business which would have enabled him to accumulate much wealth, with noble fortitude he declined trade, in order to devote himself more fully to the service of his great Lord and Master. He came forth as a minister when about thirty-two years of age, and laboured faithfully in that character for many years in various parts of England and Ireland. For about twenty years before his decease he was much disabled from travelling, by a disorder in his head, which at times affected his understanding, and which deprived him of sight for more than fourteen of the last years of his life. After this privation, his mental faculties resumed their former strength, and continued clear till his decease.

He bore great bodily suffering as well as the loss of sight, with exemplary patience, resignation, and cheerfulness, expressing his belief that all his affliction was laid upon him in love, and his hope that he should receive it as so dispensed.

A short time before his departure he was much comforted by a secret intimation in these words, "I have been with thee, I am with thee, and will be with thee."

He quietly departed this life the 15th of the eighth month, 1769, aged upwards of eighty years, and was interred at Friends' burial ground at Leek.—(*From the Testimony of Staffordshire Quarterly Meeting.*)

good behaviour; but I felt more desirous to be preserved in a proper decorum towards her.

Others of my well-wishers advised me to leave the town; proffering me a room in their house, and liberty to sell my goods with them. This, I must ever acknowledge, was a kind part; but, though they pressed my compliance, I could not find an inclination thereto; for I conceived that to quit the town would look as though I had done some bad thing; and I knew no one could, justly, say any worse thing of me, than that I was a Quaker. Therefore, though I could willingly have been out of the noise that my change had occasioned, yet I rather chose to commit myself to that Hand, which I now believed could preserve me, and submit to the confusion of this time, till my God should say, it is enough; not doubting that these things were permitted for the trial of my faith. Yet, so far did their kindness prevail, that I inclined to ask farther advice upon it; and, as S. Leay had been a few times to ask me how I did, I told him my desire, and requested him to procure me an opportunity of speaking with one of the Friends Toft. He He asked me, which? I said, either of the three brothers, that I could most conveniently go to, without my uncle or aunt's knowing it; for I was much more troubled at their abuse of others, than of myself. He told me the next day, that he had spoken to Samuel Toft, who was willing to give me the hearing that night.

Accordingly I went in the dusk of the evening, Nicodemus like; not so much for the shame of the thing, (which I was now used to,) as for fear that my aunt should get knowledge of it. I did not know, by the name of Samuel, which was to receive me; but, knocking at the door, he let me in. Having paid my compliments, I sat down; and introduced our discourse, by saying, I supposed he was no stranger to the hurry of the town, and the angry mood of my uncle and aunt concerning me. I signified that I could not help it, but that, notwithstanding this, I found myself engaged to join the Society: I farther told him of the kind proffer made me, but doubting in my mind what would be for the best, I had a desire to ask advice. He told me, that to go was the most likely way to rid myself of those troubles; but asked if I had no hopes of my relations being better humoured. I told him, no; but was rather afraid they would be worse, for they said they could never rest while I was a Quaker. He then said, "It is a nice point to give advice in, for who can tell what thy relations may do in their anger, or how thou thyself canst bear it; perhaps the surest way to be quiet from them is, to accept the proposals of thy friends."

This, however, was not what I expected, nor indeed, what I desired; and to bring him more over to my views, I said, "Do you think, Sir, there is room to believe I should be presumptuous, if I should stay, and receive an injury from them? He said, he thought not, so long as I gave them no just occasion; and added, "Young woman, what dost thou think is best thyself?" I answered, "I would not, willingly, run myself into danger, neither act any way purposely to provoke them; nor yet do I see how I can, at this time, fly from their anger, and leave the town, without giving myself secret uneasiness." To this he replied, "To be sure, we ought to mind that; for we might go out of one trouble into another, and perhaps a worse." He further asked me, how I thought I could bear the trial; saying, I had already known something of an exercise of this kind. I said, "Yes, I have; and the truth I have found so much on my side, that I have been hitherto supported through it, and now do not doubt, but if I should lose my life, in the way of my relations' anger, my soul would still be happy." He signified, if such was my belief and resolution, he could say nothing better to me than, Go on and prosper.

Wishing him the compliment of the night, I returned, desiring to remain stedfast to what I apprehended was my duty; but when at home, I could not forbear reflecting on the small assurance I had given this Friend; and especially on the odd appearance, for a Quaker, which I made; for, besides my speech, I went in full trim. I had on my hoop, rings on my fingers, and ear-rings in my ears; my clothes, indeed, were black and white crape mourning, which I wore for my beloved sister, and therefore my linen was without lace; neither was I thoughtful, at this time, about my outward dress, my work lay more within. Nor did my friend regard my appearance so much, as to overlook the intentions of my heart; for Samuel Leay told me the next time he saw me, that S. Toft said, he was satisfied there was that within me, that would prevail on me to lay my compliments aside; and it was not long ere I found it my place to do so. I must now mention a probable reason, why I was not allowed to give my friend a fuller assurance; and which may also show, how blind I was to my own state, and how much need I had to crave Divine light to steer my course by; for, though I seemed to myself to be quite fixed in my purpose, yet I soon found, by experience, how weak I was.

I received a letter from my dear brother, (who had kindly paid us a visit on the death of my sister,) saying that he had heard from my uncle, the melancholy affair that was amongst us; describing the fanatical and fantastical deportment of those I was about to join with; the utter mistake they lay under, in respect to the doctrines of Christ, and giving me a kind invi-

tation to come to him, with a promise to take care of me and my fortune. He affectionately mentioned an opportunity he had of placing me with a near relation of his wife's, who was a milliner in the city, if I liked that business; and concluded in much brotherly love, and with desires for my welfare every way.

This so sensibly touched the natural affection I had for him, that, had I not been favoured from the Most High, with a sight of the snare which my enemy had laid for me, I should certainly have accepted this offer from my only brother; the consideration of whose love, in this instance, and of the grief I had given my other near and dear relations, caused me to turn my exercises round and round again; and to consider the cause of them. In this affecting survey, many were my secret supplications to the Lord, for his preservation and assistance, that thereby the enemy might be defeated in all his stratagems. Thus was I attacked on my weakest side; for this tender treatment from my brother, and my uncle's three last visits, gave me more affectionate concern than all their abuses. But now I was to answer the letter, and I did it so thoroughly, according to that wisdom, which my Heavenly Father was pleased to favour me with, that I never heard any more from my brother on that subject; but whenever afterwards he wrote to me, it was in great love and respect.

Through the condescensions of the inexpressible love of my God, I had surmounted many difficulties and doubtings in my own mind; yet had I divers trials still to wade through, as now will appear.

The alteration of my speech was in this manner:—one morning, as I lay in bed, a weighty exercise came closely over my mind; and as I waited to know the cause, it came before my view, that I must use the plain language. I had, before, had this at times under my notice, and now had hardly time to reconsider the thing and prove it was the truth, ere my aunt knocked. I knew her step, which made me tremble, and therefore I made no great haste to dress; but as I knew I must submit, I went towards the door, saying, Who is there? What dost thou want? She said, Let me in and I will tell thee. I did not in the least question that; and she quickly let me know it, by many threatenings of what she would do, if ever I thou'd her again. I could not but think it was a very hard allotment to me, that I must begin this required alteration with my aunt; yet, from the satisfaction which I felt in my own mind, I was encouraged in the truth, and from that time I did not shrink from that part of my testimony, except to my aunt, whom I in no way delighted to vex, and therefore, as much as possible, I evaded the singular language; and yet, rather than use the plural, would many times break the thread of our discourse; till I plainly saw it would not do, and that I must either break my peace, or commit myself to my aunt's fury. This I soon experienced; for using the word thee to her, it so inflamed her, that, as there stood a fire-shovel in her way, she took it up and struck at me. My sister being in the little room, caught hold of it, or she would probably have done as she had threatened, for the room or closet behind the shop was so narrow, that I had no room to draw back. Thus was I once more preserved; but had reason to fear I should yet be the cause of bringing my aunt to much disgrace, as she often declared, that she believed it was no more sin to kill me, than a dog.

I found she had heard of my being advised to leave the town; and I believe, I suffered much for that kindness of my friends. My aunt's hopes seemed now, that either they would draw me, or she should drive me out of the town, for she said that, if I would be a Quaker, I should not be one in her sight. And now I had the former kind proffer renewed—P. Meller sending me an invitation to come to Whitehaugh, for a quarter of a year, till my aunt should be better reconciled. This was indeed a kind invitation from one that I had never spoken to; and I might have gone, for any business or school that I then had; for my aunt's behaviour had so frightened the scholars, that their parents thought fit to keep them at home; and had it not been for the sake of seeing one called a Quaker, I should hardly have sold so many trifles as I did; but there seemed a general curiosity to see me.

Standing, thus, as an object of disdain and derision, I could willingly have accepted the kind invitation of my friends; yet, when I cast my eye toward the Captain of my salvation, I found I had not liberty to move; and therefore, with an acknowledgment of their kindness, I passed it by.

Another proof of my aunt's unguarded passion soon after occurred, which was this:—we were sitting together in the little room, as we very often did, and it was drawing towards the middle of the night; when, in the course of our conversation, she obliged me to use that language which she could not bear, and a brass candlestick standing betwixt us, she flung it at me with such force, that it struck against the wall: I had just time to see her intention, and by stooping escaped the blow. Thus did David's God again preserve me, for the sake of the stem of Jesse, that now began to bud within my heart: and although I stood here in jeopardy of body, yet I was mercifully preserved in stability of soul, and in a supporting belief of being in the way of my duty; and was favoured

with hope as an anchor in this assurance, that if it pleased the Lord to permit the death of the mortal part, he would be pleased to let his mercy light on my immortal soul, and I should die as a martyr to my faith in Christ. Yet, a fear for my aunt prevailed over me; and though I had concealed her behaviour towards me as much as possible, yet this I durst not conceal, lest I should be chargeable with the consequence. I therefore desired my sister to tell my uncle of this violent action, and my fears. He returned for answer, that whatever treatment I met with, was good enough for me; and as to my aunt, it was impossible to keep her at home.

The grief that I passed under, for fear of my aunt's going quite distracted, was great, and the bowings-down of soul and body were frequent, with earnest supplication to the Almighty for the preservation of us both—she in her senses, and me in the way of my duty towards him, and in a justifiable behaviour to my uncle and aunt. I believe my uncle had, at that time, more compassion for me than he would suffer to be seen: he had my aunt talked to, and would not suffer her to come at such unseasonable hours again; for she had several times before spent most of the night with me alone; and what I then received from her, the Almighty knows, and indeed, did make up to me in her reconciliation afterwards. Her nightly visits here ended; but they had been so long continued, late and early, that I had habituated myself to spend the nights in the little closet, where I used to keep a fire. I sat much there, and when it was bed-time, if my aunt was absent, would put out my candle and sit as still as I could lest I should be suspected of keeping disorderly hours.

I had here no intimate to converse with, or encourage me, and was left as a person quite alone; but the immediate visitations of divine favour, at times, did most graciously establish my faith; and when almost overwhelmed, the Lord would, in the condescendings of his compassion, direct my mind to some passage in the Scriptures for my consolation; and I seldom read, or contemplated on them without tears.

Yet how quickly did I lose the sight and effect of these favours; whilst, like a traveller, driven away from the haven of his happiness by contrary winds, I was forced by grief into a confusion of thoughts, having frequently sat under the violent suggestions of the enemy till two, three, four, or five o'clock in the morning; and was sometimes no sooner in bed, than my aunt would call me up. It is hardly credible how little sleep I went with: but surely, I sympathized with my uncle and aunt in the affliction I gave them. Meat was to me as trifling as sleep, whereby I proved on what a little nature will subsist: my meals were no ways constant; a bit of bread and cheese with a little water or milk, or bread and butter with a dish of tea, were my only food for months; nor did I desire any thing else, till necessity obliged me to alter my course.

My aunt, though under some restraint, used to tell me, she would make me suffer yet; saying, no one had any business with what she did to me. One market-day, she followed me as I went behind the counter, and kept me there for some hours; saying, she would hear my language to-day; and though I desired her to let me go, yet she would not; nor did I choose to put her away. I was, indeed, under exercise, and desirous to do my duty in the sight of the Divine Being, though apprehensive I must suffer for it. When any came into the shop, she told them I was the new-made Quaker; and filled those who were strangers to her, with admiration of us both! and I may say, I blushed as much for her as for myself. Each time she thus exposed me, she held me by the left arm, which was next her; and when I used the plain language, she pinched me very badly; and so often renewed her pinches, that it was very hard for me to bear them. Yet I saw no way to avoid her ill usage, without using her as I never had done, and bringing guilt on myself; I therefore endeavoured to hold out a little longer; and have since wondered how I bore it without complaining. She had, indeed, inured me to suffer; and, would often say, the Quakers had taught me; and if she smote me on one cheek, I must turn the other. She tried me so much on this occasion, that I many times desired her to forbear; yet had no hopes that she would regard my petition: but as my arm and hand were very visibly swelled, I wished them to plead for me; and by often looking at them, brought them under her notice; when she tauntingly said, "I doubt I have hurt thy arm;" and in a little time went away. When she was gone, I tried to unbutton my sleeve, but my arm being so very much swollen, I could not.

Doctor Gravesnor's daughter, knowing my aunt had been with me a long time, and seeing her go out, stepped in, and helped me to unbutton my sleeve; and seeing the condition I was in, went for her father. When my wristband was loose, my hand and arm swelled to such a degree, that, before the doctor came, I could scarcely shut my fingers. When he saw my arm, he said it was a very bad bruise; it seemed, for the space of the palm of the hand, to be like a jelly, and exceedingly black toward the shoulder. The doctor seemed surprised, and said, he was afraid it would mortify; then went home, and quickly returned with a medicine. He was one who had always shown me great respect; and his daughters were my

scholars, till my aunt thought proper to break up the school. I believe it was both from his respect and fear, that he took the freedom, after he had dressed my arm, to scold and blame me for my foolish, childish sufferance; saying, my case was dangerous, and I might lose my arm, if not my life; yet he added, that he would do all in his power to prevent it. I told him I was satisfied with his kindness and judgment; and I was more willing, that time, to give up my life than my arm: yet I struggled in the secret of my mind to submit to the will of God; and the doctor, seeing my tears fall, said, "Nay, indeed, you have enough to bear, without being chid;" and so I found; for, besides my inward exercise, his application was very sharp. He often said he was afraid of the bone; and that it was such a piece of cruelty, as none in their senses could be guilty of. He staid with me a good while, repeating the dressings often, which renewed the pain. My fingers were swollen stiff, and useless, for I could neither close nor move them. The doctor asked me, who I had to be with me, since I left my uncle's; adding, that now I could not do without assistance; and charging his daughter not to leave me, till I had got somebody. When he left me, he directly sent for my uncle, and told him in how unchristian-like a manner my aunt had used me; adding, she was more fit to be bound, than to go loose; and that he ought not to suffer her to come to me. My uncle promised she should not: yet this did not move his pity, to induce him to come and see me, which was what I greatly desired.

It was a month before I could turn my arm behind me, to dress myself. My sister had been sent to school at Manchester, for fear, as I have thought, of her catching the infection of a Quaker; nor did I much repine at the loss of her company, for I found that she had acted treacherously betwixt us. But few in this illness came to see me; yet I heard that many were displeased at my aunt. Among those few that came, my present aunt, S. Whitehead, was one; and her visit was very acceptable, though I had then no acquaintance with her. She spoke to my encouragement, and invited me, when I was better, to come to see her; which I could willingly have done, but thought proper to delay it some time, for fear my aunt should know it, who spared no one that she heard spoke to me in a friendly way.

S. Taylor, at this time, lived with John Winter, at Stafford; and seeing my uncle and aunt's groundless dislike to that family, I had desired they would not visit me often. They saw my motive, excused the freedom I took with them, and when I went to them, behaved to me in a loving and free manner.

Here I ought not, and I hope never shall, forget the best of visitors, the Invisible Comforter; who, in a good degree, made my afflictions easy, and consoled my spirit, under a belief that I was persevering in the way of my duty.

From the encouragement that I thus felt within, I was excited, as soon as proper, to endeavour to go to meeting again: and when I had so far recovered as to dress myself, I thought, from my weakly state, it would be better for me to board in a family, that I might be in the way of getting such provision as my constitution required; which had never been very strong, and was now much impaired by excess of trouble, and my different course of living. As there was a door from my apartment into the other part of the house, I thought it convenient to board with Thomas Turnock, who lived there; and I was well satisfied to do so.

I had now some hope, from my aunt's absence during the last month, that she would no more interrupt me in going to meeting: but soon found it frustrated, whether by accident or information, I know not. For, one day, when I came to the corner, near my uncle's house, I saw her coming towards me. The thoughts of the doctor and my arm quickly occurred; and I concluded, should I suffer it to be hurt again, the consequences would be very bad. As I was at liberty, it seemed right to keep so, and make the best of my way; yet so embarrassed was I, that, before I had gone many yards, I faltered in my purpose, and my aunt got up with me, before I was half way to the meeting. I now saw my mistake, and that it would have been better if my aunt had overtaken me sooner; for the place looked dangerous, and the want of room to shake and push me about, gave me many apprehensions that she would throw me headlong down the precipice. It was about the time that Friends were going into the meeting, and this vexed her the more; for I have reason to believe she could not endure the sight of a Friend, on my account. She did not spare to tell me of hurting my arm, nor to shake me by it; but as it had some folds of flannels around, it was preserved. My endeavour to outwalk her was not suddenly forgotten; she, many times after, made mention of it, and would signify that God was above the wicked spirit still.

Thus, with many admonitions and exhortations, as she called them, she kept me till the time when she might expect the meeting to break up, and then left me.

Being at liberty, I went towards the meeting, and as it was not over, I stepped within, that my aunt might know that my intention was resolute. This seemed to be a renewal of our

acquaintance, for she soon repeated her visits, though not at the former unseasonable hours.

I have, many times, seriously reflected how it was with me in these straits, and may acknowledge that my composure was owing to a divine power, which staid my mind on God, and kept down those passions of nature, which otherwise might have exceeded their bounds. But, Oh! the calmness and tranquillity that did in these times of trial possess my heart, whilst innocency prevailed over shame: and I found by submission to these lessons of mortification, that I grew in patience and resignation—in the desire after the Lord's favour, and the manifestation of his will, for he brought my heart into so good a degree of submission, that I was willing to undergo, or be termed anything, rather than lose the enjoyment of that in which I had now a small possession.

It was about this time that I knew an ecstacy of joy, at the freely giving up my name to that, which I once thought the most despicable. There came a London haberdasher to my shop, with whom I dealt in business: he approached me in his customary manner; and as I did not answer his compliment, as usual, he looked full at me, and said, "Are you a Quaker?" My soul was struck with this home question; I solemnly answered, "Yes;" and immediately a spring of joy seized my heart, accompanied with this desire, Not only a Quaker, Lord; but grant me to be an Israelite indeed.

From this time my good desires were strengthened, and the ambition of being an Israelite, became my exercise. But here I cannot but remark, how like a fool I appeared in my own eyes; for there seemed as great an alteration in me as could possibly happen from such a change. I could not now be fluent in compliments, and saw it best to keep out of extravagance of words, and such a latitude in discourse as I formerly indulged in. So many cross words and knotty queries lay in the way of all I seemed to have to do, that nature was abashed, almost beyond the hope of recovery; yet I often contemplated the benefit that accrued to Zaccheus from that heavenly call, "Make haste, and come down:" and how willingly would I have made my situation similar to his; believing there was something in that call alluding to the glories of eternity; which now appeared of brighter lustre to my eye, than all the glittering objects of a transitory life. Surely the time would glide sweetly on, in reciting those refreshing prospects which attended my intervals of grief; but the sequel of my history calls on me to cross my inclination.

It was about this time that John Toft gave me an expectation of a visit; but that evening I was threatened with a disappointment; for, my aunt came in high displeasure, and by her upbraidings raised a crowd about the door, which occasioned him to pass by. When she had wrought herself into a disposition to be more quiet, she shut the door and sat down. I turned out of my mind the thoughts of her unkind behaviour, yet could not help feeling regret at the loss of the Friend's company, being desirous to see him, as he had been instrumental for my good. Whilst I was musing on these things, a messenger came and told me, that although my aunt was there, if I thought it convenient, he would come to see me. I hesitated a little, to prove what would be best; knowing my aunt's weakness, that she would not spare me, nor mind, in her passion, what she expressed; yet hoping, as it was his desire to come, that he would excuse what might fall upon himself, and see through the falsities she might cast on me.

With this conclusion I requested his company; and my aunt being present, said she would stay to see this Friend. On his knocking, I let him in, with a degree of fear, and watched to hear the salutation she gave him; which was:—"Thou deceiver! thou antichrist! thou hast seduced this silly wretch." Had she known what my heart could have told her, she might have thought differently; for on the appearance of the Friend, I was made very sensible of that power by which I had been drawn into the truth.

He endeavoured to show her the unreasonableness of her charge, by assuring her, he had never had any conversation with me, nor had visited me before. She answered, "If thou hast not, thy brethren have;" and proceeded with violence against the Quakers. He still tried to engage her attention, by reminding her that his mother and she used, as neighbours, to be acquainted: she signified that was true, and if ever there was a good Quaker in the world, his mother was one.

She walked to and fro between the shop and the closet, laying many heavy things to my charge, which I had learned with silence to bear, till she touched my modesty, and told the Friend the freedom which she said, I gave to young men; when I desired her to keep to the truth. She said, "If I spoke another word, she would knock my head against the wall;" which, I well knew, a word or two more would have aggravated her to do. Upon his asking, "How long I had been so bad," she said, "ever since I had been deluded; for I was well enough before I was bewitched."

Thus she went on, as long, I believe, as she had power; for, going out, she said, "I will go, but I will come again." But she came no more till next day, when she laid on me with blows, saying that I sent for the Friend on purpose to vex her. She had showed so much of

her passion, as to make the Friend remark to me, that he could think no other than that she was out of her senses; and that he could not see, if I had not truth for my foundation, how it was possible for me to stand. I told him that I had no other view of coming amongst Friends, than to procure the truth and peace of God unto my soul; and that I had still hopes I should be preserved. He observed to me the emptiness of a barren profession; and advised me to wait on God in the secret of my heart, to rely on his wisdom, and to trust in his power, expressing a desire that I might be preserved; and adding, he would have come to see me sooner, but found himself engaged to take the apostle's advice, to "lay hands suddenly on no one;" and after kindly inviting me to his house, took leave. This visit I returned in about a month.

When he was gone, I considered what had passed, and was thankful to the Great Disposer of all things. I thought there was somewhat extraordinary in my aunt's leaving us, for she had never left me with any person before, and I was glad I had an opportunity of gaining such instruction, as I had never before received in conversation; nor could I less admire the Friend's prudent care, in observing the apostle's advice, which I had before thought alluded only to the laying on of the bishop's hands, at the time of the young student's admission into holy orders, and the confirmation of youth. But now I knew, by experience, that, for want of prudence in particulars, I had been a sufferer: and as an instance, shall mention one of the most uneasy meetings I ever attended; which was occasioned by a Friend's over-care, who had often pressed me to come up higher than where I frequently sat. I remarked, that the highest place in the meeting would be as little regarded by my aunt as the lowest, should she be inclined to make a disturbance there; yet, on frequent importunity, being willing to show some respect to the Friend's advice, I was prevailed with to advance a form or two. But when she came and saw I had not thoroughly taken her advice, she took me by the arm; and though I signified my desire of sitting still, as far as civility would bear, yet she compelled me to rise, and notwithstanding I showed a desire of turning in at the first and the second seat I came to, yet she would not let me rest, till she had placed me by herself. Then, Oh! the hurries that my mind was in; for surely, had my aunt herself been there, she could not have confused my thoughts half so much: for though, at this time, when at meetings, I had a desire to draw nigh with Friends in spirit, yet it went much against my inclination to sit so near the place which, my aunt used to tell me, must be my seat; saying, all proselytes must be made preachers, and tell to the brethren the abominations of the wicked. Often would she tease me with such things; well knowing, I had in my nature a great aversion to women's preaching.

Here I sat, in a restless condition, several times purposing to go out; yet the regard I had for the Friend prevailed on me to stay. Glad, however, was I when the meeting broke up; and when it was over she gave me her hand; which I answered with my own, in token of forgiving her too forward, though loving act; yet not without telling her, when at home, the trouble she had given me, and desiring her never to use me so again.

Shall I here say, that good came out of evil? no surely, but sweet came out of bitter; for by this Friend's freedom of giving me her hand, several that were in the meeting did the same; and though this did not prove a time of confirmation to my faith, but rather otherwise; yet it seemed like a sign of union, no one having done so before, and was pleasant.

I lost, for a time, the deep impression which the Friend's apprehension of my aunt's being distracted, had made on my mind; but thought afterwards, if, from the little he saw, he entertained apprehensions of that kind, what had I to fear, who had seen her so many times, a great deal worse; yet, what could I do, or what was there to be done; I could not renounce my salvation in order to appease my aunt.

These reflections caused distress in my countenance, which occasioned my aunt to say, that she read the very Quaker in my face.

It seemed hardly possible I could ever know any sorrow like what I then felt; and my aunt, either by information, or her own observation, became acquainted with it; and by many frantic gestures, wrought in me a belief, that she was really as I imagined. My soul now fled to the Almighty for refuge, and I sat before her a witness of her frantic behaviour, with more solidity and composure than she expected. At last, she came up to me, and said "I am mad; thou, thou hast driven me mad! and I am mad!" I was surprised to hear her say so, and thought there was some hope for me, as she had yet so much reason left as to tell me of the thing she knew I was so afraid of.

Upon my showing so much indifference about it, she abandoned that scheme, and soon after, as one fainting in her hopes of victory, desisted from interrupting me in the street; yet, wishing to obstruct my desire of going to meeting, she would come to my room before the hour appointed; telling me, we would have a silent meeting, and I would gladly have had her keep to it, but it seemed an impossibility on her part.

When I saw it was her intention, by this practice, to keep me at home, in order to prevent it, I set out so much the sooner; and she, on the other hand, came still earlier, till she saw, that unless she rose sooner in the morning, my resolutions would outgo hers.

Many were the paces which I was forced to take in the fields on this account; but my labour was not in vain, for my aunt then left me to my liberty, and many precious meetings I enjoyed. As I had nothing of tradition to trust to, when there, my earnest desire was to seek the Lord; and he was found of my soul, to my inexpressible consolation.

In respect to silent meetings, my spiritual exercises at home had taught me how to improve by them: my heart inclining rather to sit in fear and reverence, and to watch against the tumult of unnecessary thoughts, than to be busy, as formerly, in the florid appearances of lip-worship. But yet, I would not have it supposed, that I knew no difficulty in my exercises; for surely, I have often felt the throng of natural cogitations to press so closely upon me, that I have found cause to implore the divine aid, and to breathe forth this ejaculation; Lord, if thou keep not the city, the watchman waketh, but in vain!

But though I was freed from my aunt's molestations, I found it was only as the changing of a scene, and that the subtlety of the serpent was now more dangerous to me, than the rage of the lion had been.

My freedom of attending meetings, from which I had hitherto been much restrained, and the Lord's mercy in subduing those spirits which were a hinderance to my soul's serenity, I could not but gratefully acknowledge, with desires that I might answer the obligation. But I was yet inexperienced in the craft of the enemy and deceiver of men, and needed the assistance of some prudent intimate friend, whose counsel might have set right bounds to my zeal. This subtle one, taking advantage of my earnestness, cunningly twined a thread of his own into that work which I was endeavouring to render acceptable to my God. I had, till this time, been taken up in seeking after an increase and establishment in the knowledge of the truth, and in keeping up a strict circumspection in my behaviour, that thereby I might not give my relations and acquaintances just occasion of trouble, or a pretence for vilifying the way of truth.

I had not yet made any great observations on dress, but thought to make a stand, and judge what was best to be done; and doubtless, so far I was in the right, whilst I made some alterations.

But now I found the prowling adversary, what he ever was—a malicious, deceitful, twining serpent, who, if he can but get in his head at the least opening of our inadvertency, will soon introduce his body, under an appearance of sanctity, to effect, if possible, the utter destruction of the soul. He saw that his aim of drawing me into any gross, obvious evil, was defeated; and as I had seen less of his stratagems in the angelical form, he now insinuated himself into my desires of being zealous for the honour of God, and elevated me above my proper height; so that I fell to judging, cutting, and trimming off every superfluous scrap from my dress; and not content with this, I went from my apparel to my shop. In less than a week, I made several sacrifices of value; and so hurried was I in this blind zeal, that I seemed impatient for more fuel. And having gone through, as I thought, at home; I next let out the busy eye on others. There were but few who escaped my judgment, forgetting that tender advice, (Luke vi. 37,) "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned." I noticed each point of behaviour and apparel; till so great a critic had I become, that I seemed all speculation on the more minute things; neglecting the weightier matters, as faith, mercy, and the love of God, which, surely, I ought to have regarded, though not to have left the other wholly undone.

To what extravagance I had gone in this respect, the all-penetrating Eye best saw, and was pleased to look in compassion on the mistake of my intentions, and most graciously to illumine my understanding; giving me plainly to see, that I was quite out of that charity, without which, the apostle says, all our works profit nothing. So tenaciously did I adhere to this thing, that I saw not the deceiver, till I discovered such passions predominant in me, as I had never observed before. My temper became uncharitable, and unmerciful; I looked with an evil eye on the innocent: and was incapable of either pleasing myself or being pleased with others. But according to the greatness of my error herein, so was my abasement; and I was at length brought down so low, as to be capable of hearing the small voice of Wisdom, saying, "Who hath required this at thy hand?"

Now was I filled with shame; the serpent had beguiled me, and by his cunning had given me more uneasiness than by all his roaring. I acknowledged my fault, and begged forgiveness and future protection of the Almighty; who in his great condescension, made up the breach and restored the path to walk in. Yet had I given the vaunting one room to sport with my indiscretion! and he would often bring into my thoughts the loss I had sustained, by his poisonous insinuations, even when no more of the

effect of it remained than was necessary to guard me against the same devices in future.

This exercise was scarcely abated, before another trial occurred. My relations being still displeased that I should stay in the town, thought of another stratagem, which greatly surprised me, and added to the trouble which the destruction of my substance, as before related, had given me.

My uncle having been to London about our affairs, reported on his return, that, on account of a large debt of my father's, who had been dead thirteen years, a suit in Chancery was commenced against him. This report ran current; and my uncle gave out, that as I was under age, he would take again those effects which he had put into my hands, though I had not received one quarter of my equivalent.

The unwelcome intelligence was brought to me by many. I say unwelcome, because I had contracted some debts in the way of business, which, my uncle said, he could and would refuse to pay. My aunt had broken up my school, and my former acquaintance having withdrawn their custom, my trade was at a stand, and had been so above a year, except for some few trifles, as before mentioned; so that I was now sensible, that the things I had destroyed were not my own. Having some acquaintance with Counsellor Hollingshead, I laid before him my straits, and he civilly told me, I might be quite easy on account of the debt; adding that, if there had been any truth in it, he should have heard of it from my uncle, who used to take his advice; and besides, he knew my father's creditors had met with due honour. In respect to my uncle's taking back the effects he had entrusted me with, it was at his pleasure, and he might refuse to pay the debts contracted, if the bills were made in my name, unless he had given his promise to pay them. The Counsellor desired me, if I had any farther trouble, to let him know it, and he would speak to my uncle for me.

Thus was I fully satisfied concerning my father's debt; and in a little time after, was comfortably visited with the breathings-in of the love of God, in these few comprehensive words: "Fear not, I have overcome the world." Had my trouble been even redoubled, like Job's, surely I should in this season of favour have forgotten it. Yet when it subsided, I found there remained two occasions for sorrowful reflection: the one was—paying off my creditors; which I soon got over, as I had cash enough to balance all but one, from whom I had received a parcel, which, through the smallness of business, was nearly entire, and this I sent back, with money to answer any deficiency or damage. It was kindly received, and I was very easy respecting it. But as to the other affair—by destroying the articles, I had put it out of my power to restore them; and this dwelt longer with me; yet, as I lived to come of age, I took the debt myself, and became reconciled to bear it; though not without a belief, that if I had had a friend to give me advice, it would have been otherwise.

Here I bemoaned myself before the Almighty, that I had lost my parents, disobliged my relations, and had no friend to take more notice of me than is common amongst the generality of professors; and, indeed, how could I expect that any would busy themselves to take the care of me, in any degree, without my express desire?

I became more and more sensible of the danger to which my years, as well as other circumstances, might expose me; and I preferred many strong desires to the Most High, that, in his wisdom he would appoint for me a faithful friend, who would check my errors, as well as encourage me in virtue; one that was capable of instructing me by experience. These desires were often accompanied with a promissory hope and belief, that I could subject myself to the counsel, and bear the reproof of such an one; but where to find such a friend I knew not; I was afraid to trust my own judgment, and often supplicated the Invisible Being to direct me in the choice.

Accordingly, it thus happened: J. Toft was visited with sickness, and brought so low, that several Friends who met, did not know but it must be to take their final adieu. I had also the favour to be in the chamber, and heard many things worthy of regard; but that which struck me most deeply was, his expression of an earnest desire for my preservation in the truth, and a kind recommendation of me, as a young person, to the Friends present, that they would have me under their notice. I was truly touched with this sense of paternal care, and secretly desired his life, and the restoration of his health; which, as it pleased the Almighty to grant, I was no longer at a loss for a friend; conceiving that in him, whose kindness towards me was manifested under such circumstances, I might reasonably hope to find such an one as I desired. From that time I looked on him with a just regard, and with a resolution that, whenever I found occasion for advice, I would apply to him for it. Nor was it long before my exigency seemed to require it.

The Beloved of my soul, who, in my tender state, had so graciously replenished my heart, now hid his face from me; and I was not indulged with those times of solace, which I before had so plenteously enjoyed: I waited and waited the return of the dearest object of my soul, often querying, Why stayeth my Beloved so long? or, What have I done since his last

visitations, to occasion his thus hiding himself from me? Impatient, I sought him in my chamber, in meetings, and in the fields—places where I had used to receive his favour; but these seemed now to have lost their lustre, as well as my Beloved his benevolence towards me. I sought him, but I found him not: like the spouse, in the Canticles, I was ready to ask, Have you seen my beloved? I was disconsolate days and nights, and I may say, I mourned as one wanting her mate. Still I thought my tears moved not his pity, and his ear seemed deaf to all my cries; whilst the imperious watchmen wounded me, and the cruel enemy upbraided me with all I had gone through for my Beloved's sake, telling me I had better have staid in Egypt, than thus to languish in the wilderness. Great were the conflicts I here met with, not knowing why it should be thus: and fearing I was dying to all that was spiritual, I at length resolved to make application to my friend.

I went to his house; and while I waited a suitable opportunity to speak to him, the tears trickled down my cheeks: yet when I had unbosomed my complaint, I received great satisfaction; for, from his kind inquiry of my past conduct, I found my opinion of his friendship confirmed. From his tender advice my soul was encouraged to hope a little longer: and, to my inexpressible joy, in some days after, I felt the influence of Divine Love suggesting to my mind, Follow on to know the Lord; Joseph, the spiritual Joseph, is yet alive. Oh! surely here I found again that inestimable jewel, the pearl of my best affection, and the life of my hope, with such revivings as Jacob experienced, when he saw the assurance of the welfare of his son: and my soul bowed under an humble sense of gratitude; saying, It is enough, I will go down and see him ere I die.

It was a time of true humility, tenderness, and love. My covenant was renewed; and it remained for some time as a summer season, or, "as the time when the voice of the turtle is heard." Yet at intervals, I could not but reflect on former days, and conclude, that the smallest degree of my uncle and aunt's reconciliation, would add to my happiness. As these thoughts increased, so did my desire of making a trial; and one evening I went to their house, and knocked at the door, stranger-like, as indeed I was, not having been there for above two years.

Their maid let me in; and I suppose I much surprised them. They were sitting alone by the fire. I just said, "How do you do?" and stood within the house, a little distant from the door. My uncle looked very sorrowful, and if he spoke at that time, he only said, "I have no pleasure in seeing thee." My aunt said enough, and called me many impudencies for coming. I stood about half an hour, and then bidding them farewell, my aunt came with me a part of the way back, scolding me as we went. I thought this was but poor encouragement, yet was truly glad I had seen them.

In about six weeks I had a desire to go again. I went in the former manner, knocked, and stood as before; and after a little while my uncle said, "Thou mayst sit down." My aunt then fetched some books, (which, I believe, were the same that Bennet would have lent me),* and read several absurd passages; to which I only said, "I hope you do not think that any sect can be so ridiculous as to believe and practise those things." During this interview my uncle sat at a distance; I staid a little longer than before, and my aunt let me come home quietly.

Thus I went several times to see them, watching for permission; believing that to go without it, might expose me to danger: but in my fourth or fifth visit, my uncle said to the maid, "Set her something to eat." I could truly have said that his love was sufficient; for I was so satisfied with this little return of it, and with my aunt's increased quietness, that my heart was ready to overflow. I went to the table, and before I ate, a contrite thanksgiving arose in my soul to God.

After this, I took the liberty to go at sundry times to see them, and had frequent opportunities to remark, that I still had a place in their affection; which answered my desire; nor could I hope for more, as there always was, and is, a contrariety between the spiritual and natural dispositions. They continued to return my visits, and behaved kindly to me ever after.

A little past the twenty-fourth year of my age, I was married, with the approbation of my friends, to Samuel Lucas: he was a worthy man and well respected. My uncle would not come to the meeting, but came to our dinner; and my aunt visited us the next day. They both behaved lovingly and affectionately to my kind husband; and afterwards, were very tender of our children, my aunt exceedingly so; and indeed, it yields me satisfaction, as often as I remember the public testimonies she gave, before her death, of my behaviour towards her in the time of my convincement. Though I believe she continued to think it was right in her to restrain me from going on in a way so different from her own judgment, and from what she thought was right; yet she acknowledged that she was angry, and exceeded proper bounds; and that she never saw me behave unbecomingly, or heard me give her an unhandsome word. She was, again, as civil to

* See page 184.

Friends as before I went to meetings; and at times asked several Friends of my acquaintance to her house, and entertained them freely.

I may now conclude my narrative thus far, with truly saying, how blessed I was in my situation! having a loving, kind, and tender husband; our lawful endeavours made prosperous; the affections of my relations restored; and, above all, the blessing of the Almighty sanctifying these enjoyments to my soul, to the praise and adoration of his love. Here was I permitted to dwell as under the pavilion of the goodness of God, yet not without something still to combat with in my secret exercises.

I thus persevered comfortably for two years after my marriage, when the best Physician, whose penetrating eye saw the malady of my soul, prepared a bitter cup for the purging out a venom that lurked there, which I had imbibed from the malicious adversary of truth, before, and even after, my going to meetings, and which remained to this time. Hence issued a fiery trial, by which my professions of faith and affection were to be proved.

This may well be as a second part of my history, and was the most trying, as it went very near to my spiritual as well as temporal life. The war was not with flesh and blood, but with the Majesty on high; under the prince of the power of the air, who rules in the children of disobedience.

I have before observed, that to be an Israelite indeed, had attracted my desires; but little did I suspect what I had to undergo, before my heart was cleansed from guile, and delivered from that wrath which the enemy had been heaping up in me against the day of wrath.

To introduce this heavy relation, I must go back to my childhood, and say,—that the first time I ever heard a woman preach, from a prejudice imbibed from my companions, and probably an aversion in my own nature, I thought it very ridiculous; and the oftener I had opportunities to witness it, the more I secretly despised it. At the time that I joined with Friends, this was one of my strongest objections to them; but I endeavoured to silence it, by concluding that others might do as they pleased, and so would I.

My aunt, as I have hinted, often alluded to it, as she knew my dislike to the practice, from my former confession; and I have no doubt, the serpent, by means of this prejudice, injected his venom the more deeply; for since I have found out his workings, I have remembered a secret fear, which I had at times on this account, and which this cunning enemy had allayed, by reminding me of my many protestations against it. The apprehension, however, continued, that I should certainly become a preacher, which greatly distressed me: the allowance of women's preaching being the only dislike I had to the discipline and order of the church; yet still I satisfied myself with many inconsiderate resolves against it.

A good opportunity was allotted me for shaking off those shackles which the fiend was fastening on me; but which I lost, and have remembered it many times with sorrow. Being in discourse with a Friend, he frankly asked me, if I had any scruples? or whether I was satisfied with the principles of Friends? I stopped short in my mind, apprehending, if I should mention women's preaching, that he would think I spoke with regard to myself. Thus was I baffled; and I answered, that I was satisfied in the principle itself. At that time my idea of preaching was, that it was an act of love and friendship, separate from obedience; and glad could I have been, like Moses, if all the Lord's people had been so inclined; women excepted.

I continued thus for some years, until I became such a slave to my fears, that I could not say, "Thy will, O Lord, be done;" but, like Naaman, the captain of Syria, would fain be excused from this thing. I now began to believe that such exposures were something more than voluntary offerings, and was convinced, from many proofs, that my state had been as clearly spoken to by my own sex, as by the other; yet, such was my perverseness, that, one day, I had much difficulty to stay the meeting, [when a woman Friend ministered,] though I could not help acknowledging within myself, that it would have been an acceptable testimony, had it come from a man. Thus great was my prejudice; but greater, yes I may say, infinitely greater, were the condescensions of God; for I was still favoured in my waitings with a sense of his living presence. The mysteries of true divinity were opened to my understanding; and through the influences of divine love has my cup overflowed with such acknowledgments as these—"Oh, my Beloved! if thou dealest so bountifully with me, my breast will be too narrow to contain thy love; Oh! withhold thy hand, or I shall certainly speak of thy goodness to others." And I really believe, had I embraced that opportunity, and joined with the Lord in his workings on my mind, I should have been delivered from my fears and escaped those cross occurrences which I have since waded through: but here my poor soul shrunk from the cross of Christ, whose yoke, to the passive mind, becomes easy and his burden light. Such was my weakness, that through short-sightedness and the false suggestions of the enemy, I started aside; and may truly say, the longer I carried my burden, the heavier it proved: and I now have, with regret, to look back and confess, that instead of closing with

the visitations of love, I joined with my inveterate enemy, and resolved not to wait for or encourage any farther discoveries. Thus did I harden myself, wretched creature that I was! And when I have felt the power of the Almighty moving with love upon my mind, I have no less than said, "I will have no more understanding;" and have sundry times shut my eyes when the book has been, as it were, put into my hand, and the best Interpreter has been near. So I withstood that tender love which followed me; and have risen from my chair to fix my thoughts on other objects.

My soul is deeply affected with the goodness of God in the continuation of his mercies towards me, and under a sense of the sad state I was then in, whilst the enemy had rule, and He who shed for me his most precious blood, was rejected at the hazard of the salvation of my soul; so I sat down far short of a true Israelite.

Thus went I on, stifling conviction, till I was lulled into a spiritual lethargy; in which I lay, till the compassionate God, who wills not the death of a sinner, was pleased to arouse me to a consideration of what I had been doing: and I found enough to do to keep from sinking under the bitter reflections I had brought upon myself by my rebellious proceedings: yet through the unutterable goodness of God, I was again revived by his favours.

Having recovered a little from this state of deep affliction, I was visited with weakness of body; so that both myself and others thought I was near death: but it pleased the Lord, in an unexpected hour, to give me this assurance—"Thou shalt not die, but live, to declare what I have done for thee." This was still so contrary to my desires, that I could not rejoice at the lengthening of my days; for now I believed I should certainly be tried. Oh! the days and nights of conflict that followed this intimation. My countenance changed, my health seemed daily impaired; the solitary places were made witnesses of my grief; and as the years increased so did my exercise, till I had another visitation of sickness, and was, to all appearance, past recovery. Most willingly would I have yielded unto death; choosing rather to die than live to be any more disobedient: and it pleased the Lord to prove me again and again in the secret of my soul, whether I would live to be obedient to his requirings, or die: my choice was, rather to die than live to be a preacher. Yet it pleased him in his wisdom to raise me again, contrary to the expectation of those that beheld me; none of whom, at this time, knew any thing of the exercise of my mind, which increased to such a degree as cannot well be expressed. My body trembled as a thing shaken; and my groans were like those of a dying person. But I had learned, by dear experience, to cleave unto the Lord; and when I felt the power, what if I say, of his might, I sought out places most proper to receive it, and bowed in prostration: from the weight of it I have affectionately burst forth in this language, "Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do?" And as I believed it was a preparation for a further exercise, I often begged that he would be pleased to make me able to bear whatever he should think meet, in his wisdom, to lay upon me: indeed, sweet was his love, and merciful his dealings, many times renewing his covenant with my soul. Yet here I was not to continue, but was led again to the test of my fidelity.

Being in meeting, in a comfortable frame of spirit, I found a motion in my soul to worship God in vocal prayer; and although I had known the same power in my own chamber, and with pleasure submitted to it there, yet here, not yielding to the impulse, my heart and all that was within me became confused; the whole fabric was shaken: and this was taken notice of by a Friend that sat behind me, who, as soon as meeting was over, asked me how I did; saying, she was sure I had been ill. I answered, (as well I might,) that I was but indifferent. This seemed a good caution to me, as I desired to keep my exercise to myself.

Not many more meetings passed before I was tried again; when I fixed my body as firmly as I could, but found it impossible to still my mind, knowing too well how it was with me; though the whisperer would persuade me it was all imagination.

In this way I trifled so long, that the displeasure of the Almighty seemed hot against me, and life and death were set before me. I was in confusion, both at home and abroad, wishing myself any other creature. I harassed myself, till I could bear it no longer; and at length concluded it would be best to mention it to a Friend: I did so, and he signified that it had been for some time on his thoughts that something of that sort lay upon me. And though I here proved, that it was not in man, by the force of argument and tender advice, to subject my stubborn will, yet I received some advantage, and acknowledged the truth of his remarks: I did not, however, closely follow them, but became in myself as a piece of contradiction. Sometimes I would follow the Lord, and then resolve otherwise: I went to meetings as a slave goes to his labour. At home I durst not sit down in solitude, being sure to meet with judgment; and into company I could not go, without wounding myself by pretending to be what I was not; I was unwilling to be sus-

pected of being grave, and concluded that every one who looked on me earnestly, knew how it was with me.

Thus was I harassed, as betwixt the upper and the nether millstone; often wishing for death, and that I never had been born. Great was my strait; I could not go back again, because I was not able to shake off the principle of truth; but had thoughts of flinging myself into the jaws of death. Yet, for ever praised be the name of the Lord, his mercy withheld the devourer and preserved me; giving me to see into his false insinuations, and to believe that the life, which it was in his power to take at his pleasure, would not be a sufficient atonement for those rebellions I had been guilty of; and I was brought to an abhorrence of the thoughts which I had conceived. Herein did the goodness of the Lord appear so evidently, that I resolved to keep close to meetings. But alas! when there, instead of keeping close to my exercise, through fear I kept myself from it, and sat, as it appeared to me, empty, void, and waste:—empty of those desires I used to possess—void of all that was good—and waste, as being laid aside by the Almighty; and all through a slavish fear that I could not draw nigh to God. I sat as though I had nothing to do but to see, with a wishful eye, others partake of that food which my soul stood in need of. Yet my state was different from that of being at ease in Zion; for when I looked at those who, I thought were in a right frame of mind, they seemed to me to be feeding at the Lord's table, while my hungry soul stood in a state of enstrangement from him, without courage enough to seek the scattered crumbs.

Thus it was with me many days; till in one meeting, growing faint, a state of drowsiness overtook me, a thing with which I was not naturally beset; yet so far did it prevail, that I was forced to pinch myself, to keep awake. Now I thought myself worse than ever I had been in my life; for in childhood I had the form, which I left to possess the power. Here I found not so easy an access as I had expected; and though I sought and sought, instead of meeting with my True Friend, I met with my enemy, dressed in the doctrine of election and reprobation. Into this I had been led some years before, and now I had much difficulty, through the sense of my own unworthiness, to shake it off; labouring hard against the temptation of destroying myself, and foolishly wishing that some accident would do that office. But here the riches of God's grace again appeared: I was brought to see and acknowledge, that if my soul perished eternally, the Lord was but just in his dealings with me; and these considerations had some effect. I desired to be brought back to my former state, that I might have access to his power, be a witness of his love, and be tried once more. My pen would fail, fully to set forth the condescensions and long-sufferings of the goodness of my Creator towards me. I here knew my pardon sealed: but my peace lasted not long; for I was quickly tried again and again; and still I did not give up. I was sensible that I flinched from that Power which was ready as a hand to help me, and therefore became worse and worse. "It will never be better with thee," suggested the enemy. I knew not which way to turn: I was weary of my own obstinacy, and would now see what I could gain by self-mortification; and as I could not work, I would eat but little. I studied several ways to afflict myself; and thought, glad should I be if I had no tongue. Here again I knew the old prompter to be near to augment my distress; which, with my own disobedience, made the whole creation appear to be against me. Oh! I was in such perplexity, that I said, Now shall I fall by the hand of my enemy. I fretted and chafed at myself and every thing about me, and could not attain true submission.

At one time, as I was seriously reflecting on my situation, these thoughts passed my mind and surprised me; "If thou be a God of power, make me willing." This was no sooner past, but they were followed by the suggestion, "Soul, detest thou this presumption; for though he is a God of power, it is in his own time that he will redeem." I was astonished, and said, "Lord, what is it?" and it came thus before me; "There is war in heaven, Michael and the dragon."—When the flutter was over, I remembered the passage where it is said, "In the day of my power my people shall be a willing people;" and I was comforted by it.

There also fell out another singular occurrence about this time, which I cannot well omit. I was fully persuaded that if I went on in this obstinacy, my house would be laid waste; and within a month afterwards, we had, in the view of many spectators, a wonderful deliverance from fire; during which, whilst others were busy in considering how it should have happened, I was busy in reflecting on myself as the cause; which weighed me down in humble acknowledgments unto God, for his merciful preservation. The world, comparatively speaking, seemed now to be near at an end with me; and it was as if a total eclipse was drawing on; every scene and object looked gloomy; and whichever way I turned my eye, an angry God appeared. There was no shelter for me—nothing now to defend myself with—no way of escaping—and nature must yield.

In a little time the trial of my obedience came again; and at that moment the enemy of my

soul suggested, that if I got up I should not be able to stand; but thanks to the Almighty, I was strengthened to try, and found him a liar. The expression of a few words produced a blessed change. There seemed now a new heaven and a new earth; old things passed away, and all things belonging to my state, became new; no more sense of guilt for past disobedience remained; but new embraces and new covenants filled up that joyful day. Yet I looked forward with anxiety to another meeting day; and though I formerly thought meetings did not come fast enough, yet now they seemed to come too soon. In two or three of them, I sat under a degree of slavish fear; yet truly desired to keep my integrity and obedience. At length a second trial came; I was moved to kneel down; and while I viewed the place, my soul secretly breathed thus before the Lord, "Here is the place of my execution;" and seeing the boss, "This is the block whereon I must yield up the pride of nature, for a testimony of my obedience; remember me, O Lord! and the conflicts that I undergo to serve thee. Accept, O Lord! the sacrifice." I then kneeled down; and when I arose, this came into my mind—"the life that I must now live, must be by faith in Jesus Christ."

Persevering in obedience, it wrought unspeakable satisfaction, and brought my soul, by degrees, out of the place of thraldom and bondage. Thus, by the goodness of God, were the strong holds of sin and satan brought down, and the joy of my salvation was restored. Meeting-times and days were pleasant again, whilst my soul worshipped the living God, as in the house of prayer.

Whilst I stand as on the bank of deliverance, resounding hosanna in the highest, having the harp of thanksgiving put into my hands, my song shall be of mercies and of judgments, through which my soul has been so far redeemed; and of the victory of the Lamb, by whose right hand and everlasting arm, my soul's enemies have been driven back, scattered, and put to flight.

Now, what have I to render to my God for this most glorious work, the salvation of my soul, but the humble acknowledgment of one of the most unworthy and vile of sinners; who, by his most gracious condescendings, is enabled and encouraged to ascribe unto him honour, adoration, dominion and renown, with praises and thanksgiving, as due to his eternal love, for evermore.

Upon perusal of the same,
My soul's enliven'd with a flame
Of holy zeal, that I may know
The hand of God in all I do.
Oh, that I may therein confide,
And by the righteous Judge be tried!
This is of my desire the scope,
That of my love, my faith, and hope,
I may not be asham'd; but have
A heritance beyond the grave:
Which to enjoy, Lord, grant that I
In fear may live, and favour die;
And that my soul may on the wing
Of hallelujah meet our King.

The Testimony *of the Friends of the Quarterly meeting of Staffordshire, held by adjournment at Leek, the 3rd of the Fifth month,* 1770.

Margaret Lucas, of Leek, was educated in the national worship; and being religiously inclined in her youth, she strictly conformed to the external rites and ceremonies thereof; but finding them unavailing to obtain that peace of soul she sought after, was engaged to frequent our meetings; in which she persevered amidst the opposition and cruel treatment of her relations.

For several years she appeared at times, [as a minister,] in a few words, to the satisfaction of Friends. Whilst of ability, she was a diligent attender of our meetings; and sometimes under much weakness and infirmity of body; she was also exemplary in observing the time appointed. With becoming composure and resignation of mind, she submitted to the severity of a long and painful disorder; and calmly departed this life the 24th, and was interred in Friends' burying-ground at Leek, the 26th of the sixth month, 1769, aged near 68 years.

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS

OF

THAT ANCIENT FAITHFUL SERVANT OF CHRIST JESUS,

JOHN CROOK.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

An eloquent man, mighty in the Scriptures. Therefore thus saith the Lord, If thou return, then will I bring thee again, and thou shalt stand before me: and if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth. Acts xviii. 24, Jer. xv. 19.

Edward Chester's Testimony concerning JOHN CROOK.

As to my dear and well beloved friend, and elder brother, John Crook, deceased, whom I loved in the truth, and was intimately acquainted with, in his middle age and in the beginning of Truth's appearance in Bedfordshire, I had, though but young, the opportunity of often conversing with him. He was a man of some note in that county, being formerly justice of the peace in Bedfordshire; and God gave him a great measure of understanding in the administration of that part of the government, which he was intrusted with.

And after he had received the truth, the Lord by his Spirit, made him an able minister of the gospel; by which he was made instrumental in turning many to God and his truth. He had great openings, and was sound in doctrine, and might be called a skilful marksman in our Israel, hitting the mark.

A man greatly afflicted by infirmities in his body, and also exercises in his mind; in prison often, likewise loss of his outward estate, greatly afflicted with the gout and cholic, insomuch that he would compare his state to Heman's, being afflicted from his youth: and under the sorrow and grief that he had with some of his offspring, he would sometime, in a tender frame of spirit, comfort himself in the words of David; "Although my house be not so with God, yet thou hast made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure;" and that the Lord remembered the kindness of his youth. I am melted in the renewed sense of the unity I had with him in spirit; whose spirit, I believe, is now amongst the just ones made perfect.

He was frequent in prayer, praying for the welfare of Zion, and the prosperity of Truth, the increase of Christ's kingdom, rule, and government, over the whole world: and I do believe, he died in the faith, That truth shall prosper.

These few lines came into my heart to write, as a testimony or commemoration of my dear and well-beloved friend, who is recorded in my mind, from the sense that I had of him, as a minister of the everlasing gospel, and one well accepted of the Lord, and also of his people; and am persuaded he died a servant of the Lord. The Lord fit us all for his service, that we may all finish our course in the same!

EDWARD CHESTER.

The 29th of the Fifth month, 1700.

Richard Thomas's Testimony concerning JOHN CROOK.

A TESTIMONY lives upon my heart, to give for my ancient friend and brother John Crook, some time since deceased, viz. on the 26th of the second month, 1699, and near the 82nd year of his age, in the town of Hertford, where he had lived for several years latterly; and where he had a frequent conversation for forty years in meetings, by testimonies to the truth, to the convincing many, and to the refreshing and building up of others in the faith of Christ Jesus, in this town, and the adjacent parts of this county, of whom many are gone unto their graves, and but few of the ancient ones left

after him. And forasmuch as my intimate and familiar acquaintance with him, hath been for forty years or more, in travels sometimes formerly, and latterly conversant with him in the time of his great affliction of body, by stone, gout, and cholic, I have often heard him say, that did he not feel and witness an inward power from the Lord to support him, he could not subsist under his pains, they were so great, which continued on him to his end. And yet I do not remember, that I ever heard him utter an unsavoury word, or impatiently to cry out; yet after the extremity of the fits were over, he would express his inward joy and peace that he had from the Lord.

As to his ministry, it was very demonstrative and doctrinal, he had an excellent gift in opening the mystery of the Holy Scriptures, that it might be said of him, as it was of Apollos, Acts xviii. 24, 25, that he was an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures, and well instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord Jesus Christ, as these his works and writing do in part testify. And in former years, when he was at liberty, out of prison, he travelled much in the publishing of the everlasting gospel; many were convinced of his ministry in several of these adjacent counties; and many were seals of his ministry, and continued in the faith unto the end of their race; though some that have owned their convincement by him, are turned aside, and gone into the world again.

He came forth in early days, and may well be said to be one of the ancients in spiritual Israel, in our age, and had a share and part of the ministry, for the publishing of the blessed truth; and also a large share of sufferings for his faithful testimony to the spiritual appearance of Christ in this age; several times in imprisonments, as in Aylesbury, Huntington, London, and Ipswich: in all which he was a patient sufferer, until the Lord's time of deliverance. He would sometimes say, with Heman, "I have been afflicted from my youth up:" and declared what conflicts of spirit he underwent heretofore many days and nights, for want of peace with the Lord: and in his youth he was, as many others of us have been that are ancient now, seekers of the Lord in large professions; but it was on the barren mountains and hills, where we wanted life, as he would often say. But after he and we came to embrace the light of Christ Jesus, which shined into our dark hearts, we could say, from an inward sense, that which condemned sin in us, as it was obeyed, became our justification; which, through death, became life and peace, through Christ Jesus. In his latter days, some time before his death, he would say, that the furnace of afflictions was of good use, to purge away the dross and earthly part in us: and doubtless his and our experience, did, and can witness the same. He would many times say unto me, that many of the ancient ones were gone to their long homes, and we are making haste after them; they step away before me, and leave me behind; and I, that would go, cannot: well, it will be my turn soon, or quickly. In which he seemed to rejoice.

This was upon my mind, and much more, that I could say of my dear and well-beloved friend; but not being willing to enlarge much, knowing right well, that if there were opportunity, many Friends elsewhere in these parts of the nation, could, with me, give an ample testimony for him, who is gone to an everlasting rest, with the faithful, whose works follow them; which everlasting rest, that I, and all that sincerely follow Christ Jesus, in the regeneration and newness of life, continuing in well-doing unto the end, may attain unto, is the prayer of RICHARD THOMAS.

Hertford, the 9th of the Ninth month, 1700.

George Whitehead's account concerning our ancient deceased friend and brother, JOHN CROOK.

I HAVING had early conversation with him, after his loving and tender reception of the blessed truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, it being above forty years since we became first acquainted; I have this account to give of him, that after he sincerely received Truth's testimony of Christ Jesus, as he is the true light professed by us, he became truly zealous for the same, both in conversation and doctrine; and was in times of persecution exposed to great sufferings, by divers imprisonments, for his Christian testimony; being therein freely resigned, in the will of God, rather to suffer in person and estate, than to decline his testimony, injure his conscience, or break his inward peace with God, which he preferred before life, liberty, or external enjoyments. He had regard to the power of godliness, in life and doctrine, above outward dead forms; and to the enduring substance, above empty shadows; and to the spirit above the letter: and yet truly and highly esteemed the Holy Scriptures, with respect to the sacred doctrine thereof, being well read therein, and devoted for the faith and practice thereof, as the Lord gave him understanding. He was both eloquent, allegorical, and mysterious, many times, in his ministry; but did not thereby deny or invalidate the sacred history of things, as literally recorded in Holy Scripture. He laboured to promote Christian religion in life and power, and the sincere

practice of piety, above all empty and fruitless professions.

The mystery of Christ in Spirit, and as revealed and formed in true believers, and their sincere conformity to him, in spirit and conversation, he greatly esteemed; desiring professors of Christianity might come into the true sense and experience thereof, by a true, living, and feeling faith in Christ, and sincere obedience to him.

And as for helps and governments in the church of Christ, 1 Cor. xii. he did not think himself obliged to be so actually concerned in all the methods thereof among us, as many other faithful brethren are; yet retained his love and affection to them who are truly helpful therein, both faithful men and women: and therefore none ought to conceive, or excuse, opposition or disunion, from his passiveness therein, or tenderness toward them who might be otherwise minded in some lesser matters, or methods relating to good order and discipline: all are not gifted, nor spirited for government in the church of Christ, nor called thereunto; every man is required to minister as he hath received the gift. Nevertheless this good man was zealous against disorderly conversation, divisions, and backsliding.

His Christianity did show itself in the spirit of meekness and humility, and in true love to his faithful friends and brethren, their labours of love, and gospel testimony; and greatly esteemed a sound convincing ministry, for the turning people's minds from darkness to the light, and strengthening the weak in the faith and power of Christ.

For my own part, I can sincerely say, we did tenderly love each other, and were kindly affectioned one towards another, as Christian brethren; and I did in spirit sympathize with him, when he laboured under a long and sore affliction and weakness of body; in which the Lord endowed him with much patience, in submission to his blessed will: and though his affliction and pains were great, the Lord gave him intervals of ease, refreshment and comfort, from his presence, to support and bear up his spirit, until his desirable and long waited for change came. GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

London, the 21st of the First month, 1701.

Daniel Monro's Testimony concerning JOHN CROOK.

HAVING been present at reading divers of John Crook's writings, a fresh remembrance came before me, of the saying of Caleb, Josh. xiv. 11; "As yet I am as strong this day, as I was in the day that Moses sent me: as my strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, both to go out, and to come in." And I am comforted in a sense of this faithful friend, that in his old age he was as strong for the spiritual war as ever. DANIEL MONRO.

A short Testimony concerning JOHN CROOK. *Containing also a few words spoken by him a little before his death.*

IT was about the year 1662, I was first acquainted with this painful labourer in the gospel; and from the many comfortable opportunities I had in meetings where he was exercised in preaching the everlasting gospel, in much tenderness, I could not but dearly love him, as one of the instruments of God's glory, and of good to the souls of men, in this latter age.

His ministry was lively and demonstrative, and plenteously opening the scriptures, and the mysteries of life and salvation; preaching powerfully the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, in his spiritual appearance, and work of sanctification and regeneration; the death of the old man, and the raising of the new birth; to serve the Lord, the Redeemer thereof, in righteousness and true holiness.

About three weeks before his death, I was at Hertford to visit him, and though he was weak in body, yet did he powerfully declare, after a prophetical manner, "Truth must prosper, Truth shall prosper: but a trying time should first come, and afterwards the glory of the Lord should more and more appear."

Among other his faithful brethren, he had a reverend esteem of the coming of Christ, and his sufferings, in the days of his flesh; and knew well how to distinguish his great work of redemption and salvation, as he died for all men, or was a sacrifice for sin: and also, as he was a sanctifier and redeemer, out of sin: the fruit and benefit of the one, being not obtained without the other.

And were our adversaries duly sensible, what great things Christ both doth in us, as well as did for us, surely they would be humbled under his mighty hand, and leave off their slight esteem of his spiritual work in us, and not suppose the one to be in opposition to the other.

The apostle Peter saith, "He bore our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead unto sin, should live unto righteousness." And how can we die unto sin, and live unto righteousness, but by his assistance inwardly manifest in his light, grace, and Holy Spirit?

Our being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God, which lives and abides for ever, doth not hinder his being made sin for us, who knew no

sin, that we may be made the righteousness of God in him.

Our owning we are sanctified by the work of his Spirit in our inward parts, hinders not our having remission of sins in his name.

He having left us an example, that we should follow his steps, bars him not at all from being our King and Captain of salvation: though he is a condemner of sin in the flesh, yet he is also our advocate with the Father, Christ Jesus the righteous.

Our owning him a sacrifice for sin, hinders not at all his being our great High Priest.

Our acknowledging, he was tempted in all points, like as we are, doth not prevent his being able to succour us, when we are tempted.

Thus our preaching him, the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, doth not divest him of any of his blessed attributes, or offices, worthily bestowed upon him in Holy Scripture; as the Seed of the woman, the Word, Emmanuel, Interpreter, One among a thousand, Wonderful, Counsellor, mighty God, everlasting Father, Prince of peace, Lamb of God, Jesus, Saviour, the very Christ, the Anointed, and many more: yea, he becomes all these to us, as we walk in his light, who was given for a light to lighten the Gentiles, that he might be God's salvation to the ends of the earth. THEODORE ECCLESTONE.

INTRODUCTION.

VARIOUS and manifold have been the methods in religious affairs in England, within the memory of man; as may appear by these few short observations, or instances, amongst many others that might be shown: viz; as by preaching, and proving their doctrine, out of the volumes of ancient fathers, as they call them, which was much used in the bishops times, &c.

Others preached by doctrine, and uses from their text, which they endeavoured to prove out of the Scriptures. Others preaching by marks and signs, showing by them, how a man might know, whether he was a child of God or not, &c. Which made way for independency of churches, living stones, as they thought by this preaching, being already prepared for their building; which begat that angry book, called, Edwards's Gangrena, written by a zealous Presbyterian, raking up all the miscarriages he could hear of the Independents, &c.

Others preached up water-baptism, as belonging only to those of riper years, that could give an account of their faith, as an initiating ordinance, thereby not only unchurching, but also unchristianing those that opposed it: some of them preaching, that except men were baptized they could not be saved.

About this time Dr. Crisp, and some others appeared, preaching up free-grace, and that God sees no sin in his people, accounting themselves evangelical, and others, as legal preachers; these they called Antinomians.

After these appeared a people they called Seekers, of these there was said to be two sorts; one sort they called Notionists, who were said to be above all ordinances: preaching up God and the Spirit to be beyond all. The other sort called Seekers, denied that there was visibly to be found, either true church or ministry in England, that they knew of, rightly constituted, for want of an administrator, qualified with gifts, and manifesting their sending by miracles: these, as was said, waiting for both church and ministry to be restored, as was in the apostles time, &c.

After these, as I remember, appeared those they called Ranters; some of them having been strict professors of religion; these preached up one power to act and do all; of whom there were two sorts also; the one sort they called Civil Ranters, who kept themselves out of those gross debaucheries the others ran into: the last affirmed, there was no sin but to them that thought so, &c.

Soon after appeared a people in the north, whom they called Quakers, from their trembling at the word of the Lord. These bore testimony to the light of Christ Jesus within, in the conscience, to throw down all the former buildings; yet owning the former true inward experiences witnessed to be wrought in any by the Spirit of God, proclaiming the day of the Lord to come, and coming, that should throw down their fenced cities and their high towers, and spoil all their pleasant pictures. Some of these first preachers being sons of thunder, awakening many that were sleeping in security; but being thoroughly awakened by their testimony, they found their beds were too short, and their covering too narrow: to such it was as a midnight cry, unexpectedly coming upon them.

Others of this people's first preachers, were as sons of consolation, trampling upon the mountains of opposition, to bring glad tidings to the hungering and thirsting souls, who readily received their testimony amongst all the former sorts of professors. This being taken notice of, some cried out, the everlasting gospel is preached again; observing, that amidst so many opinions, guarded with so much knowledge, and outward learning, as both their leaders, and many of themselves were armed withal, together with the countenance of the magistrates, which many of them had on their side, the Quakers should so prevail, by their testimony to the light of Christ Jesus within; and that published by poor contemptible and il-

literate instruments at the beginning, depending only upon the sufficiency of God's Holy Spirit, without taking thought what they should speak, till God opened their mouths, according to the scriptures and the doctrines therein recorded by the Holy Ghost, retaining still their belief of the birth, life, death, resurrection, &c., of Christ Jesus the Son of God, who died, and shed his precious blood for them, witnessing salvation, not for the merit of good works, as works, though wrought in them by the Spirit of God; but for the sake of Christ Jesus, the author both of their faith and good works, that flowed therefrom.

Finding, by experience, that generally all professors of religion in England, continued in a belief of the death and sufferings of Christ, it was required of these first preachers of the light of Christ within, to continue their testimony to the same; witnessing in themselves, that by waiting in the light, they were instructed to distinguish between the living and the dead faith, and between the saving and historical knowledge. They found, by good experience, that the understanding between some professors of religion, and these first preachers of the light of Christ within, about the man Christ, his death and sufferings, &c. did not much arise about the things known and generally believed, as about the nature and kind of the faith and knowledge, whereby they were generally known and believed.

The tree being known by its fruit, and many beholding the brightness of the Quakers' lives and conversations, at the beginning, believed their doctrine, according to Christ's promise, viz. He that doeth my will, shall know my doctrine; concluding their way, as people called it, was "The good old way," and ancient path, prophesied of in Holy Scripture, but had been long over-grown by the weeds of men's imaginations, traditions, and inventions, being a way too narrow for corrupt flesh and blood to walk in.

But it being given to the faithful sincere professors of the truth amongst this people, not only to believe it to be the truth, but also to suffer for the same, they were enabled to withstand all opposition from others without, as also the gain-sayings of the fleshly part within themselves.

Their innocent sufferings so tendered the hearts of many beholders, that many were prepared to receive their testimony. So mightily grew the truth and prospered, the word of the Lord being precious in those days; when, for a time, there had been no open vision, but the vision of all was become dark, like a sealed book.

The gospel day, as it were, being now proclaimed; many of the people, sensible of their inward wants and necessities, came flocking to meetings, where they met with spiritual supplies, answering their inward states and conditions, as if themselves had told them to the preacher. The kingdom of heaven, as it were, suffered violence, and the violent took it by force, as in the days of John the Baptist: those that were eye-witnesses from the beginning, may remember these things.

When this people, called Quakers, were but few in number, being low, contemptible, and poor in their own eyes, and had but few public preachers amongst them, the harvest being great, and the labourers few, their first preachers commended and left them to the Spirit and word of God, to be their teacher in their own particulars; unto which they did retire, in deep inward silence, waiting to hear what the Lord would speak in them; which he did, by his Spirit, according to his own good pleasure, to their souls refreshment. Many times their hearts affected their eyes, to the amazement of the beholders; observing tears to trickle down their cheeks, and not one word, outwardly, spoken to, or amongst them.

In this pure silence they witnessed the outward testimonies of truth to be inwardly sealed to their hearts; whereby their spiritual love was so endeared to the truth, that the called, chosen, and faithful, loved not their lives unto the death for its sake. This caused them to be so watchful over their own hearts, as to keep them with all diligence, lest that fearful example of the church of Ephesus, should befall them, whose abatement of the zeal of her first love, made way to the removal of her golden candlestick; and so to the bringing in of that fearful darkness, whereby her former shining light might be extinguished. This hath befallen most, if not all, the church reformations we read of in history. Yet how few can endure this sound doctrine, of the danger of departing from their first love to God, and to his light and truth in their inward parts. On the contrary they are apt to say, as lukewarm Laodicea did, they are rich, and full, wanting nothing, not fearing to say of their first estate and condition, as some have said of the primitive Christians and churches, viz. "they were but in their infancy," &c. "But now," say some, "that grain of mustard seed is become a great tree, because of the multitudes that sit down under the profession of it," &c. And in some respects, such speak truer than they are aware of; for most people having only a form of godliness, sit down under the bare form and profession of it, without the life and power of it.

But there are some others, more to be lamented than the former; for they have in some measure, tasted of the good word of God, and have been partakers of the Holy Ghost, and of the powers of the world to come, beyond the

former, as the Scripture speaks, and some of these also, not liking to retain God in their knowledge, have left their first estate, and first love to true godliness, as it is in Christ Jesus, and are become wanton in their behaviour, and vain in their imaginations, whereby darkness is come upon them; and yet say, with Babylonish confidence, "They sit as a queen, reigning in the power as much as ever; and are no widows, their first love being still alive in them, and they shall see no sorrow."

When Zion remembers their state, she mourns for the darkness that is come over them, and prays for their return, as in the day of their espousals. Then she knows she shall sing again, as in the days of her youth, as when she came out of the land of darkness, and spiritual Egypt; she shall sing that new song, which none can learn but the redeemed out of the earth, into the region of heavenly glory, &c.

It hath hitherto been the great unhappiness of all administrations, that the professors of the same, have caused them to be evilly spoken of, by not living up to the heighth of the administration they had been under; for which cause God forsook such persons, and left them desolate, by withdrawing that presence and power, which at first appeared among them.

I shall conclude with the apostle's prayer for the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. v. 23; "And the very God of peace," saith Paul, "sanctify you wholly:" that is, all those which are in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ, as it is at the beginning of the epistle, &c. "And I pray God," saith he, "your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Amen, Amen.

I find upon the margin of the old Bible, printed about the year 1599, this note, viz. "When the mind thinketh nothing; when the soul coveteth nothing; and when the body acteth nothing contrary to the will of God;" this "is perfect sanctification."

JOHN CROOK.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF

JOHN CROOK.

I HAVE often been pressed in spirit, to write this following history of my life, that so the world, as well as my friends and acquaintance, might know the Lord's dealings with me from my tender years; both for the comforting of the saints, and the information and instruction of all into whose hands this account may come. But above all, that the God of my life might be feared and exalted in the hearts, and by the conversations in holiness before him, of all the sons and daughters of men for ever.

I was born in the north country, of parents that were for religion of the common profession of the times in which they lived, with whom I was brought up, and instructed in their way, until I was about ten or eleven years of age, within which time, I had many exercises in my inward man, and often prayed in by-corners, as words sprang in my mind, and as I learned prayers without book; yet many strong combatings remained within me, which continued haunting me many months; until one time, above all the rest, I was almost overcome to consent, the devil urging me thereunto by a mighty violent striving, to run down all my resistance and withstanding of him. But on a sudden, there arose in me, a power and life that did oppose and gainsay the enemy, making my spirit say within me, with much boldness and courage, I will not serve thee, O satan, but I will serve the Lord God of heaven and earth, whatsoever I suffer, or becometh of me therefor. Which, I do remember, my tongue also uttered pretty loud, with much vehemency and resolution, in full consent to what was spoken inwardly in my heart, in opposition and contradiction to the evil spirit that strongly tempted me to give up myself to wickedness. After this, I was affrighted when I came to consider those opposite strivings in my spirit, what they should mean, having never heard any body speak of any such thing: but especially I was amazed, when I considered what that voice should be, which spake with such an authority in me, that it commanded my tongue to speak so boldly in compliance with it, and against the other, which had almost forced me to consent unto its evil motions and suggestions; yet by the ease and relief I found in my inward parts, I concluded it was the Lord who helped me in so great a strait.

I remember after this, when I was tempted

or troubled in my mind, I would go into some corner or secret place, and pray unto God; and when I had committed sin and evil, I was still troubled afterwards, and then I would pray to God for his strength against them: and when I was alone, I was sure to hear of all my doings, they would come fresh in my remembrance, and be so set before me, that I could not get them out of my sight, but endeavoured to get into some private place to pray and weep; and then would promise and covenant in secret with God, that if he would forgive these, and help me for the time to come, I would never do the like again: but for all this, evils prevailed against me, and I could not keep my promise with God. So that trouble came upon my spirit, and I often mourned and went heavily, not taking that delight in play and pastime which I saw other children took; which made me often conclude in my mind, that they were in a better condition than I, and that surely God was angry with me, which made him so correct me, that I could have no peace, whereas I saw other children merry and cheerful, and not at all as I was. Yet sometimes I had ease, and was cheerful, but it seldom held long, without some intermixture of trouble. I had also many openings in my mind, which did sometimes much amaze me; about heaven and hell, and wicked men and good men; and also I saw many of the priests prophane in those parts, giving up themselves to divers kinds of wickedness.

About ten or eleven years of age I went to London, and there went to several schools, until I was about seventeen years of age; in all which time, I was not without much trouble and exercises in my mind: notwithstanding I lived in a wicked family, and amongst those that scoffed at all strictness in religion, yet I would get into some by-corner, and pray and weep bitterly, from the sense of my own sins, and would often reprove my school-fellows and companions for their wickedness; I often walking alone by myself in some secret place, when they would be at play and pastime. Thus I passed away my youthful days, in reading and praying oft-times when trouble was upon me, which I was seldom free from whole weeks, more or less, either in the night or day time; but all this time I did not mind hearing of sermons, being little acquainted with any that frequented such exercises, until I went to be an apprentice, about the seventeenth year of my age.

About this time I was placed in a parish in London, where was a minister, who was in those days called a Puritan, where I came acquainted with those young people that frequented sermons and lectures, so often as we had any liberty from our occasions, being apprentices; yet trouble grew upon me more and more, as I grew in knowledge and understanding of the things of God; and still I applied myself to reading the bible, and other good books, and prayed often, insomuch that those in the family where I was an apprentice, took much notice of it, and would stand in secret places to hear me, though I then knew it not.

But I remember when I was most fervent in my devotion, something in me would be still pulling me back, as it were, as if I would not wholly yet leave those evils I knew myself guilty of, but would gladly have them pardoned and forgiven, and yet would I continue in them. Such a thing I found within myself, gainsaying my earnest cries and petitions, as if I would have had peace with God, and yet also have continued still in those things I prayed against; which at last made me conclude, I was but an hypocrite, and did not belong to the election of grace, but was to become some eminent spectacle of God's displeasure, and that that which gainsayed my earnest cries was the devil; and therefore concluded I was possessed with the devil; and would often, as I had occasion, be enquiring of professors how it was with them, and how they understood the condition of those to be, that were possessed with unclean spirits in Christ's time; but all that I could get from any, could not remove this out of my mind, but that I was possessed with the devil. I thought I felt in myself something sensibly and manifestly opposing those good motions and desires, that were in me, as if two had been striving in me for victory: and when I was so tired out with resistings and fightings in myself, I could get no relief or sensible ease, but by going to prayer, either secretly within myself, or down upon my knees in some secret place. And oft-times, when I was at prayer, I was so possessed with fear that I looked behind me, lest the devil stood there ready to take me so soon as I rose up; and then I was troubled for giving way so far, as to look behind me; yet I durst not leave praying for all this. And that which troubled me often times, was, that those which heard me pray, admired my gift in prayer, and believed me to be a child of God, when I concluded nothing less of myself, than that I should deceive them, and cause God's name to be blasphemed by my miscarriage at last, which I concluded must needs be at one time or other; for I thought it impossible for me to continue in that condition long, but I should be made an example to all hypocrites.

Thus I continued professing, and praying, and hearing, and reading, and yet I could not perceive any amendment in myself; but the same youthful vanities drew away my mind when opportunities offered, as before; which was never much to outward gross prophane-

ness, but only to idle talk and vain company, in mis-spening my time, and minding pride too much in my apparel, and such things, for all which I was condemned; as also for wearing long hair, and spending my money in vain, which I thought might have been better employed, if I had bought some good books, or been charitable to the poor; all that I did was condemned, and myself for doing of it also; yet I durst not leave off my duties, for then I thought the devil would prevail over me, to make me destroy myself; for I was afraid to see a knife if I was alone, or to have any in the room all night where I lay. Thus I continued, running to lectures when I had any time allowed me by my master from my occasions, which I endeavoured to get, by doubling my diligence in the day time, and also from my sleep in the night time, that so I might the more easily gain opportunities of my master; all which I employed in private meetings and lectures, going after any eminent man I heard of, which by this time I had obtained the knowledge of, by much acquaintance with constant hearers of sermons, and frequenters of private fasts and meetings.

I have often been in congregations, hearing sermons, when I have had much ado to forbear crying out in the midst of the assembly, I am damned, I am damned; but did not, though I went often away full of horror and misery in my mind. The ministers then commonly preaching by marks and signs, how a man might know himself to be a child of God, if he were so; and how it would be with him if he were not so; which made me sometime to conclude I had saving grace, and by and by to conclude I was but an hypocrite. Thus I was tossed up and down, from hope to despair; and from a sign of grace in me one while, and then presently to a sign of an hypocrite and reprobate again; so that I could not tell what to do with myself, or whether it were best to go to church, or stay at home; for I could get no rest, or lasting peace, by all my hearing and running up and down. Yet I had no freedom in myself, to go to any of those ministers in private, to acquaint them with my condition; partly, because I thought they could not help me; and partly out of fear, lest they should discourage me, and tell me I was an hypocrite, and then Satan should prevail to force me to destroy myself; for I was afraid of any thing that might confirm my own thoughts of my miserable state, which I believed to be bad enough, but was exceedingly afraid to have my thoughts seconded by the sentence and judgment of any other: so that I remember not that ever I went to any ministers to acquaint them with my condition, but bore it secretly in my own bosom, few knowing how it was with me.

Then I resolved one first-day afternoon (called then the Lord's day) being full of trouble, when I was an apprentice, to go that time which way I should be moved or inclined in my spirit, whether it was up street, or down street, east or west, north or south, without any predetermination or forecast, or so much as forethinking, either of any man or place to go to, or hear that day, but only as the staff should fall, as it were, or as I should be led. Accordingly I came down stairs, and went, as I was led by something within me, which I believed in and followed, until it brought me into a parish church, so called, where I went in and sat down, and within a small season of time, a young man went up into the pulpit, and preached out of this text, Isa. l. 10; "He that walketh in darkness, and hath no light, let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God." Upon which text he had preached before, and was at that time to pick out, or discover, who that man was that feared the Lord, and yet walked in darkness; the which he performed, as if he had known my condition and aimed at, and spake to me in particular; which did much relieve me, and at that time much comfort me, being so providentially brought thither, where I never was before, neither heard of any such man, that I remember. I went away much gladdened, and continued so for some time; but trouble came upon me again afterwards, through some negligence and coldness, which gendered to distrust and unbelief; so that the old enemy, the tempter, got in again, and tore me worse than before in my mind; so that I questioned all that ever I had at any time given me to refresh me, as being but a delusion, and no truth in it; for I was a castaway, and all these things were but to leave me without excuse. Then I began to be full of horror, so that my sleep was much taken from me, and anguish and intolerable tribulation dwelt in my flesh; so that when I heard any of the meanest poor people cry any thing about London streets, I even wished and desired that I were in their condition; for I thought every man or woman to be in a better condition than myself; nay, I thought myself the only miserable man in the world. Had I been made the most contemptible creature in the whole creation, I had been happy in comparison of my most intolerable misery; all which was heightened by Francis Spira's book, which came to my hand, but I would not read it over, I thought it so to resemble my present condition; for when I had read but a little, I cast it from me, and durst not look on it any more.

In this extreme misery I continued, keeping it to myself, mourning in secret, until one morning, as I was solitarily sitting, lamenting my

present state; on a sudden, there sprang in me a voice, saying, Fear not, O thou tossed, as with a tempest, and not comforted, I will help thee; and although I have hid my face from thee for a moment, yet with everlasting loving-kindness will I visit thee, and thou shalt be mine; fear not, for I am pacified towards thee, and will never leave thee nor forsake thee, saith I the Lord, the mighty God.

Whereupon all was hushed and quieted within me, so that I wondered what was become of the many vexations, tormenting fears and thoughts that just before attended me. Here was such a calm and stillness in my mind for a pretty time, so that it was brought to my mind, that there was silence in heaven for half an hour; and I was filled with peace and joy, like one overcome—and there shone such an inward light within me, that for the space of seven or eight days time, I walked as one taken from the earth. I was so taken up in my mind, as if I walked above the world, not taking notice, as it seemed to me, of any persons or things as I walked up and down London streets, I was so gathered up in the marvellous light of the Lord, and filled with a joyful dominion over all things in this world. In which time, I saw plainly, and to my great comfort and satisfaction, that whatever the Lord would communicate and make known of himself, and the mysteries of his kingdom, he would do it in a way of purity and holiness; for I saw then such a brightness in holiness, and such a beauty in an upright and pure righteous conversation, and close circumspect walking with God in an holy life, although I had before obeyed to the uttermost that I could, yet I could not get peace thereby, nor find and feel that acceptance and justification before God, as I did at this time, when it sprang freely in me, that, as it were, all religion lay in it truly so, and all profession besides, or without it, were as nothing in comparison of this communion. For I remember, while I abode and walked in that light and glory which shone so clearly in my mind and spirit within me, there was not a wrong thought appearing or stirring within me, but it vanished presently, finding no entertainment; my whole mind and soul was so taken up with, and swallowed up of, that glorious light and satisfactory presence of the Lord thus manifested in me.

After this, I perceived an abatement of the glory, and I began to read and perform duties as I had done before, which for about eight days time, I could not perform so formally as I did use to do, before I was filled with joy and peace, but with much more livingness and zeal, faith and confidence than before, which caused many of my acquaintance to admire my gift in prayer, and upon all occasions to put me upon that duty. I began about this time much to follow those ministers that came out of Holland, and some others that were more for the way of separation from the parish assemblies, disliking in my mind those mixed communions; much thirsting after, and longing for a pure communion with such as were most spiritual, and walked in the closest fellowship with God in holiness, and watchfulness one over another, for good and increase in a holy life, which I much longed for, since I had seen the beauty of it.

I walked with a company of young men, who met together as often as our occasions would permit, and prayed and conferred together about the things of God; and I remember, when several would be speaking out of the scriptures, by way of exposition, &c., I had little to say from thence, not having much acquaintance with them, being brought up, mostly in my young days, under such tutors, and such families, as did not much regard the scriptures, accounting them Puritans and sectaries that addicted themselves that way. But I would be speaking forth my own experiences, delighting in, and loving those most who could speak from experience, my heart being most warmed and enlivened in those experimental discourses and conferences; so that those who were most spiritual, delighted to be with me, and I with them; they would tell me, that I spake from experience; for I thought that I could speak to most conditions and things by experience, as if I had had a volume of all subjects within me, while most gathered their discourses from the scriptures without them.

In two or three years time after this, I began to gather scriptures into my mind and memory, what from hearing of others, and my own studies, which occasioned me to dwell more without, and less within; so that by degrees, the knowledge in my natural understanding and judgment began to outgrow and overtop the sense of my inward experiences. At last, having little besides the remembrance, now a great way off, of those things which once were lively and fresh, growing up in me, as if it had always been spring time in my heart and mind: my inward parts were like a winter, all retired out of sight, as into a hidden root; and many questionings about the way of worship, and ordinances of the New Testament began to arise in my mind, judging myself, that now the Lord had done so much for me, I could not but be chargeable with unthankfulness before the Lord for his mercies, if I did not now seek out the purest way of worship, that I might enjoy all his ordinances in the purity of them. Wherefore, after I had gone amongst several sorts of professors, of divers judgments, trying with whom my spirit could sit down and close

with; at last, I met with some particular persons, with whom I joined in communion, in the way of independency; and at times, we had many refreshings together, while we were kept watchful and tender, with our minds inwardly retired, and our words few and savoury; which frame of spirit we were preserved in, by communicating our experiences to each other; as, how our hearts had been kept towards the Lord all the week; with an account of most days passages between God and our souls, from the beginning of the week unto the end.

This continued some years, until it grew formal; and then we began to consider our church state, whether we were in the right order of the gospel, according to the primitive patterns; and in the consultation of the proper administrator of baptism, and the right subject thereof, we began to be divided and shattered in our minds about it; from whence arose many questionings about divers things not at all questioned before, which gendered unto much uncertainty and instability. Afterwards, we began not only to be remiss in our meetings, but also confused in our preachings and services, when we were assembled; so that at last we did not meet at all, but grew by degrees into estrangedness one from another, and into carelessness, consulting principles of liberty, and ease to the flesh, and from thence, to encourage and justify our present remissness and coldness in religious performances. But I was not so given up, or devoted to remissness and ease, as that I was wholly without checks and reproofs for my so doing; and oftentimes the inward distress and trouble of my spirit roused me up again to religious duties, as prayers, and reading.

I found also by experience, that when I was overborne in my judgment and natural understanding, by principles and tenets, which were offered me in my shattered state, to draw my mind into carelessness about all religion, and to a slighting of my former strictness (as well as others now); and as for sin and evil, those principles would have forced me into a belief, that my former apprehensions of the wickedness and danger thereof, were more from a sudden fright, together with a traditional belief of the thing, than from any grounded certainty from reason, or deliberate consideration thereof in true judgment. But against all this, and much more of like nature, which I was exercised with day and night, and often tempted to embrace, both by inward suggestions, and outward allurements, from those that sometimes had been as religious as myself, and no less acquainted with inward experiences of like kind with my own: yet from a sense and deep impression, which remained upon my spirit, both of great troubles, in being delivered from them all, and sweet consolation I had tasted; I say, the sensible remembrance of the former days did stick upon me so, as to keep me from those principles of Ranterism and Atheism, which were rife and much stirring in those times. Through faith in what I tasted, I was supported under many a bitter combat, and deep wave and billow, and made to say and conclude in my heart and mind, that the righteous was more excellent than his neighbour; and that there was a far better state and condition to be known and enjoyed in this world, by walking with God in holiness and purity, than by all licentious and voluptuous living, or covetous gathering of riches together, to get a name in the earth. This I knew from what sweetness I myself had once enjoyed therein. The result of all which, together with an inward cry, that was still continued underneath all reasonings and observations I could make, and lay deeper lodged in my inward parts, than all floating apprehensions and wanderings to obtain relief and satisfaction—I say, this continued cry and sound in my ears inwardly, called for watchfulness over my ways, and obedience unto what was made manifest to be the will of God in my conscience, as being more available to afford me rest and peace, than either all my notions, observations, beliefs, or sacrifices, whatsoever. The meaning thereof, to know them distinctly, was unknown to me, until it pleased the Lord to send one of his servants, called a Quaker to join himself unto my condition, in his ministering, as Philip did unto the chariot of the eunuch, who before understood not what he read; but afterwards, by Philip's expounding the scripture to him, believed what before he was ignorant of. So it was with me, through that servant and instrument of the most high God, opening my eyes, and speaking plainly, and not in parables, nor in dark sayings; whereby I came to see what it was that had so long cried in me, upon every occasion, of serious inward retiring in my own spirit: that I could say of Christ, a greater than Solomon was here, and one that divided aright between the living and the dead, and manifested plainly to whom the living child belonged, and what was the true woman, or church, in God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and what was the harlot, or false church and synagogue of Satan; whatever she could say to justify herself, as the true mother-church.

And indeed this kind of preaching by the fore-mentioned Quaker, so called, appeared unto me, at the first hearing thereof, like as if the old apostles were risen from the dead, and began to preach again in the same power, life,

and authority, in which they ministered when they gave forth, and first wrote and published the gospel and New Testament of Jesus Christ.

I could truly say with Jonathan, after I had heard and tasted of the honey and sweet ministration of the blessed gospel, that my eyes were opened, and strength renewed from the same power again, by which it was preached at first, as free from the dregs and lees of man's wit and inventions, by which they had darkened counsel by words without knowledge. I say the truth, and lie not; after I had heard and tasted of that honey of Canaan, that flowed freely, without the forced inventions of man's brain, my eyes were opened, and my strength was renewed, and I obtained victory, through that grace of the gospel, over those lusts and corrupt desires which rose against those little stirrings and movings after the living God, which I had felt working at times in my heart, even from my youth, until the time of my being born again of the incorruptible seed, and received the earnest of the inheritance and seal of the covenant, &c.

When the glad tidings of the gospel came thus to be sounded in my ears, and reaching my heart and conscience, they did not make void my former experiences of the love and mercy of God to my poor soul, nor in the least begat my mind into a contempt of his sweet refreshings in my wearied pilgrimage, all along as streams of that brook which Israel drank of by the way in their travels; but on the contrary, brought all my former revivings that he gave me in my sore bondage fresh to my remembrance, and set in order before me my manifold rebellions against his wooings, also my ill requitings of him for his tender dealings, often visits and long-suffering towards me; all which challenged a subjection from me, as most due unto this tender dealing God and Father towards me, and made me cry out, What was God so near me in a place I was not aware of, that I found my heart to be broken and overcome with his love and mercy to me?

And the more was my heart tendered before him, in that all things were brought to my remembrance, as one that not only told me all that ever I had done against him, but also all that ever he had done for me; and this rendered the truth more lovely and acceptable in my heart, that it should bring old things into new remembrance, and restore my old acquaintance with my long provoked God again. Thus it was with me in spirit, as with Nathaniel, who confessed to Christ, as soon as Christ told him, he saw him under the fig-tree; so I could not withhold my soul's subjection unto the truth, when it so thoroughly searched me, and plainly told me where I now was, and the several times that God had seen and visited my poor soul. And Christ's promise hath as really been fulfilled in me, as ever he spake it to Nathaniel; for since that day of visiting me again, I have seen greater things than ever I saw before, although I was sweetly comforted for a time, as I have expressed, yet not with that distinct plain understanding as after.

My condition before truth conquered me fully, and manifested itself distinctly, so as to make me lay down all my weapons and crowns, and give up myself to be on its side wholly, was like unto Hagar, who had her bag and bottle given to her by Abraham, when she went into the wilderness, for her son's lightness in mocking Isaac; which bag and bottle being spent, her condition with her son, was most miserable, in that she knew not a well to recruit her again; neither could see it, though it was not far from her, until her necessity pierced God's ears, and then he soon opened her eyes, and she saw Lahai-roi, *i. e.* the well of him that liveth and seeth me. So it was with me, when my bread and water of relief, which God often gave me to maintain me in the wilderness, was spent, and I likely to perish, I could not see any well, or way of supply, until the Lord sent the angel of his presence to open my eyes, and then I saw my Lahai-roi, which was there before, but I could not see it, until he had opened mine eyes.

And thus, for want of an understanding, did I, with many more, pine away many of our days, like Hagar, in the wilderness, as a punishment of our lightness, joining with it in ourselves, to slight weaned Isaac, the weighty Seed in our own hearts, which is the heir of all spiritual blessings, and with it God establisheth his covenant for ever.

A relation of the working of Truth in my heart since I was called a Quaker, until near the time of my departure.

I was convinced of the Truth towards the end of the year 1654, as I remember, through the servant of the Lord, before mentioned, called William Dewsbury, not knowing of what judgment he was when I went to him. For if I had known he had been a Quaker, I think I should not have heard him, being afraid of strange opinions, lest I should be deceived; but being providentially cast where he was declaring, I heard him; and his words, like spears, pierced and wounded my very heart; yet they seemed unto me, as balm also, healing and comforting, as well as searching and piercing. I remember the very words that took the deepest impression upon me at that present, speaking of several states and conditions of men and women; such words passed from him, as implied the miserable life of such,

who notwithstanding their religious duties or performances, had not peace and quietness in their spirits; who through the want of an understanding, where to know and find a stay to their minds, to exercise them at all times, and in all places, were like children tossed to and fro, and frightened with every cunning craftiness of men, to promote their own opinions and ways. This I knew was my own condition at that time, as well as the state of many more poor shattered people, compassing ourselves about with the sparks of our own kindling, which did but procure us sorrow, when we came to lie down and be still, and commune with our own hearts, having nothing inwardly to feed and stay upon, but either formal duties which perished with the using, or disputable opinions about Christ and doctrinal things, in the natural understanding and memory; but wanted a spiritual understanding of that which might then have been known of God within. This I came to know and behold afterward, as the appearance of the tried corner stone laid in Zion, most elect and precious unto them that believed in him; whereby I understood certainly, that it is not an opinion, but Christ Jesus the power and arm of God, who is the Saviour, and being felt in the heart, and kept dwelling their by faith. He differs as much from all notions in the head and brain, as the living substance differeth from the picture or image of it.

The reception of the word of life in my soul, was like unto the little book, which John in the Revelations was commanded to eat, which proved sweet in his mouth, but bitter in his belly. So was the truth unto me, most sweet and delightful unto my taste, even like unto Jonathan's honey, by which mine eyes were opened, and my strength renewed with great joy and clearness; which continued for some months after my first hearing, whereby my judgment was so enlarged and fortified against all batteries and assaults from any of the disputers of this world, that I doubted not, but at that time I could have maintained the principle of truth against all opposers. But all this while, there was little of the outward form of truth regarded by me, until I heard the same person declare the word of truth again. Then I began to see that all knowledge was nothing, without practice and conformity to what I knew. Then began the truth, like the little book, to be bitter in my inward parts, because I did not yield obedience unto what I was convinced to be my duty; as to lay aside all superfluities in apparel, words and carriage, which was hard for me to do, being then in commission as justice of the peace; but by degrees, I was brought out of all consultations in this respect, by sore and sharp terrors in my conscience; for all my sins and evils, which I saw to be many and great, as well as secret and hidden, which, by the light in my own conscience, I came to see more and more through the exercise of my mind; for all my sins were but as fuel, which the wrath and indignation of the Lord took hold of.

I saw that now the axe was to be laid to the root of the tree, and that there was an evil nature to be consumed in me, which had borne sway long, notwithstanding my profession of religion, and that my superfluity in apparel, words, and many other things, did but feed and keep alive that nature, and so prolong the fire to my own misery therein. And of this sort I saw plainly was speaking *you* to a single person, and putting off my hat after the customs and fashions of the world, &c. I reasoned, must all be left and put away, before that fleshly worldly nature and part in me could wholly die, and I be perfectly delivered from it? Because I saw that these things, together with using many words out of God's fear, were but as food, to nourish and feed, and keep alive that nature and part in me.

But how strongly the reasoning part withstood me, in the parting with these and other things, none knows, but those that have been exercised in the like manner; neither can I express the multitude of ways and arguments which the devil used, to keep me in those formalities and observances; and so much the more, because of my great acquaintance, through some public employment, and other occasions. And yet the difficulty to part with my wisdom and knowledge, in which I had profited beyond many my equals, I found to be the greatest of tribulations that I passed through, before I could enter into the kingdom of God, viz. to be, as it were, beheaded for the testimony of Jesus: for I found by certain experience, that until man be truly crucified with Christ, he cannot bear a true testimony for Christ; for it is but a bearing witness to himself, which is not true; but after he is truly crucified with Christ, and risen with Christ, then if he bears witness of Christ, his witness is true: hence is understood aright that faithful saying, viz. For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy. After a long and sharp fight of afflictions, and deep exercise in my heart and conscience, I at last gave up to be a fool for Christ, and as one beside myself for the Lord. This was not effected without deep agonies; for I thought I should have been distracted, because of God's terrors that were upon my soul; but when, by his grace, he had subjected the spirit of my mind unto himself, that I was made through its prevalency to yield, and be still, that so he might do with me what himself pleased, giving up to the death of the fleshly man, mind, and wisdom also;

through which, as the slaying of the first-born in Egypt, it was then said unto me, "out of Egypt have I called my son," which was before as one slain, by whom I am now made to live as one born of God, into his everlasting covenant for ever; which being thus known to be his own, having loved it, he loves it unto the end.

Thus I came to know him, in whom is no occasion of stumbling, to be him indeed that silenceth the disputer and wise of this world, answering fully, and most satisfactorily, the deep inward cry and want that was in my soul, and was as a most sweet shower, that reached unto the root of the matter in me, while the former revivings were but as summer drops, ushering in a greater drought afterwards: or like a wayfaring man, that tarries but a night; and as I passed on my spiritual journey, the bringing fresh into my soul, the fulfilling of these, and many more sayings of scripture, like a brook by the way, most sweetly gladdened my soul, when the Lord made me drink of them, as a cup he put into my hand, and himself was the portion of.

I may not forget to relate in my journeying, how that after I came to Mount Sinai, I felt the burnings of that fire, burning up all my own righteousness like stubble and straw, as not being able to afford me any shelter or preservation from those flames. Then I thought to rely upon the knowledge I had of Christ, by reading the scriptures; as, that he was my surety, and God accepted him, as in my stead, he having satisfied divine justice, together with the sweet experiences that I formerly had of Christ, before I came into this way, or did believe in his light in my own conscience; and I said within myself, Shall I let go all these things for an uncertainty? Unto all which, and many more reasonings of the like nature, it was said in me, to my great relief at that time, Was it a bare remembrance of Christ, and his merits and suretyship, mustered up, or in thy own time applied, or [by thy] own natural understanding, that did save thee, or helped thee in thy distress? Or, was it my free revealing of him, as my arm and power within thee, as really felt by thee, to comfort thee within; as sin and the devil were felt within, to torment thee? So that the seed of the woman, reaching to the weak estate man is found in, when Christ appears to save him, even when satan, the old serpent, is most busy, lifting up his head to rule and torment the creature, this seed is also known to be the seed of God, according to the spirit, bruising the head of the serpent, and putting down all rule, that he may be a Prince and a Saviour for ever.

Thus I came to the saving knowledge of Christ, which did confirm my former experience of his appearance in me, and to me, even when I was weak in my understanding, and had but fleshly apprehensions of Christ. Nevertheless, the true saving Christ of God, is indeed life, power, and virtue, whom to know as such, is the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus: for the opinion or conception of Christ in the natural understanding, is too short: but while that within, which warreth against sin and evil, is minded and followed, it will rectify the understanding, to the true and right acknowledgment of him, who is the true God and eternal life, the very Saviour of all them that believe in him. Many come to be dwarfs in experience, by giving way to the will, and not to the light in the conscience, to command and steer the understanding and judgment, refusing the light, as natural and insufficient; and yet at the same time, follow the will and understanding, which are both natural and insufficient; but understand it not, through the subtilty of the old serpent.

And thus I passed from Mount Sinai, to Mount Sion; from the ministration of condemnation, to the ministration of the Spirit; through which I could, and in heart did, give thanks to God, through Jesus Christ, freeing me from that condemnation which I lay under, notwithstanding all my duties and beliefs, as the sum and substance of all, being now my rule and guide. He was the guide of my youth in many things, although I knew it not then; and now is that spirit, which gives true liberty from every yoke of bondage, as being now known to be that ministration of the Spirit, which doth war against the flesh, and contrary to it, whereby that soul that walks after the Spirit, enjoys life abundantly; but if the spirit of this world prevail, then death and condemnation come again; as it is written, so I found it to be true, he that is in the flesh cannot please God, and he that walks after the flesh shall die.

After this, I felt the Spirit of truth to rule in me, and my spirit to be really in union therewith, as before I was in union with the spirit of this world; which was from that time forward, as really a true rule to me to walk by, leading unto peace and rest, as before, when the old man ruled, in following of him I had trouble and sorrow. So that it was verified plainly in me, the stability of thy times are righteousness and peace; and also, that other scripture was fulfilled in me, viz. Neither circumcision, nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature; and those only are accounted for the seed, the Israel of God, that do inherit true peace, who walk according to this rule.

When thus I felt the birth immortal raised up in my inward parts, like a most pleasant plant; I felt it often put forth many sweet and heavenly breathings after God, with a frequent

answer from God; so that it never sought his face in vain, or asked without a satisfactory return. I found also, as naturally praises and thanksgivings to arise and spring to God, from the holy root, as ever before I had known a wicked wrathful nature to cast up mire and dirt, and to send forth fear, horror, trouble, and distrust. Now my joy was full, and often a cry arose in me unto God, to keep me poor and needy in the daily cross; nothing in self, but out of self-willing and working, in the daily dependence upon the Lord in this pure birth, finding him to be a treasury and storehouse of all supplies; whereby both alone, and in meetings, I felt him often to arise in great power and glory, to the constraining me to sound out like a trumpet, living praises unto my God. Out of the mouth of this seed of eternal life, would words proceed within me as I sat in meetings with God's people, and at other times, which I was moved to utter with my tongue often times in the cross to my own will, as seeming to my earthly wisdom to be void of wisdom, and most contemptible to my natural understanding, not knowing the end why I should keep such words: yet I was charged with disobedience, and deeply afflicted and troubled in my spirit, when I neglected to speak them forth; and sometimes some others have spoken the same words, while I was doubting in the reasoning about them; and then I was much exercised, that it should be taken from me, and given to another that was faithful.

How I came by my ministry.

The Lord having thus pleased to reveal his Son in me, showed me in myself, the deceitful workings of the man of sin, in the mystery of iniquity, and his exaltation in the temple of God, being worshipped as God, above all that is called God, and rightly deserves that name, although little known, or taken notice of by the creature, because of the exaltation and rule of another thing which appeared as God, but was not. All this I saw in the light of the Lord; and not only so, but felt by experience, how God raised up the younger, and made the elder, in possession in me, to serve the younger, which the Lord had now raised up, as the beggar from the dunghill, and to know him who is both Prince and Saviour, and Minister also of the true tabernacle which God had pitched, and not man; which I did not know in myself, while the first tabernacle was standing, neither the holiest of all, while the vail was over my heart, which vail I found to be done away in Christ, and the new and living way thereby set open into the holiest of all. Of this way, the Lord made me a minister, and commanded me to publish what I had seen, felt, and handled, and passed through, of the word and work of God; the which, I gave up to do, being thereby fired out of all my reasonings and consultations, lest my own wisdom would either get up again, and so I should lose my own condition, and be judged as forward in my own will, by those I went to minister amongst; or I should go and appoint meetings, and gather people together, and should sit as a fool amongst them, having nothing to say unto them; with many other reasonings, too numerous to mention particularly. But being followed with daily stirrings and motions of life, and a command to go to such a place by name, signified to me by God's Spirit in my inward parts; which I obeying, I found a blessed effect; and many were at that time converted, who to this day abide in the truth, and others died in the faith. The circuit and compass of counties, was showed me by the Spirit of the Lord, where mostly I should labour in the work of the Lord; though not restrained from travelling elsewhere, when required thereunto by the motion of the same Spirit: so that I could not contain myself, but words would proceed from me in meetings where I was ordered among God's people, both at my own habitation, and elsewhere; and many places were opened unto me, where I was to go; and having smarted so deeply by God's judgment upon my soul, for disobedience in this kind, I gave up to God; and I found him always to be larger in his goodness than I could expect, and more abundant in pouring out of his Holy Spirit, than my faith could reach, even to the breaking of my heart many a time before him in secret, when no eye hath seen.

To omit all the hardships and losses, as to my family, and all outward concerns, through which I was obliged by a close pursuit of God's anger and displeasure if I disobeyed, as well as by the sweet continuance of the melting and heart breaking sense of God's tender mercy to my soul, in bearing so long with me, and at last doing so much for me; as not only to free me from all my foes, but also from my fears of death, which all my life time I had been subject to at times; until I felt Christ come to deliver me; praises to God for ever. But also, I was constrained to obey the Lord, in going up and down, as he sent me, about his message; taking no thought what I should say, but cried to him often in my spirit, Keep me poor and needy, believing in thee, and then I shall speak from thee, and for thee; yea, from the engraven sense of God's mercy upon my soul, that he sent his servants from far to seek me, and to preach the everlasting gospel unto my poor lost soul; and why shall I refuse to go to

seek others, whose souls are lost, as mine once was; and shall I not love my neighbour as myself? And I knowing God's terrors, shall I refuse to persuade men in Christ's stead, in obedience to his motions in my soul, to be reconciled to God, knowing him to be a consuming fire? After this manner were the workings of my mind, and the thoughts of my heart; and when I gave up to go as before, when, and where the Lord directed me, and to come again when he called me, I never failed of his assistance. But when to my own sense, I was the weakest in all the meeting, and was as an empty vessel without one drop to relieve any, wondering what was become of all my knowledge, and now I should sit as one in poverty, but in a posture fitter to be ministered unto, than to minister to others; and yet as I had sometimes nothing to give, so I had no wants as to my own condition, only for the sake of others that expected something from me, I was exercised in my mind; but by degrees learned to die unto the will of God, whether by silence, or speaking, to be content.

I began to minister about the year 1656, after I had been some months in Northampton prison, for being at a meeting with God's people, where I came to learn divinity through deep outward sufferings, as well as inward exercises, witnessing the opening of the sealed mysteries of God through the woes; for after the first and second woes were past, new seals were opened into the mysteries of God.

And thus hath God made prisons to be as the schools for the true prophets, or nurseries for true divines: and then being preserved in much fear and awfulness of God, from the deep sense I had of his majesty and purity in my heart; I spoke of him as I felt his requirings thereunto, and his rewards were in my bosom as a most sweet and comforting cordial, that did lift up my spirit above all discomfortings, both from the enemies within, and without; although both oft-times sorely beset me, even like bees on every side; yet God's blessed power and presence in me, and with me, furnished my heart and tongue with suitable matter to the conditions of the auditory, above all fear of any thing or person present. I might swell a volume with this subject, but this is spoken to the glory of the Almighty God, the comfort and encouragement of his ministers that abide in his counsel, and the abasing of all flesh, that the all-sufficiency of his Holy Spirit may be trusted in, and relied upon, as the only supplier of his ministers and people, that go forth in his name. Amen.

This Holy Spirit hath been to me both meat and drink, as the Rock of old that followed the Israelites: yea, ten times, as I remember, have I been in bonds, and not only incurred the sentence of premunire with my brethren at London, but also have been tried for my life in the country, and all for a good conscience to my God: but this Holy Spirit never left me, but many times hath made me to sing in prisons, and often at the bar did bring fresh courage; who by its virtue hath bound judges, and quite confounded envious witnesses, that thought to destroy the innocent; but by this Holy Spirit all turned to my joy: my help is in it, and my comfort flows from it, and my daily request is to my God, that all his people may in all things be guided by it, that he for ever may be worshipped in it, and his blessed truth may be preached through it, that neither wit nor parts, outward learning nor gifts, persons, nor forms, may ever be set or esteemed above it; but that we all, who have been baptized in it, may for ever be found drinking into it, while in the body; that when we all come to lay down the body, we may do it with joy, both to the praise of the riches of his grace, and the comfort of those that shall survive us in the same truth. Amen.

In giving an account of the doctrines which he preached, and in a belief of which, says he, I die in full assurance of a resurrection unto eternal life, he declares, viz.: That God only is to be worshipped, and not any image or likeness, either of God the Father, or of his Son Jesus Christ, or of the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son; nor the Virgin Mary, nor any image or likeness of the Virgin Mary; or any other saint departed, or yet alive, ought to be worshipped or prayed unto, &c.

"I always believed and taught, that neither the Pope, nor his Papists, or any other man or men, have power to pardon sins, past, present, or to come, or to give indulgences for sin; or that their doctrine of purgatory, or prayers for the dead, were according to truth, but quite contrary to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles.

"And I do not, nor ever did believe, that the church of Rome, or the papal church, is the true church, out of which there is no salvation; or that the Pope, or see of Rome, hath any authority derived from Christ Jesus, or any of his apostles, to be head of the true Catholic church; or that he, or the see of Rome, jointly, or severally, have any jurisdiction or supremacy over the said Catholic church in general, or myself in particular; or that it belongs to the Pope, or authority of the church or see of Rome, to be sole judge touching matters of religion, or sense of Holy Scriptures; or to command the least tittle of doctrine or discipline merely from his, or their own power and authority, without warrant or license from the Holy Scripture. He or they in their so com-

manding, are not only tyrannical, but anti-christian, and repugnant to the royal office of Christ; and such I believe to be his and their doctrines of transubstantiation and elevation, and worshipping of the host or wafer after consecration, with the using of their cream and spittle, and their penances upon their confession to a priest; and all the rest of his and their inventions whatsoever; I ever did, and still do deny and abhor the same, as false and contrary to true Christian religion.

"I believed and preached that the worship of God is spiritual, and not carnal, in all its parts and ordinances, and ought not to be imposed by any outward force, but performed by the inward leadings of God's Spirit; and he that thus worships God in the Spirit, his faith carries him beyond his performances, with righteous Abel, and preserves him, that he is not lost or drowned in the form, like Cain; neither falls he short of the glory of God, nor of his assurance of acceptance with him.

"I believed and preached the truth of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, beginning my declaration most times with scripture sentences, as moved by the Holy Spirit; not daring to open my mouth, until I was inwardly satisfied, and believed, that these were the words, given me of God, to speak to the people, where, by his providence, he ordered me to preach the everlasting gospel, according to the assistance of his Holy Spirit; which was sometimes longer, and sometimes shorter, as the Spirit of God enabled me, and gave me utterance.

"I never wanted assistance suitable to the service God called me unto, as my will and mind was subjected to the orderings of this Spirit, freed from all forethinkings, or forecastings how to begin, or what to say, or how to go on when I was begun; but the more passive I was, the greater enlargements I had, with the sweetest inward contentment of soul, and yet in deepest abhorrency of myself at the same time; finding it always safest and best, both for my own preservation, and blessed success and effect upon the auditory; not daring to give way, or yield to the least tickling applause, praise, or commendation, either arising in, or from myself, or from any others: but still felt an inward cry to my God, to keep me poor and humble; and mostly when I was poorest in spirit at the beginning of the meeting, as I thought none so poor and empty as myself, then I was most assisted, and the meeting most refreshed; and in my spirit, at that time, I was commonly as poor and empty when the meeting was ended, as I was before it began.

"I believed and taught, that there are those in our days, that do speak and write from a measure of the same spirit which the prophets and apostles had; yet neither believed, nor taught, that either myself, or any other, were to be equalized unto them, either in our speaking, or writings; either in the same degrees, discoveries, or attainments: as it pleased God to make them his instruments, in delivering those holy records and oracles of his mind and will, contained in the Holy Bible, for an universal service unto the children of men; so far, as by the providence of God, their writings came to be spread abroad in the world.

"I believe the Holy Scriptures to be the best outward rule in the world, yet cannot rightly and truly be understood but by the Holy Spirit that gave them forth; and that the Spirit of God can and may give the inward virtual knowledge of Christ unto salvation, where the Scriptures, outwardly, never came to give the historical knowledge of him; and in a sober sense what Chrysostom saith, to the godly and faithful, the Scriptures are not necessary; for so saith the apostle, There is no law provided for the just. And again, it behoveth us to have no need of the Scriptures, but in all things to show ourselves so pure and clean, that instead of books, we might use the grace of the Holy Spirit."

"Nevertheless, I believe that the Holy Scriptures ought to be received upon the authority of the Spirit, evidencing the truth thereof unto the conscience, and not only upon the bare authority of any church or council whatsoever: Theodoret, Hist. lib. 2. chap. 7. saith, "The evangelical, apostolical, and prophetical oracles, do plainly instruct us by a touch or feeling of their majesty or divine power."

"Neither any visible church, so called, or any outward councils, have authority or dominion over true believers' faith towards God; because this doctrine, that they have authority over other men's faith, is not only contrary to Scripture, which testifies the apostles had no such authority or dominion, 2 Cor. i. 24. 1 Pet. v. 3, but also being a dangerous influence upon our belief, to subject our faith to human resolutions.

"I believe that without supernatural grace there is no salvation: for although that which is called good nature, be as it were, an excellency of the first creation, and hath such a delightful union with itself in others, which is as like to the union of the measure of grace as may be; yet it being but of the first creation, cannot of itself, bring man or woman into the happiness and bliss that appertain to the new creation, or world to come; yet its worth is such, that a little grace easily commands it, while that which is commonly called ill nature, will hardly be ruled by a far greater measure.

"That nature and grace are of different natures or kinds; for that good-nature seldom alters, except by some great outward trial or in-

ward conflict; whereas supernatural grace often causes inward disturbances, by reason of its opposition to every thing of a contrary nature to itself: but it is greatly to be feared, that this good nature, I have been speaking of, is too much taken for, and believed to be, the supernatural grace; especially where this Divine grace is not arisen in the heart, or come into dominion, to bear some rule in the understanding, and authority in the inward parts.

"That the new creature, or new creation, spoken of in the Scripture, partakes of the divine nature, which is Christ the image of God, also called Christ formed in us by the divine power, 2 Pet. i. 3, 4, compared with Gal. iv. 19, which is something substantially in the regenerate, whereby they cry and call in their hearts after God, and after all those things that are well pleasing in his sight, the life or spirit of his Son in them being plainly and frequently heard within them, leading and guiding this new man, as it were, by the rule of its own nature, according to Gal. vi. 16, which the truly regenerate experimentally find to be much more than mere qualities or habits, as some imagine; for by faith in its divine power, they do enter into that rest which remains for the people of God, spoken of, Heb. iv. 9. Such as are entered into this rest, have also ceased from their own works, as God did from his, when he rested from the creation on the seventh day, and sanctified it. So by following the guide and rule of the new creature, the regenerate labour against all that would hinder their entrance into this gospel-rest, as not to do their own works, nor to speak their own words, nor think their own thoughts on this sabbath day, but still remember to keep it holy, lest they fall short by unbelief; for the Word of God within them, is quick and powerful to make it manifest, when any distrust or negligence is given way to; and that Word pierces, to the dividing asunder of the soul and spirit, &c., and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. All things are manifest in his sight, and open and bare before his eyes with whom we have to do."

An Epistle of Love to all that are in present sufferings, whether inwardly or outwardly.

Upon the first day of the fourth month, 1660, as I was travelling upon the way, there came upon my heart a deep sense of your conditions; whereupon I was pressed in spirit to write these following lines.

Many have been the warnings, counsel and advice, which have been given unto you from the Lord, out of the love that he bears unto you, who would not have you to perish, but rather that you might repent, and do your first works, and live; and therefore hath he sent unto you of his servants, early and late, to forewarn you of the evils and dangers that were coming upon you. But your hearts were so hardened, through the deceitfulness of sin, and you choked with the cares of this life, and your minds so filled and taken up with the present enjoyments of worldly delights, and fleshly ease, that there was no room or entrance for any thing that came unto you, though delivered in never so much tenderness and bowels of affection, from a true sight and deep sense of what must unavoidably overtake you. Like Jeshurun, you were grown fat, and kicked against what could be said unto you; looking upon yourselves as so enriched with worldly glory and delights, and so decked therewith, that you sat as queens, as if none could pluck you from your throne, or seats, because of the sureness and firmness of your standing, as you thought and concluded in yourselves. And your work was, how to climb up higher, and to soar aloft in your glory, beyond any that had been before you; that so your families might be great, and your names renowned to posterity, and your children enriched with your gettings and possessions; so that you were just like the wild ass colt upon the mountains and high hills, snuffing up the wind, and kicking the heel, and laughing at, and having in derision, all those that came unto you in the name of the Lord, with the word of the Lord; concluding it to be but the fancy of a drunken brain, or the offspring of a precipitate zeal, without a true understanding. So you made light of it, and made no doubt in yourselves, to shake off those things, like Paul's shaking off the viper from his hand, and like Samson to go forth as at other times; but knew not how, by that fleshly confidence, and carnal security, and worldly delights and pleasures, which had made you, like drunken men, not only fearless and careless, but also senseless of what could be said unto you, or done against you.

So high had you made your nests, that you feared not the hand that could pluck you down; and therefore it was your manner, in that light, elevated and transported spirit, with scorn and disdain, wholly to reject and refuse either the hearing of such counsels as were tendered unto you, by message in words or in writing, or otherwise to receive them in feigned humility, and a complimentary spirit; putting off the more serious hearing or reading thereof, with Felix, until a more convenient season; satisfying yourselves with this imaginary conceit, that you had pleased and given content unto the persons that so spake or wrote to you; this being your utmost end and design, if by all you could but procure popular applause, and ingratiate yourselves into any party or interest,

thereby to corroborate and strengthen your seat and standing. All your confessions, professions, and acknowledgments, were but like Absalom in the day of his advance, saying with him in your hearts, "O that all men would come unto us," that there might be none to oppose you, or disquiet your ease, and "we would do them justice!" but this was to palliate your worldly interests, that you were with so much eagerness seeking to exalt. But now is your month come upon you, and the day that was threatened, and you forewarned of it, hath overtaken you; and it is a day of gloominess and darkness, and thick clouds; so that it appears to be night, rather than day, and the sun to be set and gone down, and the shadow of death approaches, and fears and amazements seem to compass you about as a mighty host, and your names and posterities to be blotted out, and ignominy and reproach to be cast upon you, and to be your portion, from the basest of men. Instead of crisping-pins, and gorgeous attires and apparel, and mincing with your feet, and sweet fumes, and odours and smells, shall be stenches; and that which shall be an abhorring and a loathing unto them, that you have trampled upon, and thought too mean to converse with. That conformity to the world, and the greatness and glory thereof, and that fellowship and communion which you are increasing apace, with those who have their portion in this life, even unto them also shall you be a disdain and an hissing; so that you are become, like Israel of old, as the vines amongst the trees of the forest, which when it hath left its bearing, and bringeth forth no fruit, is good for nothing, not so much as to make a pin of, so as to hang a vessel thereon, but is only become as fuel for the fire.

Wo is me, wo is me for you! what will become of you? For I am pained, because of the utter desolation that is coming upon you, even to the utmost! And then shall those that you have scorned, laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear comes, which shall come upon you as an armed man; and you shall not be able to withstand his dread, because of the load of guilt, and the weight of sin, that lies upon your consciences, and presseth you down, and plunges you into the utter darkness, even thick darkness, that may be felt. For your time of working is over, and the night in which no man can work is come upon you; and though you seek to fly as upon dromedaries, and to make a league with death and hell, and by your compliances with, and your calling to the rocks, the hills, and the mountains; yet shall they not be able to hide you from the wrath of the Lamb, nor to shelter you from the indignation of him that is too strong for you. And though you fly upon the swift, a swifter shall overtake; for you shall not be able to escape his fury, though you fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, yet there shall his hands find you out. You have numbered him amongst transgressors, and hardened your necks against his reproof in your own hearts and consciences, and have had them in derision that have directed you thereunto, to take heed and to obey his counsel, lest you perished in the gainsaying, and the spirit of grace ceased striving with you; and then, he that hath suffered long, and borne the iniquity, withdraws his shoulder, and the word of his power, whereby he upholds all things: and then you shall bear your own iniquity, and feel the weight and burden thereof; and then shall you know by woful experience, and drink of the cup of his fury, without mixture of mercy, or support. And who is able then to abide or stand, when thus he ministers pure wrath and displeasure in the fierceness of his indignation, against and upon the rebellious, who would not hearken in the day of their prosperity, but were grown rich, and full, and wise, and strong, and said in themselves, "We have need of nothing; our tongues are our own, who shall control us? We know what it is to be religious, and to profess God and Christ, and the Scriptures. These things we have professed and known, and were once zealous in them, and for them, and were tender-hearted, and broken in our spirits, and then could we weep and mourn, and pray and fast, and tell of our experiences, and durst not commit sin, nor do anything that we knew to be evil, because of a fear that was upon us.

"Now we are past those things, and mind not the feeling of them; but account those as possessed with a fanatic spirit, that say they are moved by the Spirit of the Lord, to remind us of our former days of tenderness, and speak so much to us of feeling that broken heart, and contrite spirit, and true thirst and hunger after the living God, which sometimes we felt; and condemn and cry against all knowledge and speculative notions, above and beyond the feelings, as that which will not avail, nor stand in stead in the day of the Lord. And these in ourselves we condemned, and the spirit by which they spake to us, we judged to be fanatical; and therefore it is justly come upon us, to have that name given unto us by our enemies, which we gave unto our friends: for if we had not so looked upon them, we would have taken their counsel. But we looked upon those former times of tenderness in religion, to be the days of our minority and infancy; and we are now come beyond those things, and some of us grown past feeling, into a belief, that there is nothing sin, but what a man imagines so to be; and so are soared aloft, and mounted up upon the wings of reason and state policy, looking upon that to be religion, wherein self-security

is most preserved and promoted. And so have concluded within ourselves, that the ground of our former trouble inwardly, and of the like trouble that is upon others now, did and doth arise from the distrust of our reason; and so have concluded all inward feeling and possessing of the presence of God, and the light of his countenance, to be but the strength of fancy or imagination. This apprehension and belief hath been strengthened in us by the many experiences and examples that in our observations we have taken notice of; namely, what a general and universal defection there hath been in all sorts of persons, of various judgments and opinions, that have sprung up, and the respective confidence that they have had of their ways and opinions, and their proneness to be taken with the glory and riches of this present world, and equally with a zeal to pursue after them, when they have had an opportunitity to enrich themselves thereby. And when they have been tried with such opportunities, they have been found too light, and lost their zeal and tenderness in religion: and therefore from these observations, we have been strengthened in our belief, that to get wealth and live at ease, and secure our places, and to comply to any man, or with any thing, in order to this end, hath been goodness enough, and the very religion of our hearts; though with our lips we have spoken and professed otherwise."

O thou exalted above the stars, who art climbed up another way, and hast set up thy nest on high, and fenced it about, as with impregnable walls, whose searedness and confidence is all thy safety; the Lord is undermining thy foundation, and he is bringing thee down as with a mighty hand. He is causing thy fall to be as a mill stone into the sea, and he is making thine enemies to rule over thee; even thou that hast been in thy jollity, and making merry, and sending and receiving the gifts, in this way wherein the witnesses have lain slain in the streets of this great city. The Spirit of life from the Lord is entering into them again, and they shall stand upon their feet, and fire shall come down from heaven, and consume their enemies, and they shall torment all that dwell upon the earth. Therefore, hear the word of the Lord, O ye stout-hearted and stiff-necked, whose hearts are become as an iron sinew, and whose sins are written as with the point of a diamond. O tremble, tremble at the word of the Lord, which saith, "He gave you space to repent, but you repented not!" Wherefore a bed of torment is preparing for you, and the cup which you gave to others shall you drink, and you shall squeeze out the dregs thereof. Wo and misery is coming upon you, and languishing and distress shall cover you; and because you will not hear the voice of the rod in the day of your fulness, you shall hear the voice of wrath and desolation, and flood upon flood shall come upon you, and billow upon billow shall overflow you; so that you shall not be able to escape, nor fly from his presence.

O hear, hear the word of the Lord, and hearken, that yet, notwithstanding, your souls may live; and if it be possible, may be redeemed out of the land of darkness, and the deep captivity in which they are plunged. Do not fly, nor make a league with thine enemies; neither let despair and unbelief swallow thee up; but bear the indignation, because thou hast sinned. Lay down thy back, that the plowers may plow deep furrows; lay thy mouth in the dust, and say, "I have sinned, I have sinned; and for my iniquity are these things come upon me, and because of the weight thereof, am I pressed down; and if the Lord arise not, I must perish under them." Think not upon revenge; "for vengeance is the Lord's, and he will repay it." For thy rising up, and thy restoration, and thy recovery, must not be by an arm of flesh, nor by a bow of steel, but by the revealed arm of the Lord, that must bring salvation to thee; and therefore must thou be patient, and still, and quiet, and ascribe righteousness to the Lord, until he arise. For through sore judgment must thou be delivered, and all thy ways must be hedged up with thorns, that thou mayest not be able to pass from under his hand, nor from the smart of his stroke. For this is the day of the recovery, not only of thy soul out of the pit, that waits in the patience and long suffering, and out of the mire and the clay, wherein thy feet have stuck fast, so that thou hast not been able to run in the ways of righteousness; but also, of the recovery of the corn, and the wine, and the oil, which he gave unto thee, and thou hadst forgotten that he gave it thee, that thou mayest return unto him, from whom thou art fallen by thine iniquity. For was it not better with thee in the day of thy meanness and poverty, not only of spirit, but outwardly, when thou hadst not those possessions in the earth as now thou hast, nor faredst so deliciously as now thou dost? Was it not better with thee then, than it is now? Let the witness of God answer. And therefore like a bull in the net must thou be cast, who hast been seeking liberty and largeness for thyself, but hast not cared how much others were in straightness and captivity; and therefore is the day come upon thee, wherein the same measure, thou measuredst to others, is measured to thyself. Therefore thou must bear in patience, that the seed thou mayest know, which the Lord's love is unto, and feel it in thyself; that which hath suffered long, even all this time of thy wantonness. For this is the seed which

cries unto God, though thou regardest not the cry thereof, because of thy fulness, and because of the noise that hath been in thy heart, both about keeping what thou hast already gotten, and how to enlarge thy barns to hold more; but the cry of the poor hath not been regarded, even that seed in thee, which hath groaned for deliverance; and sometimes, because of the anguish thereof, thy soul cried out for distress; though, through the variety of thy pleasures, thou endeavourest to murder it, and to stop its cry.

Is it not now an acceptable time, to speak a word in due season to thee, from one that is sensible of thy burden, and travails with thee for thy deliverance? O that thou wouldst hear, that thy soul might live! And even now, when the Lord is as one retired into his place, and all thy comforts and lovers seem to stand at a distance from thee, and thou art as one termed desolate and forsaken, and the wrath of the enemy is ready to swallow thee up, in telling thee, there is no hope for thee, and that the day of thy visitation is over, and that the pit will open its mouth, and swallow thee up in the sight of all thine enemies. Arise, arise, thou captive, thou exile, thou outcast of Israel, thou that art termed forsaken, both in thine own eyes, and in the eyes of all that behold thee; this is the day of thy deep visitation, hear the voice of the rod, and know the hand of him that smites with it, that through the chastisings and the rebukings, thy soul may be recovered. O cease from man, and from all revengeful thoughts, and hearken not to the counsel of thine own heart, neither lend an ear to the wicked, and lean not to thy own understanding. For God's thoughts are not as thy thoughts, neither his ways like thine; thine are thoughts and ways of evil, his of good: therefore judge the disquietness of thy mind with that grace and light, that gives thee the sight and the sense of it, and say not, "He hath shut up his loving kindness in forgetfulness, or will be merciful no more." Fear not thou, worm Jacob, though all tread upon thee, be thou still; for thy deliverance must be from the Lord: and that is the seed, that lies low under all, that is dumb, and opens not his mouth in revenge; that lies down in his will, and drinks the cup, because it is the Father's good pleasure. This is the seed, to which the blessings belong; and it is that which must hear the word of the Lord, and come out of Egypt, to worship God in his own land, that it may be set free; from which he cannot withhold his bowels, nor the strength of his love; but that it might be set free, that he might render double unto it, beyond whatever entered into thy heart to conceive. And this is the seed that the Lord hath blessed, and that can be content both to abound, and to suffer want; and to be abased, and how to receive at the hand of the Lord, and give it again with the same freedom that it was received: and though it hath nothing in the world, as to the enjoyments of the world, yet it possesseth all things, in that its kingdom is not of this world. Neither is it a seed of so low a descent, and so ignoble an offspring, as to have its delight or joy in this world: but though it hath lain amongst the pots, and been as in the manger, yet must it have the wings of a dove, and in the simplicity and innocency thereof, must it mount up over the world, and have its rest with its father Abraham. And this is the seed that follows his steps, and forsakes all, to go to the land that the Lord shows it; and believes in the hope, against the hope, and staggers not through the weakness of faith, by considering the reasonings of the earthly birth, or fleshly spirit; but is strong in the faith, and gives glory unto God and submits unto him, to let him do what seemeth good in his sight.

O Friends! had you hearkened unto this, and let it gone free, then had not this day come upon you, nor this hour of darkness overtaken you; and therefore now be wise, and receive the instructions of the Almighty, who speaks unto you in the secret of your hearts, that you may hear his voice, and live. For he is saying to you, as once he did to Adam, in the cool of the day, now the heats are over, Where are ye? And what have ye been doing? Have ye not sinned, in eating that which was forbidden, and in feeding upon that which was likely to make wise, and was beautiful to the eye, and pleasant to the taste, but is become as gall and wormwood in the belly? In this day of adversity, when you come to consider where you are, and what you have been doing, are you not indeed naked? And are you not flying, as he was, to the bushes, and for shelter to every imagination that springs up in your minds, and counsel that is given to you from the earthly spirit, either in yourselves or others? And are you not sewing fig-leaves, and making coverings for yourselves, to mitigate the offence, as he did, by saying, "The woman that thou gavest me, deceived me?" And so you are covering and hiding by excuses and pretences, that which in the day of your simplicity and tenderness you would not have been ashamed of, and since, in the day of your prosperity, have gloried in as your crown. O do not so, for the Lord will not be mocked; for such as you have sown, such shall you reap. Be not like Israel of old, to add evil to evil, not only in forsaking the fountain, but hewing out inventions and excuses, which will not hold in this day of your distress; but be upright-hearted and single to God, seeking out no covers, nor sinful compliance, lest you lose this day of visitation also, and the little glimmering of hope

that yet remains for you, if you persist not in your wickedness, but on the contrary, if you do, ye shall go down to the pit, where there is no remembrance of him.

To you that are called Public Preachers, or Ministers of the Gospel, and are under present sufferings, or possessed with fear, that you shall suffer either in relation to your places or consciences.

Why are you afraid? And wherefore are your hearts disquieted? If you have preached the gospel in season, and out of season, will not that keep you in peace? Or is not your gospel, the gospel of peace? Or are you afraid, because you made use of the gospel, to preach up war? If you have discharged your duties faithfully, and sought no man's goods, but their good; if so, will not the good overcome the evil? And if you suffer for righteousness sake, are you not blessed? And if you can live upon the gospel, will not that maintain you, and save you? Why are you then troubled?

If another generation, more righteous than you, spring up; and those that have been long humbling, and under a sharp rebuke, be restored to their places again, and you put out; and if they preach better, and live better, that their moderation may be known unto all men; and that they are not so greedy of filthy lucre, as you were; nor use that rigor, and severity, and inhumanity, which some of you have done, in casting poor people into prison, and separating man and wife, until they have died in a gaol, and that for a thing of naught, as for smoke-penny, and a garden-penny, and such like trifles as should not be named amongst Christians, much less amongst those who call themselves the ministers of the gospel; and all this, because for conscience sake they could not let them gather that had not scattered, nor him reap that had not sown, nor his ox feed in that corn which he had not trodden out, nor pay him wages whom he never hired, neither did any work for him: if those ministers, that come after you, shall not do these things, nor make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, by serving the times, and complying with worldly interests, to enrich themselves, and fare deliciously thereby; but shall at all seasons preach freely, giving good example both in life and doctrine; oppressing no man's conscience, but giving freely, and freely receiving; not following your steps, but the steps of Christ and his apostles, who chose to obey God rather than man; and not to comply for self-safety and advantage, who spake as the spirit gave them utterance; and not what men commanded, contrary thereto; will not the Lord bless them? But if these, that come in your places, shall follow your steps, in all or any of the things aforesaid, will not the Lord drive them out, and cast them off, for their rebellion and unfaithfulness, as he hath done, and is doing of you before them? And therefore why should you be troubled, except for the load of guilt, and weight of oppression, and merciless cruelty, that lies upon you? And for these things you ought to be humbled, that if it be possible you may be recovered out of the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity; that so your souls may be saved, in this day of your visitation and sore chastisement that is coming upon you, and you restored to your former integrity, and uprightness of heart, which sometimes some of you were acquainted with, before you walked in the way of Balaam, to attempt to curse Israel, or to run greedily for gifts and rewards. O that there were an ear open, to hear the voice of this chastisement, that your souls might be recovered out of the snare of the enemy.

To all those that are in present sufferings in their hearts and minds, because they do not understand the end of the Lord in these late transactions.

Know ye the seed of God, even Abraham's seed; and as that comes to be raised, and brought forth, and bear rule in your hearts, so shall ye understand the mind of the Lord, and he will not hide from you the thing that he doth. Are you strangers in Israel, that you know not the causes and provocations that the Lord hath had from day to day, from a gainsaying and disobedient people, who draw near him with their lips, but their hearts were far from him; and who said, "Is not the Lord amongst us? No evil shall come unto us:" who had provoked him to jealousy from day to day; and after many a warning given unto them by the servants of the Lord, and his overturning time after time, yet would they not hearken, but rebelled more and more, and continued to oppress the innocent, and for their own ends gratified the ungodly, and cried up those whom the Lord by his word cried against? And not only so, but what wickedness was there found within their gates, and injustice in their courts, and pride and fulness of bread within their palaces, exceeding any that had been before them; besides, their profession of religion, made subservient to state policy; brother betraying brother, and one friend undermining another, and all to promote self, which the Lord had thrown down in others, and they, in an eminent way, were setting it up in themselves? How could the Lord but reckon for these things? Was not his suffering long, and his patience stretched out to the uttermost, and the measure of their iniquities full? And was

it not then righteous with the Lord, to give them up into the hands of the treacherous dealer, who themselves had dealt treacherously one with another, and to others? And so hath he repaid them with that which they requited others withal. Therefore say not you, Why hath the Lord done this? Nor busy your minds or thoughts about the cause of his dealings; but mind that in your own hearts, that accuseth you for your treachery against the Lord, who hath showed thee, O man, what is good, "to deal justly, to walk uprightly, to show mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Keep thou to that in thine own heart; for it is that which may be known of God, which is manifested in thee: and by that he shows thee, O man, what is good; and to that must thou take heed, lest thou drop into the same snare with those, whose fall thou art admiring, and so their case become thy case. If thou standest by faith, yet except thou believest in that within thyself, that shows thee what is good, thou canst not avoid falling likewise: neither canst thou, by beating thy brain, or musing in thine understanding, understand the end of these things; for they are too hard for thee to find out, until thou return into the sanctuary, which is the grace of God manifested in thee; and thereby shalt thou learn the fear of the Lord, whereby the heart shall be kept clean, and thou kept out of their snares.

To you who are in present power, who are raised up by the fall and overthrow of those that went before you.

Do not you boast yourselves in your own strength, nor glory over those who are under your feet, but consider the end of the Lord in these things. For, not for your sakes hath he wrought this change, that you might glory in the arm of flesh, or exalt yourselves, because the day is yours; but know assuredly, that it was to be avenged of an hypocritical and gainsaying generation, who said, and did not. And therefore is he arisen in righteousness to plead with them, and that those, whom they have ruled over, might once more rule over them; that you by their fall might take warning, and not lust after that which they lusted after, nor oppress that which they oppressed, both in themselves and others; but that you might undo the heavy burdens, and take off every yoke, and let the oppressed go free; which if you do, both as to civil and spiritual rights, which they promised to do, but did not, then shall you prosper, and the righteous rejoice in your government: but if those things continue, for which they were cast out before you, then shall the indignation of the Lord smoke against you, and your fall be great and speedy, and that into mischief, and shall rise no more. O that you had hearts to consider the languishing state of this nation! that righteousness might be encouraged, justice promoted, sin and iniquity stopped, and you a terror to the workers thereof. Let not that be found amongst you, which was found amongst them that were cast out before you, to advance any sect, party, or opinion; but let him of every sect, party, or judgment, that fears God, and works righteousness, find protection from your government: so shall partiality be shut out, and distributive justice, and impartial righteousness be administered unto all, and run down our streets like a stream. Then shall it be well for you, that the Lord hath so long chastised you, that you might learn rightcousness, and hate iniquity; so shall the nations be healed, and the distractions thereof composed. But on the contrary, if iniquity be sheltered under your wing, and unrighteousness, profaneness, and ungodliness, be countenanced, encouraged, or connived at; then shall the fury of the Lord smoke against you, and his righteousness shall be revealed, to throw you down, and that with an hand more eminent and remarkable, than that which brought you in; and the sound and report of your destruction and extirpation, shall exceed and go farther, and strike the nations afar off, with greater astonishment, and amazement of spirit. Even their ears shall tingle, and fright shall take hold upon them, because of the revelation of the righteous judgments of the Lord, against a rebellious people, whom he would have healed again and again, but they would not, but insulted and revolted yet more and more, and abused the patience and long-suffering of the Lord towards them, and turned their deliverances against the Lord, to puff and swell themselves up, beyond any that ever was before them: if this be your state, you shall perish suddenly, and that without remedy; and then shall you know, that the Lord hath spoken by me.

To all that fear the Lord, and whose hearts are upright with him, and yet are sensible of the suffering state of the Church that is in God; because of the oppressions, and weights, and burthens, that lie upon the righteous seed.

Fear not, nor be dismayed with any amazement. For your sakes will the Lord arise, and shake terribly the earth, and remove that which is shaken, that that which cannot be shaken may remain. Your heads will he lift up above all your enemies, and the day of your redemption shall draw nigh, and satan shall be trodden under your feet, and you brought into the mountain of the Lord, where ye shall feed upon the fat things which he hath prepared upon his

holy mountain. This mountain shall you know to be over, and on top of, all the mountains; and here you shall abide, and dwell in the dwelling-place that is upon Mount Zion; and upon all your glory shall be a defence, and none shall be able to make you afraid. Then shall ye know him that shall stand the last upon the earth, and ye shall receive dominion from him, whereby ye shall reign with him for evermore. Therefore watch ye unto prayer, and be you diligent in the work of the Lord, that you may finish with faithfulness the testimony that he hath given you to bear for his name's sake; and know assuredly, that nothing can harm you, while you follow that which is good. Watch ye in the light of Christ, that ye may be kept out of that part, in yourselves, which appertains to this world, and the things thereof, in that good part which shall never be taken from you, in which the god of this world hath no part. There is your safety for ever; there is the faith known, that stops the mouths of lions, and rebukes the roarings of the sea, and keeps in the calm, as in an ark, when all the world shall be overwhelmed with the Lord's wrath and displeasure. Then shall you be safe, and plant the earth with righteousness; and the former things shall be passed away, and the old heaven and the old earth melted away, and passed as a scroll; and the new heaven and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, shall remain, and the inhabitants therein shall rejoice, and shall sing the songs of Zion, and the songs of the Lamb, the praise of him that hath saved them. For your kingdom is not of this world, but he hath chosen you to be as pilgrims and strangers in and to the world. Although your bodies be in the world, yet use it and possess it, as though you used and possessed it not; that you may be known to be the redeemed of the Lord, that are seeking a city that hath foundations; and your conversations may be known to be above the earth, with all its glory, and you be saved out of all, and raised up over all, by him that throws down, and exalts at his pleasure.

This is the word of the Lord to you all; you are the Lord's host, and he will go before you, and be your rear-ward; and by you, and through you, will he bring mighty things to pass, at the sound whereof the nations shall tremble, and at the hearing whereof the earth shall be astonished, because of the Lord's appearing in his sons and daughters: unto the brightness of whose arising, many shall come from far, and at whose feet the riches and the glory of the Gentiles shall be laid down: and these things, you that are faithful shall know. Be not inquisitive which way the Lord will bring these things to pass; for his own arm shall do it; and that not by might nor by power, but by his Spirit will he remove the mountains, and all that lets, out of the way. Therefore be not faithless, but believing, and dwell in the patience, out of that which would limit the Holy One, either to time or means; so shall you come to the overcoming and to be more than conquerors through Christ your life, who is manifest in your mortal flesh. And concerning the times and seasons, I need not write unto you. For you know perfectly in yourselves, that the day of the Lord so cometh, as a thief in the night; that when they shall cry peace and safety, then sudden destruction shall come upon them; for now is their hour, and the power of darkness: but dwell you in the secret place of the Most High, under the shadow of his wing, and enter into your privy chambers, and shut the door till the calamity be overpast. For it shall not be long until the Lord shall visit his seed, and gather it from off the barren hills and mountains, that they that have gone astray, through the allurements, pleasures, and vanities of this world, shall be gathered into the fold; then shall there be one fold, and one shepherd; and the sons of God shall sing together, and the morning stars shall rejoice, and clap their hands for joy, because of so great salvation. They that are faithful shall know and see this, and be glad: for the Lord will not leave you, nor forsake you; you that are bold, valiant, and faithful for his name, and love not your lives unto the death, that you may finish the testimony of Jesus; but are as sheep appointed for the slaughter, and are like those that are killed all the day long; yet the Lord my God will arise for your sakes, and will utter his voice from Zion, and his thunderings from Jerusalem; and you shall be glad with his salvation, to the praise of his name for ever. Amen. JOHN CROOK.

To Friends in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and thereaways: mercy and peace rest among you.

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—Many and long have been the days of your sorrow and mourning, and great also have been the deliverances which you have known: what people have been saved by the Lord, like unto you? And who have been carried as upon eagles wings, as you have been? Who in storms, have known him making a calm; and in a tempest, have known him rebuking the winds? And when no rock could be seen, because of the swelling of the mighty waters, but through the dashing of the waves, the rock hath been covered over with water, and yet in a little time the rock hath appeared again, as unmoveable and fixed; whereby you have learned both how to want, and how

to abound; and to be full, and to suffer hunger. Keep fast the word of his patience, and let none take away your crown, but hold fast what you have received, which hath already made you to differ, not only from what you were in times past, but also from your familiars and acquaintance, who account it strange to see what you are, considering what you once were. And now the day is come and coming, wherein the difference must yet more appear, between those that fear the Lord, and those that fear him not; and the difference between those that say they are Jews, and are not, though they may have the praise of men. But the true Jew shall be now known from the formalist and time-server, and the upright-hearted from those that were never true in any form or profession. For it is the truth in the inward parts which many have talked of, but few have kept unto; such vain talkers shall now be known from the pure innocent seed, which now can lift up their heads, and not change their countenance, but are single to God. Come life, come death, liberty or bonds, their loyalty appears; for they are not of the earth, and therefore cannot sell their birth right for vanity, nor their inheritance for that which is changeable. But however, the God, whom this royal seed serve, deals with them, either to kill or save alive; yet they will not bow to the world, but must be faithful in all things, knowing in whom they have believed.

And though none may be tempted like unto these, or none seemingly so desolate as they, yet they will trust in the hope, against the hope, and believe for the inheritance beyond all; because of a secret dependency upon, and a near alliance unto, the God of the whole earth, whose children they are: and their Father they dare not forsake, whatsoever becomes of them, for he never did nor will forsake them; and their care is, that he may not be against them, whatever becomes of them. O ye begotten of the Lord! lift up your heads, and know, in the word of the Lord, that whatsoever trials he exerciseth you withal, though it be to the offering up of all that is dear unto you, even as Isaac unto Abraham, your father; yet will he not fail, but provide himself a sacrifice, to save your hope from perishing, and your faith from failing. Therefore be strong in the power of his might, and valiant for his name, unto the end; giving up all that is dear unto you, that the trial of your faith may appear to be more precious than silver, seven times tried in the fire, for the perfecting your joy, that it may be unspeakable, and full of glory; that through the stedfastness of your faith, you may not fail of deliverance, but by walking in Abraham's steps, you may come to Abraham's blessing; and your faith, as it was to Abraham, shall be imputed unto you for righteousness; and God will be your friend, and you shall walk with him, and he will not hide from you the things that he doth; but you shall know his secrets, when all the dreamers shall be starved, as with their dreams, and the despisers shall wonder and perish; but your hope shall not make you ashamed.

Therefore, my dear Friends, as one that hath travailed with you and amongst you, I beseech you stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not entangled again with any yoke of bondage; but give up all freely and wholly, and keep nothing back, but let the Lord of the whole earth be your possession, and the mighty God of Jacob your inheritance for ever. For certainly, great is the work our God hath in hand, and glorious shall be the issue of these things, unto all who stand faithful; but sorrow, horror, judgment, and wrath, unto all hypocrites and dissemblers, who are now running in the way of Esau, as before they were running in the way of Cain and Ishmael. But whither can they fly from God's presence? Or where can they hide from his hand? Surely he will arise in his fury, and his jealousy shall burn as an oven, against all that are chaff and stubble. And after he hath tried his seed, and made the excellency thereof appear, beyond all the vain talkers, and hath purged his floor, and cleansed his sanctuary; then will he renown his name for ever, and make Zion a praise, and Jerusalem the beauty of the whole earth.

And therefore now, my dear friends and brethren, keep your meetings, and be not at all affrighted, and take no notice of the boisterous winds; but be still, and they will pass over; know your dwelling, and abide there with God. As any are moved, let none keep silence, or withhold from letting the fountain flow; but build up one another in the holy faith, that God's presence, life, and power, may abide with you, and run through you; that you may be a watered garden, and as beds of spices, that the beloved may blow [upon], and cause the scent thereof to ascend; that the Lord, your husband, may walk in you, and be with you for ever. Thus the fearful and unbelieving may be seen to dwell without, and you to have no fellowship with them, but rather to reprove them: that a pure lump you may be, and a holy temple; that nothing may be heard or seen amongst you, but what is becoming so high and holy a calling, as you are made partakers of; that purity may shine through you, and greenness and freshness may be your condition, and righteousness and holiness your whole course, at all times, to the praise of him who hath called you for ever. Amen.

My God and Father keep you all, dear friends and brethren, in his arms of love and

peace, and fill your meetings with his power and presence, that you may be a blessing one to another: and let peace and unity be amongst you; let every one keep their place in the body; and whereto you are called, abide faithful; and none strangle any moving of the life, but all in the innocency and simplicity keep, which will make you bold and valiant for the truth of our God, in this day of storms, wherein all the blossom trees, that bear no fruit, shall be cursed, together with the dry and fruitless; for now shall they be blessed for ever, who stand faithful to the end. Keep your meetings, as at other times; and take no notice of any thing, but what is pure and holy: and so the God of peace keep you all, with all the faithful brethren and friends, in his love and peace to the end. Amen. JOHN CROOK.

From Huntington jail, the 28th of the Eleventh month, 1660.

An epistle for unity to prevent the wiles of the enemy.

DEAR lambs of my Father's fold, who have been rescued out of the hands of the devourer, and known the wolves, and the roaring of the lions, and the craft of the foxes, who made a prey upon you, while you were without a shepherd, and while you were in the open field, and upon the wide mountains, without an hedge about you, or a wall to defend you; but every wild beast, and ravening bird, was ready to prey upon you. There was no one found either to pity or gather you, until the good Shepherd, from whose fold you had strayed, sought you out, and brought you home, some upon his shoulders, and some driven gently, and others, who would have run away after you were found, being accustomed to wander, and in love with your wandering, he constrained by his sharpness; after whom he hath had a watchful eye, because of your liableness to go astray again, to feed by yourselves, and not with the rest of the flock, whereby you have been liable not only to be torn by the briars and thorns, but also with the wolf, and other preying beasts, unto your wounding again.

O all ye lambs and sheep of my Father's fold! Were you not all torn and wounded by going astray, and many of you ready to perish of your wounds, and weary with complaining? And yet could not but complain, but were even tired of that also; so that you did but add to your own sorrow, whereby you made your condition worse than the worst, by being your own tormentors; your sorrow keeping you from rest, and your complaints from feeding, where others got some relief. Your strength being wasted, and your power gone, so that you could not shift nor flee, but lay open to the spoiler, to execute his fury upon you; so helpless were you in yourselves in that day. In this state were many of you found, when the Shepherd of Israel arose to seek his sheep. Oh! do you not remember these things? Was not your grief unutterable, and your pain grown to that extremity, that you had perished immediately, if he had not found you when he did? How were some of you fled into solitary holes, and others into the clifts of the craggy rocks, and were mourning there, desiring that your eyes were as a fountain of tears, because of the wickedness of the wicked, and miserable state of mankind, and there was no helper found? Others of you like a sparrow chirping alone upon the house top, seeing over the world, with all its glory; and yet could not tell how to get rid of it, but still had an eye over it, and yet could not break through it. This caused you to sigh and mourn, and you could not meet with a mate or companion amongst all the sons of Adam; and so inward sorrow wasted your strength, and outward griefs consumed your flesh; and when you went to break through, you were torn by the briars and thorns, that you could not find a way to escape. And others of you had learned to herd with the beasts of the field, and could eat of their bread, and drink of their drink, and lie down in their resting place. Oh! how did the Shepherd chase you with his judgments, and hunt you with his crosses and afflictions outward and inward, to bring you home? And what care hath he taken, since your recovery, to keep you in the fold amongst the lambs, that you may no more find out any of your old walks and haunts, but be kept for ever to feed with the lambs, that you all might lie down together, as sheep of one fold.

My heart and all that is within me, is pained for you, and mourns in secret after you, and cries day and night unto the Shepherd, to look after you, and take care of you all, that none of you be lost, or stray, or be worried, or hunted any more; but that you may for ever lie down together, and neither hurt, grieve, nor offend one another, nor harden those who yet go astray; but that all may be kept in the sense of what, and where, once you were, and of the love, care, and mercy, that pitied you then, and healed and bound you up, and brought you home, and passed by the remembrance of all your trespasses, and loved you freely. Oh! let the bowels of the Shepherd to you, beget compassions unto the scattered, and unto one another, who will again soon be scattered, if he should look not after you! For you were all once in that nature, by which you were children of wrath, and in darkness as well as others; and wherein any of you differ, either from what

yourselves once were, or from what others are, it is by that which you have freely received.

Oh! art thou strong in the Lord? And have many great things been done by thee; and many mighty men been made to fall before thee by his power; and the host of the Philistines been put to flight; and the power of darkness, and satan, the prince thereof, been withstood, and made to turn his back, and vail to Him thy strength; and the dead been raised thereby, and the graves opened at his word, which went out of thy mouth? And many which were bound, as in fetters of iron, have been loosed by him; and others, that have been shut up close prisoners, in the pit where they saw no light; and yet at his rebuke, and lifting up of his voice, the dead have risen, and those prisoners come forth, and sounded out the praises of that God, in whose power you did it? And hath the tongue of the learned been in thy mouth, and the weary been refreshed by thee, and the mourners been comforted through hearing of thy voice; so that the evil spirits have fled away, when thou hast taken up thy harp, and all the minstrels and worldly joys have departed at his appearance; so terrible was his presence, and dreadful his countenance, that no eye was so quick, as to abide undazzled before him; nor any craft or deceit so closely couched, but it startled when he made search; nor any paint so artificial, but it melted before his dissolving presence, and scorching glory; so that all spirits were discerned, and tried, and judged with righteous judgments, in the day of his strength? O! how did the wise men of Egypt, and the soothsayer, peepers and diviners, with all the magicians and masters of that crew, together with all the merchants of Babylon, flee before him, like the routing of a mighty army, and scattering of all their generals, and officers of command? How wast thou, and thy companions, in the strength of the Lord, like David with all his worthies? And how have you, like mighty men, by his power, broken through the whole camp of the uncircumcised, to bring water unto the thirsty? What service was too hard for you to venture upon, to relieve the captives, and set free them who were bound, who, like Samson, have broken all the cords and bindings of the Philistines, and snapped them asunder like a thread? With many more achievements that have been done by his arm, which time would fail to record; but living monuments remain, as pillars and standards reared up, to keep in remembrance what hath been done by the strength of the God whom you served, to his praise and eternal glory for ever.

For, was it not all by his own arm, and his everlasting strength, that out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he might ordain strength, and perfect his praise for ever? Yea, was any thing yours in all this work, besides the obedience to his power? And was it not all his, that no flesh might glory in his presence? Therefore, all you children of the Lord, without respect of persons, that have seen his wonders, and mighty goings forth, and have beheld his marvellous doings, not only as spectators, but sharers in the victories, and dividers of the spoil with the mighty, whose souls have been delivered out of captivity, and rescued from the land of darkness; who have drank of the water of life, that hath been brought unto you by the valiants of Israel, through the hazard of their lives. Oh! do not you forget the sweetness of the waters; nor the dangers they ran, who ventured through the enemies camp to bring it unto you, with their lives in their hands. How sweet it was unto you then, and how did you prize it beyond all the rivers of Damascus? Let your love never abate unto it, but heighten more and more; for it is not of a wearing nature, but provokes the appetite, and stirs up the desire after more of the same for ever. For it is the vitiated palate that blames good diet, and the full stomach that loathes the honeycomb; but the true seed drink the wine new continually in the Father's kingdom, and the redeemed sing a new song, and have all things new and fresh, as the water out of the fountain, springing up into eternal life; where nothing can remain in the old channel, but is washed away by the running of the pure water, that proceeds from the fountain.

Hear, O ye children of Jacob, what is the advice and counsel of a poor redeemed captive, once your companion in bonds, and now in freedom! As we mourned once under the oppression of the oppressor together, so let us now rejoice in that love, that hath pitied and set us free; let nothing stop our mouths from praising, nor our hearts from rejoicing, in the ocean of eternal kindness and mercy, that hath delivered us. Let us haste upon the top of Mount Gerizim, opening our mouths in blessings and thanksgivings unto our God for ever, who hath made and chosen us to be a people, that were not a people, that we may keep his statutes, and delight in his law; and then let us stand upon mount Ebal, that the curses and righteous judgments of the Lord may come upon the head of the wicked one, and all that would divide us from God, or one from another; and whatsoever rejoiceth in unrighteousness, or delighteth in false judgment, and upon that root of bitterness, that brings forth gall and wormwood. Let nothing escape the righteous stroke of the Almighty that genders to bondage, or would entangle our hearts and minds, whereby that sweet peace and rest, and satisfaction in the Lord God, might not be enjoyed, as

heretofore it hath been: for the wicked one will be sowing his tares in the night of security and carelessness, and it will soon spread and grow, that thou canst not get it rooted out of thy heart, but it will eat, defile and stain, that thy very comeliness will be disfigured, and thy beauty which once thou hadst will be marred by it. Thou, who sometimes wast tender and full of love and meekness, wilt be so changed, that nothing but roughness and envyings of Jacob's blessings will secretly follow thee, with an evil eye to spy out new faults, and a memory to call to mind the old infirmities of thy brethren; whereby thou wilt have a large treasury of evil in thy heart, which will be furnishing thy mind and thoughts with unprofitable matter, unto the daily wounding of thy life, and clouding of thy understanding, and thickening of the vail and mask over thy beauty. All this may be done by the enemy, under pretence of valour, and witness bearing, against formality and deceit. Oh! how easy is it for the simple to be deceived here, and the strong to be betrayed, as through Delilah's flatteries, saying, it is not for want of love to God, and zeal for him; if a testimony without delay be not borne, and a dislike showed, against such and such things; whereby the angry part will soon get up, and quench the love to the brethren, and drown the mercy, so that all will be covered besides the hard rocks, and lofty mountains; and upon these they may see afar into the enemy's country, but cannot behold the holy land, with its inhabitants, on the other side of the sea. And from hence, if the watch be not kept, may even the valiants in Israel receive a stroke, and come to a loss, by this craft and disguise of the evil one.

And then others perceiving it, against whom the offence was taken, not dwelling always in the love that covers all, but venturing too much to take the air, and to walk as upon the walls, without the castle, may soon let in the knowledge, and taking notice of it, which will beget the same in them; whereby the distance will be increased, and the evil one will gain ground, and the enemy will soon show himself to the troubling of Israel; and so will the evil seed be scattered abroad, and gender unto more ungodliness, for want of a timely prevention, both in the one and in the other. Thus may the lambs of my Father's fold be disturbed by the little foxes, who should be taken by the watchmen of Israel, that they might not wander to hurt.

Therefore, O ye children, and mighty men, with the leaders of the tribes! Remember how easy it is for you all to miscarry, if the watch be not diligently kept; for satan will be standing at the right hand of Joshua, to resist him. Call to mind what is recorded in the Scriptures of Truth! How the man of God, after he had gone forth and finished his message, in crying against the altar at Bethel, and after he had withstood the temptation of the king, was slain by the lion, for going from the word of the Lord in himself, and hearkening unto the counsel of the old prophet, whereby he was deceived, and returned not according to the command of the Lord. And, my dear brethren, Paul, a champion in Israel, and master builder in God's work, who saw need, in the bowels of love and mercy, that the faithful, without respect of persons, should watch one over another; did, as need required, say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it. And did not satan present himself amongst the sons of God, in the days past, when they were met together; and, O remember, the serpent got into Paradise, to tempt from the innocency; who is the same that ever he was, and most busy about those who are chiefest in the work of the Lord; for who was so tempted as the Son of God? Therefore let the strong bear the infirmities of the weak, lest they also be tempted; for we all stand by faith. He that is most in the life of the Son, is most sensible of the hurts of others, and most touched with the feeling of their wounds; not slightly passing by, like the priest and Levite; but mercifully pitying and healing, like the good Samaritan. For it is a symptom of hardness in him, that makes slight of the wounds and bruises of his brethren, thereby pouring brine into their wounds, rather than the oil of love and tenderness. Such physicians rather help to fester, than cure the hurt; and to increase the pain, than to stop the spreading of the disease; whereby a little slip proves a dangerous sprain, and a small bruise sometimes to the loss of a member and grieving of the whole body; and all for want either of skill or sense, or both, in the physician.

Where skill is wanting, there the physician may administer that which increases the distemper, and thereby disparage himself, and endanger the patient; and where sense is wanting, there austerity and rigidness are usually met withal. So that he who feeds the lambs, and hurts them not, must himself be conformable to Christ, who is holy and harmless, and separate from defilement, and touched with the feeling of their infirmities; having shoulders to carry the lame on, as well as a tongue to direct the ignorant; and arms to bear up the weary, as well as feet to go before them in example. One who ought to feed the lambs, as a testimony of his own love to the Father; and wash their feet, as an example of humility; not seeking honour, lest he be infected with lordliness thereby; and so by seeking pre-eminence, by eldership, or some other outward thing, hurt the lambs, and stop the simplicity, that otherwise would have had them highly in esteem,

for their work's sake in the power, but now will be hindered, because looked for; whereby the enemy will get advantage, of the one by seeking it, and the other by taking notice of it, that prejudice will increase, and the life in both be hurt; and all for want of watching, to be content with the honour that comes from God only, and himself to be as one that serveth the lowest and weakest babe, striving rather to be under all, than seeking to be over any; counting it honour to serve, knowing sensibly, that one is their Father and Master, even God, and they have all but one Lord and Master; unto which, both he that teacheth, and they that are taught, must be subject, as the body unto the wisdom and direction of the head; so must all be unto Christ, the promised seed. And if any hold not the head, they run into the error, and so out of the sense, by which only the members can serve one another in love, the law which God hath set to govern the body by. For he that is most in the seed, is most in the life, and so in the sense whereby the unity and sympathy in the body is preserved; and that member most grieves for the hurts and bruises of the rest, where the sense is quickest, whereby its usefulness in the body is discerned, and the double esteem and honour is given unto it by all the living members, which is not sought by him, but given freely by others, because they are sensible of the usefulness of that member to the body; and so is the whole edified in, and built up by love.

But if, through any prevalent humour, the health of any be impaired, whereby the sense is lost or benumbed, that it feels not when others are hurt, and yet will continue to officiate in the body, whereby the rest are grieved; in that case it must not be ruggedly fallen upon, lest, through its own unsensibleness, it hurt the living members, without either mercy or sense, and so either make them grieve, or wholly unsensible also, unto the increasing of farther discord in the body. But rather gentleness and forbearance must be used, as by the application, not of harshness, and present judging, or standing at a distance, but, of warm clothes, and suppling oils, used by a gentle hand, with much pains, and often exhortation, in the stirrings of love, and risings of the life. Yet feed not the benumbedness, or senselessness, but cherish the life, and so recover the sense, whereby it is restored to the former office in the body, and more filled with compassion, usefulness, and diligence, than before. And the other members are now made more sensible of the benefit of patience and long-suffering, and see from whence that springs, that would limit unto seven times, and how narrow and short it is of the fulness of mercy itself, that is unlimited, but binds the limiting spirit, unto the perfecting of the praises of the God of everlasting goodness and mercy. And thus will the wiles of the enemy be prevented, and the body preserved in unity, and edify itself in love: and hereby will the world be convinced, that you are the disciples of Christ, and have learned of him to love one another; and in love, as the members of the natural body, to serve one another, and to minister to its benefit, of the ability which God giveth, and from the rising of the life, and breaking forth of it, as the sun from under a cloud, and not under a vail or burden. Wait until the way be clear in thy own particular, and the power hath wrought through and scattered all clouds; and then, with open face, and not from under a vail, doth the word of life go forth to the cherishing of the tender babes and plants, and so there will be a springing of the life in all.

He that so ministers, saves himself, and those that hear him; and neither wants milk to feed himself, nor the word to minister to others; but will distinguish in himself between the word, and the milk of it, and also between that which looks at the passing away of the time, and to answer the expectation of others in words, or the keeping of its own authority over others, and that which dwells in the cross unto all these things, heeding nothing but the rising of the life, and overcoming of the power, and so knows how to behave himself in the church of God, both when to begin, and when to make an end; ministering in the life, and reaching to the seed, and not to the judgment and affections only. Feeling in himself when the seed is raised, and the power stirs in another; this sense makes him cease, that the life may speak in whom and when it pleaseth. And so nothing will be quenched, nor any burthened, but unity will be preserved, and all lordship and mastery destroyed, and every member have its liberty, without being restrained by anything besides the power; and so every one will prefer others before themselves, keeping no authority over any, but minding the arising of the power in their own hearts. For what knowest thou, but the power may be quiet and still in thee, be thou ever so strong, that it may show itself in a weaker vessel, and perfect its praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings; which may be hindered by thy negligence, in not minding the power in thyself, and God's end in exercising thee in silence, rather than speaking; which may be, either to speak himself in some weaker babe, or to come forth in thee with great power, after long exercise and silence, and patient waiting, in the cross to thy own will, and all that would be anything out of the power.

Here the simplicity in all will guide, and the several gifts, given for edification of the whole,

will shine; and no candle be under a bushel, nor any signification of the Spirit resisted, but all will be as servants unto it. And in this order will there be time for the lambs to feed, in their green pasture, as well as others to be exhorted, and the world instructed. And so will your meetings be as a feast, and the elders judging not so much what words are spoken, as what life and power is stirring, all laying down their crowns at the feet of him that sits upon the throne. So will all take heed how they hear, as well as what they hear; and they that speak, as well know in what they speak, as what words they utter; whereby all will be done unto the praise and glory of God in the churches, and many will rejoice to behold your order. This is that behaviour in the church of God which all must learn, that there may be no schism in the body, but all may be preserved in unity for ever, and in the tender bowels of compassion one unto another; all being sensible what trespasses have been forgiven them by God, the Father of mercies; and they, his children, will be merciful like him, knowing their daily dependence is upon him; and they have no strength or ability, either to stay where they are, or to go on to perfection, but as it freely flows from him, upon whom they depend every day for fresh springs, as the babe upon the mother.

Therefore, O ye children of the living God, be like minded unto your Father, in mercy and love one to another, and in his fear consider these things, that in his saving health you may be kept, and none be hurt or bruised amongst you.

Meet in the faith, and in God's fear, that your minds may not be suffered to wander, because of the diligent watch; but mind feeding more than hearing, every one coming as unto a feast, and sitting in the pure light of the Sun of righteousness, that all your souls' wants may be supplied, and every one return laden and filled with the milk and honey of the good land; that it may be known and taken notice of by all that converse with you, or come amongst you, that you have been with Jesus, and have received his virtue, from the touches of his life; whereby you that come to meetings, bowed down and heavy laden, may go away with your burdens removed, praising the name of the Lord.

And let him that ministereth, first feel the state and condition of the meeting by the sensible stirrings of life; not judging according to the sight of the eye, or hearing of the ear, but with righteous judgment in the life; minding more their state, as represented in the power, than by any outward intelligence; that so the word may be divided aright, and not handled deceitfully, according to any outward guess or judgment, or corrupted by intermingling the words that man's wisdom teacheth. Let the life put on what clothes he pleases, and as it dresseth itself, so let it appear and go forth; thou being as the trumpet, but the breath of life must make the sound, in what order it pleaseth; and so will all the babes be refreshed with its melody, and the sound be certain, that every soldier may be prepared to battle, to the help of the Lord against the mighty, in their own hearts; and so will the blessings of the Lord be amongst you.

Let not time limit you, but in the power and wisdom of God, wait to know when he gives leave to depart in perfect freedom, lest any go away burdened, by having something stirring in them, and moving to speak, or pray, or otherwise sound out the goodness of the Lord, by what signification the Spirit itself pleaseth; that so in all things you may stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, not being brought under the power of anything; but, every one, without respect of persons, using your own liberty unto edification, minding always the preservation of unity in the body, more than your own particular ease and benefit, avoiding singularity in anything, except by a positive command, lest division or separation follow.

Let not your ears be open unto every word that is spoken, lest dislike or prejudice enter; but mind the life more than words, that your unity may stand in the Spirit that speaks, and not in the words that are spoken; lest the affections be tickled, and a love and unity arise from thence, whereby a false fellowship will be begotten, and held in outward observance, like the world, and so will gifts and persons come to be set up, and death and formality increase. But the mystery of the fellowship in the Spirit and life will decay, and so form and power will clash, and discord soon enter; and the wisdom of the brain, in the abundance of knowledge, will set up a judgment against the tasting palate, and inward feeling by the power. So may the power come to be lost, or much abated, because its way of overcoming is rather by suffering, than open contest; which hitherto hath been the cause that so few have been on its side in ages past, the greater part going still the other way; but by your keeping in the savory spirit, you will try and judge all words, and the spirits also from whence they proceed, to the keeping out of all distempers.

Let there be no whisperings among you, nor that nourished which delights to hear or bear tales; but every one minding their own measures, which neither doth nor thinketh any evil, but judgeth that as a seed sown to cause the flesh's strength to increase. For as that evil seed is hearkened unto, it will beget a fellow-

ship in the prejudiced part, unto the cooling of love, and nourishing of iniquity, whereby it will secretly spread itself, to the poisoning of the tongue with private smitings, and also misspending of precious opportunities in unprofitable discourses, unto the burdening of the true seed.

Let no harshness to, nor judging of one another be found among you; for your mother, that brought you forth, is free from all these things, swallowing up, and covering all, as the sea the earth, by infinite depths lower than all, and unmeasurable heights above all. So that all is cleansed through it, and compassed round by it on every side, that nothing but perfect love and purity may appear, the multitude of evils being covered by it; so that though they be sought for, yet they shall not be found. And therefore let it appear you are her children, by passing by, and covering all with that mantle which yourselves were once swaddled in, and to this day are kept warm by. But if anything that is evil spring up in the garden, let it be soon weeded out by the care of the owner. But when thou seest it either in thy own, or neighbour's garden, let not anger or fretting boil in thee against it, but wait for skill and power to pluck it up, without hurt to the walks or pleasant flowers. Do it not in haste or wrath, lest thou nip the top only, leaving the root in the ground to spread more, and do greater mischief; and so shalt thou in wisdom keep the garden clean, thy duty be discharged unto thy neighbour, and thy brother saved from the spite of the enemy; and thou shalt shine, because thou hast saved him from the error of his way.

Let anger and distaste be far from thee, not having any place in thy heart: "Let not the sun go down in thy wrath; but when thou rememberest thy brother hath aught against thee, leave thy gift at the altar, and go thy way and be first reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift upon God's altar;" and so shalt thou meet with acceptance from him, and thy soul be preserved in his peace, and thou kept in unity with thy brethren.

Let not an accusation be received against an elder, without two or three witnesses, that so it may be established to be true; and then in love, and bowels of meekness and tender compassion, let him know of it privately, that he may be reclaimed, and the body preserved pure, unto the praise of God. So will all things be done decently and in order, and the Lord God of life and power, will appear amongst you in power and great glory, setting up his mercy seat over you, and the cherubims stretching forth their wings, and covering their faces, because of his presence. Here will be found the substance of all figures, the pot with manna, and the ark of the testament, with the rod that budded, and the monuments of his mercy and goodness will be brought into remembrance by the Spirit of truth, and this glory of the latter house far exceed the former, unto the praise of his everlasting mercy and goodness for ever.

For this is the message which I am to signify unto you, in the name of the Lord God of hosts, and in his fear I deliver it. Thus saith the Lord God of hosts: I have seen, I have seen the afflictions of the afflicted, and their cry is come in remembrance before me; and I will awake as a man of war, and come forth as a giant refreshed with wine, to finish my determinations, and to execute mine own decrees; and in righteousness and judgment will I do it, saith the Lord God. I will plead with all the rebellious inhabitants of the earth, as with fire and sword, to make my power known in their destruction, and to the salvation of my own seed, saith the Lord. I will not leave one lost sheep unfound, nor one lamb unbrought home, nor prisoner in the pit unset free. I will give commission to the graves to open, for the dead to arise, and unto the sea, to cast up her slain. I will deliver the mourners, and set free all the captives, because the day of the everlasting jubilee is come, and the Lord of sabbaths hath heard the cry of the elect, and is risen to plead their cause, and to execute judgment on their behalf, and to clear their innocency before all people. For I will not leave one of them under the power of the adversary: for my decree is to break all bonds, and to snap all chains asunder, and to suffer no bounds or limits to be unto my love; for they shall know the largeness, sweetness, and everlastingness of it. Like a sea it shall be unto them, to overflow all banks, and cover all mountains and hills, and to fill them with the knowledge of my life and presence, as the waters cover the sea.

I will, saith the Lord God, make the nations know, that I have loved them, and that they are a people saved by the Lord, and the glory of all nations, and the blessing of all lands. "Therefore let no straitness be upon you, nor gall of bitterness in you: for this is the message that I am to deliver unto you from the Lord of hosts, the God of your salvation," viz. That your God hath looked upon you with everlasting mercy, and upon your scattered brethren and sisters, the royal seed of Abraham, that are hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and will deliver them all, and rend all mountains that lie in their way, and cleave all rocks of opposition against me, divide all waters that separate from me, saith the Lord of hosts, that my ransomed may pass; and this will I do both within and without them. For what I will do in them, shall be as an earnest and pledge of what I will do without them. Within

them shall not be any root of bitterness, or other evil thing, but I will destroy it, saith the Lord God: within them shall lodge no ravenous beast, nor devouring bird, nor any evil surmising one against another, nor any envying shall be found amongst them; but they shall be all righteous, and the everlasting gates shall open at the word of my command, and they, the righteous nation, shall enter into mine unlimited glory, and boundless everlasting loving-kindness, in the free covenant of life in Christ Jesus, that I may rejoice over them to do them good for ever.

And without them shall not be an oppressor found to hurt them, nor any destroyer upon all my holy mount, saith the Lord God. I will rid the earth of the briars and thorns, and burn up the straw and stubble, and consume all the workers of iniquity, that my blessings may come upon my people unto the uttermost; that all nations, bond and free, may hear of my marvellous works, and be astonished, and all my children comforted together one in another, and in me, saith the Lord God, for ever. I will fill their hearts and their meetings with my glory, that they, as the sons of the morning, may sing together, and the voice of melody and gladness may be in them and amongst them, to the ravishing of their hearts, and astonishing of all that behold them; for Jerusalem shall be a praise, and Zion a rejoicing unto the ends of the earth.

Therefore lift up your heads, and put on thy strength, O thou city of the living God: for thy walls shall be salvation, and thy gates praise; no complaining shall be in thy streets, nor beggar in all thy land; and strife and debate shall for ever be banished out of thy dwellings; and peace and plenty, love and unity, shall be the motto upon your houses; and the Omnipotent One, the Lord of hosts, thy husband, thy Lord, and thy God for ever. J. Crook.

From Aylesbury common gaol, the 19th day of the Seventh month 1661.

An Epistle to the children of the Lord.

Dear children of the Lord,—Great hath been the love, with which the Father of mercies hath visited you, when you were fallen into the hands of your enemies, who had wounded you, and bruised you, so that there was no soundness in you; and in that state you lay, and none was able to comfort you, or to bind up your wounds. The priest and the Levite passed by, as void of compassion, and as physicians of no value, until the good Samaritan came, whose own compassions reached unto you, so that oil was poured into your wounds, and a place of entertainment provided, and refreshment was received by you, to the comforting of your souls in your weary and wounded estate. Oh my friends! Do you not remember it? And can you not tell what God hath done for you, and when he did it? And how seasonable and suitable it was unto you, in the day of your misery? And how welcome, and with what acceptance and thankfulness did you receive it? Was any either able or worthy, in heaven and earth to help you, besides him? And if he had not freely succoured you in your distress, had you not perished in your blood? Oh! Why should his mercy be forgotten, or his love slip out of remembrance for ever? Surely he did it that he might be feared, and that he might be praised; and that a birth might be born, that cannot and will not forget his goodness, nor give the glory of his doings unto another, but unto him for ever unto whom it belongs: and in this birth is your safety, and in this birth is your peace and quietness for ever. Oh! do not let the false birth be painted with the openings that belong unto the true, nor the true want the food that is proper for it. Let not the earthly selfish birth, be covered or clothed with the profession of the true and heavenly birth, while the immortal is covered with rags, and with death and darkness, and is kept prisoner in the pit, and captive in the dungeon of falsehood, and fleshly reasonings; locked with chains of fears, and doubts, and cares for self-safety, while there is a cry for want of bread, and a famine in your hearts; and while the earthly and fleshly part is fed with dainties, and fares deliciously every day, with the knowledge and remembrance of what was once enjoyed, but now is departed from, and barrenness and coldness is come over again; and yet there is a mind that will not take notice of it, nor believe it, but sits as queen, notwithstanding all that was once honourable is lost and forsaken, and self and the earthly spirit is gotten up, and would rule where once the pure and holy Spirit ruled.

Oh! take heed of this usurper, for it is but one of Babylon's children, and happy shall he be that dashes it against the stones. For the Lord God is making the house of Jacob to be as a flame, and the house of Esau to be as stubble, and Jerusalem to be as a burdensome stone unto all nations. Therefore all of you that have seen the wonders of the Lord, and have beheld his marvellous doings; and have been patients of the true and everlasting physician, upon whom he hath exercised his skill, and manifested his love, that you for ever might sound out his praise, and procure many to inquire after him who heals without money, and gives all freely, and expects nothing but returns of praise and obedience in the strength of what he hath given. Do not so requite the

Lord, as to forget his mercies, or to slight what he hath done for you in times past; neither let the ungrateful, and disingenuous spirit, prevail again over you, lest your bondage be greater than before, and the enemy come in like a flood, and like the breaking forth of waters, and overflow the banks of temperance and moderation, and your excess prove greater, and your folly more remarkable, than before you knew the Lord, and the power of his word. The enemy comes not but to steal and to rob, and he begins in craft, and great subtilty, that so he may not be suspected; and his art is, in covering his bait, that his intended mischief may not appear, but that it may be swallowed down without suspicion; that he may have the greater hold, he begins with a small matter, and ends with a greater.

My dear friends! believe him not, for he was a liar from the beginning; and he will beguile you as he did Eve, if you watch not; he will tell you, that you may take care for your families, and so bring in distrust of God upon you. He will tell you, that you must be as wise as serpents, and so will bring in fleshly wisdom and devilish subtilty upon you. He will tell you, you must not give offence either to Jew or Gentile, or the church of God, and so will bring in respect of persons, and sinful compliances upon you. He will tell you, that you must love your enemies, and so will bring coldness upon you, to quench your zeal for God, in reproving of iniquity, and bearing a testimony for God against it. He will tell you, as he did Eve, you must feed upon the knowledge of this thing and the other thing, and by your knowing what is good and what is evil, you shall be like God, when it is the way to make you like him, who knows God's will, but is out of the power that enables to obey. And so will he paint over his wiles, that by his beginning with a little, he may afterwards bring to more; and so will weakness, and coldness, and hardness, and stiffness, increase and come upon you, like gray hairs here and there, and you know it not, but will grow most in a secret benumbing and insensibleness. Other evils will follow, and be pleaded for, and prejudice arise and grow, against all others who are not in the same, and who testify against them; and so the love will abate, and evil surmising spring; and that which should bear reproof, and receive information, is pressed and loaded, and burdens will grow, and the unity with the faithful will be lost, and the latter end be worse than the beginning.

Therefore watch, my dear friends, against the enemy of your souls, that you may be preserved out of all his snares, and that the holy seed may grow, and you, in the love and unity, may be preserved, faithful, bold, and valiant, in your answering of God's requiring in all things, unto his praise and glory for ever. That the blessings of Abraham may be enjoyed, and your peace with God may abound, and love, one unto another, and with all his children; shining through, and manifesting itself in your diligent coming together to worship God, and faithful keeping of your meetings, out of the fear of men, in the fear of God, unto his praise, and sweet refreshing of one another; and so will you delight to meet together, and the joy of the Lord will be your strength, and you thereby encouraged to wait upon him. His sweet and precious presence will be manifest amongst you, unto the building up and strengthening one another in the faith of the gospel, vanquishing your fears and scattering all your enemies; so that you will not be bowed down under any of your enemies, but be delivered out of all their hands, that you may serve the Lord your God without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of your lives, unto the praise of the glory of his goodness and mercy, that endures for ever.

So in the love of God, and peace one with another dwell, and judge with the light of Jesus Christ, all that genders unto bondage, or that would lead you unto the self-safety or fleshly ease, out of the daily cross; but love the cross of Christ, and delight in the yoke, that all may be slain and crucified, that oppresseth the seed of God. So shall your hearts be kept open unto God, and you sensible of his heavenly dew, and the showers of his blessings to water your hearts, that you may be kept green and fresh as a garden, and the beloved walking in the midst of you, and you all comforted by his living presence in your hearts, unto the endless praise of his mercy for ever. My God keep you all in his life, fear, and love, unto the end. Amen.

JOHN CROOK.

From my outward bonds for the testimony of Jesus, in the common jail, in Aylesbury, the 16th of the Seventh month, 1661.

Another Epistle to the children of the Lord.

DEAR FRIENDS AND CHILDREN OF THE LORD,

My dear love is with you, and my life is refreshed, when you are in my remembrance by the Spirit of my God, because of your stedfastness in his truth, and valour for his name; and as I have been often refreshed amongst you, when I have been present with you, even so now are my bonds sweetened to me by the remembrance of you in the Lord. Oh! I cannot forget how sweet his presence hath been unto us many a time in our meetings together. Surely it is never to be forgotten; and sooner let our right hands forget their cunning, and

our tongues cleave to the roofs of our mouths, and the sucking babe forget the breast that nourished it, than that we should forget the goodness of the Lord our God, or to suffer the remembrance of his manifold mercies and often deliverances, which he hath wrought for us in the deeps, and the sands and the rocks, which he hath again and again saved us from falling into, and splitting upon, to be forgotten by us. Oh! are not the wonders that he hath wrought, exceeding admirable? And his preservations from time to time, inexpressible and innumerable? Who is a God like unto him! Or where is he to be found, that can rescue out of his hand? Is not his salvation as walls and bulwarks, and his pure and holy name as an invincible castle, and his mighty arm as a wall of brass about the dwellings of Zion? For how hath he chosen her to be the delight of his heart, and the spouse of his bosom, from whom he will not withhold the thing that is good, but will delight her with his riches, and clothe her with his ornaments, and feed her with the finest of the flour, and gladden her heart with the wine of the kingdom, and be with her at her goings out and comings in, that she may be known to be the beloved of the Lord; that kings may be in love with her beauty, and the mighty be astonished because of her glory, and of the blessings which night and day attend her; that she may never more be termed desolate or forsaken; for the Lord himself, the Holy One of Israel, will tabernacle with her throughout all generations, and the children that are yet unborn, shall call her blessed.

This is that Zion, that hath been as a wife of youth forsaken, whom none hath regarded, but hath been mourning in the state of her widowhood for want of her beloved; for there was none besides him, in whom she could take delight, during the time of his absence, which she thought long, being restless in every condition, because he was wanting whom her soul loved. She could not but inquire after him, though she met with stripes from the watchmen, and frowns from those that wondered what her beloved was more than theirs, that she was so restless in her inquirings, and eager in her pursuit after him, as if none among all the sons of Adam were to be compared to him; so inquisitive, and laborious after him was she, that if possible at last she might find him, whose presence would make up all. O ye children of the Lord! Can ye not read me here? Do ye not know right well the thing that I say? Since you have found him, have not your sorrows fled away? And is not your joy now complete, not repenting of your former pain, hardships, and difficulties, which you have undergone to find him? Are not your souls now satisfied in the enjoyment of him? And whatever your further sufferings may be, because of your following of him, and love to him, yet all is not to be compared to the sweetness of his presence, and inestimableness of his worth, whose price is beyond rubies, and the enjoyment of whose company is beyond the fine gold, and the sweetness of it far exceeding the honey or honey-comb? And this I need not tell you, Oh you faithful ones! For you know it right well; therefore let your delight be in him, and your whole life streaming into him, that you may be one with him, never more to be parted.

Whatever would separate or eclipse, either within or without, let it come to judgment, that he may be an everlasting covenant unto you all, in whom the strength of the Father's love may run towards you, and may be continually amongst you, as the breaking forth of mighty waters drowning all the unbelief of your hearts, with whatever else may beset you either outwardly or inwardly. For you may easily know your beloved from all likenesses of him, either in heaven or earth, because he is without spot or blemish, neither is there any wrinkle in his face, nor seam in his garment, but he is all lovely; neither dwells in his breast one thought of evil towards you, or dislike against you, either because of anything, that in times past you have done against him, or because of anything that the enemy can lay to your charge, or beset you on every side withal; for he will scatter all with the brightness of his glory. And though the moon should cease to give light, and the sun its shining, yet shall the covenant of the Father's love in him never change, nor come to an end. Therefore let your souls delight themselves in fulness, and let no straitness nor barrenness be in you, or upon you, but drink ye into his life, and be ye filled with his virtue: for the good, which he is determined to do unto and for his people, shall none hinder. In vain do the heathen rage, and the people imagine, and the councils of the earth conspire; for Zion must go free, and Babylon must go down, and her fall must be great, and none shall be able to hinder it.

And this is the word of the Lord God to you, and to all the inhabitants of the earth, who shall bewail her downfall; but ye shall rejoice, with all my Father's children, begotten of his love, and brought forth by the arm of his power, and by it strengthened to stand in the evil day, and to have your mouths open, and your hearts be enlarged, to sound out his praise with all the followers of the Lamb, in whose work and service it is honour enough to be employed. For where he is, and when he comes, his reward is still with him.

Therefore in his love I leave you all, and commend you to his faithfulness, who comes to

do the Father's will, in you all, in which I am found, in my place, with the rest of my suffering brethren with me, and remain a lover of all your souls, and a rejoicer in your joy and unity; praying, that it may be perfected daily, and continue to the end. Amen.

Your dear friend and brother in the truth of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, with my dear love to all the faithful in Hertford and Baldock, and thereaway. J. CROOK.

From Aylesbury common jail, this fourth day of the Tenth month, 1661, where I remain in outward bonds for the testimony of Jesus.

THE CRY OF THE INNOCENT FOR JUSTICE.

Being a relation of the trial of JOHN CROOK, *and others, at the General Sessions, held in the Old Bailey, London; beginning the 25th day of the Fourth month, called June, in the year* 1662; *before the Lord Mayor of the city of London, and Recorder of the same, Chief Justice Forster, and divers other Judges and Justices of the peace, so called.*

Eccles. v. 8. If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter; for he that is higher than the highest, regardeth; and there be higher than they.

AN EPISTLE TO ALL MODERATE READERS.

MANY and great, in all ages unto this day, have been the afflictions, trials, and oppressions of the righteous, as have been foretold by the holy prophets, Christ, and his apostles, since the world began; yet God hath not left himself without witness, both in preserving some in all ages to testify against the idolatries and oppressions of the times in which they lived; as also of his judicial appearances to punish the unjust and merciless imposers on men's consciences, because of their worshipping of God. For about that the first quarrel began; witness the serpent tempting from the observance of God's command, which he could not do by flat and plain denial, because of the positiveness of God's command to man, saying, "Thou shalt not eat of the tree of knowledge," &c. Therefore he did it by expounding that command, saying, "It is because God knoweth, that by eating thereof you shall be like him, knowing good and evil." By this interpretation or meaning of the devil, who was the first that ever put meanings to God's words, man was deceived, and thus was transgression brought in, and by the same means hath continued unto this day in the world. For as it was, so it is; God said to man, "Thou shalt not;" but the deceiving spirit saith, That is not intended as it was spoken, for it hath a meaning, &c. And soon after Cain, the devil's successor in murder and lying, falls upon righteous Abel, for no other cause than the worshipping of God according to his conscience, in the faith and power of God, which was not consistent with Cain's hypocrisy and formality. And thus the quarrel first began about religion, whether power or form should bear sway; and by religion it shall end. Therefore blessed are they for ever who are found faithful unto death, for they shall have the crown of life: for sincerity shall prevail over hypocrisy, and the power against all idolatry and formality; for the Lord hath spoken it.

And as holy writ furnisheth us with examples in this matter, both as to witnesses that have stood for God, against the imposers on the conscience, as Daniel, the three children, Christ himself, and his apostles, with other clouds of witnesses; and also of his righteous judgments upon the oppressors and imposers, as the curse upon the serpent, and the plagues upon Pharaoh, and the brand upon Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who caused Israel to sin by his imposing; with many more that might be named.

So our histories and laws are not without precedents in this case also; witness the Book of Martyrs which testifies of the sufferings of the martyrs, how that they, as the apostles did, suffered for bearing witness against, not only unrighteous persons, but unrighteous laws also. For the laws of the kingdoms and nations, in which they suffered, as well in England under the Christian governors, so called, as in other parts, did require those things, or some of them, the denial of which, was the cause of their sufferings then, as it is of us now; and may be seen at large in those books, from whence came the name Protestant, because they were witnesses against the unrighteousness and idolatrousness of the times in which they lived, notwithstanding any laws that were to the contrary. As tokens of God's displeasure against these things, many eminent judgments fell suddenly upon the persecutors, as some by sudden death were taken away, others by bursting asunder, their bowels falling out in a wonderful manner, with like violent deaths, which for signal testimonies of God's wrath and fury, did fall upon many, to the astonishing of the beholders in those days.

And our law books furnish us with several acts of justice that were executed upon unjust judges for their not keeping to the laws and rules of justice, made and appointed both for the people's safety, and them to act by; as may be seen in King Alfred's time, mentioned in the Mirror of Justice, where it is recorded, that forty-four judges, or justices, were hanged in one year for their injustice, whose crimes may be seen, as set down in the said book.

And the Lord Coke, so called, Institutes, part 3. cap. 2. p. 23, saith thus, What damnable opinions those were concerning high treason, of Tresilian, chief justice of the king's bench, Sir Robert Belknap, chief justice of the common bench, and others of their fellows; and of John Lockton, one of the king's serjeants, &c. But, saith Coke, more detestable were the opinions of the justices in the 21st Rich. II. and of Hankford and Brinchley, the king's serjeants, &c. These justices and serjeants being called in question afterwards in the parliament, holden 1 Hen. 4, for their said opinions, answered, as divers lords spiritual and temporal did, That they durst no otherwise do for fear of death: yet were these two chief justices, and the rest aforesaid, attainted, for that it was, as the parliament affirmed, for the great honour and common profit of the realm.

These, with many more examples, are recorded in our law books, and elsewhere, as monuments of justice against those that caused injustice thus to be acted; and of terror unto all corrupt judges, for the future to be afraid of the like injustice. See Walter Rawleigh's History of the World, lib. 3, chap. 4. J. Crook.

The Cry of the Innocent for Justice.

I have here collected the proceedings of the present chief justice of the king's bench, with his brethren, occasioned by a late trial before them at the public sessions for the peace and jail-delivery, holden in the Old Bailey, begun the 25th of the fourth month, called June; the the lord Mayor of the city of London and sheriffs, with divers justices and aldermen then present.

Reader, I here give thee a brief account of my taking and imprisoning, that thou mayest the better judge what justice I had from the court aforesaid; which is as followeth:

I being in John's Street, London, about the 13th day of the third month, called May, with some others of the people of God, to wait upon him; as we sat together, there came in a rude man, called Miller, with a long cane in his hand, who laid violent hands upon me, with some others, beating some, commanding the constables who came in after him; but having no warrant, they were not willing to meddle, but as his threatenings prevailed, they being afraid of him, joined with him to carry several of us before Justice Powel, so called, who the next day sent us to the sessions at Hick's Hall. After some discourse several times with them, manifesting to them the illegality both of our commitment, and their proceedings thereupon; yet notwithstanding, they committed me and others, and caused an indictment to be drawn against us, founded upon the late act against Quakers and others, and then remanded us to New Prison, where we continued for some days, and then removed us to Newgate, where we remained until the sessions in the Old Bailey aforesaid: whereby thou mayest understand what justice I met withal, by what now farther follows.

Silence being made, the chief judge commanded the crier of the court to call one of the prisoners to the bar, who was brought thither accordingly out of the bail dock from amongst the felons and murderers.

Chief Judge. What meeting was that you were at?

Prisoner. I desire to be heard: Where is mine accuser? For I expect the issue will be brought forth, having been thus long in prison.

C. Judge. Your tongue is not your own, and you must not have liberty to speak what you list.

Prisoner. I speak in the presence and fear of the everlasting God, that my tongue is not my own, for it is the Lord's, and to be disposed of according to his pleasure, and not to speak my own words; and therefore I desire to be heard: I have been so long in prison. Then he was interrupted by the judge.

Judge. Leave your canting. And commanded him to be taken away, which he was accordingly by the jailer. This was the substance of what the prisoner aforesaid spoke the first time.

C. Judge. Call John Crook to the bar; which the crier did accordingly, he being amongst the felons as aforesaid.

John Crook being brought to the bar:

C. Judge. When did you take the oath of allegiance?

J. Crook. I desire to be heard.

C. Judge. Answer to the question, and you shall be heard.

J. Crook. I have been about six weeks in prison, and am I now called to accuse myself? For the answering to this question in the negative, is to accuse myself, which you ought not to put me upon; for, *nemo debet seipsum prodere.* I am an Englishman, and by the law of England I ought not to be taken, nor imprisoned, nor disseized of my freehold, nor called in question, nor put to answer, but according to the law of the land; which I challenge as my birthright, on my own behalf, and all that hear me this day, or words to this purpose. I stand here at this bar as a delinquent, and do desire that my accuser may be brought forth to accuse me for my delinquency, and then I shall answer to my charge, if any I be guilty of.

C. Judge. You are here demanded to take the oath of allegiance, and when you have done that, then you shall be heard about the other; for we have power to tender it to any man.

J. C. Not to me upon this occasion, in this

place; for I am brought hither as an offender already, and not to be made an offender here, or to accuse myself. I am an Englishman, as I have said to you, and challenge the benefit of the laws of England; for by them is a better inheritance derived to me as an Englishman, than that which I receive from my parents; for by the former the latter is preserved; and this the 29th ch. of Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right, mentioned in the third of Car. I. and in other good laws of England; and therefore I desire the benefit and observance of them. You that are judges upon the bench, ought to be my counsel, and not my accusers, but to inform me of the benefit of those laws; and wherein I am ignorant, you ought to inform me, that I may not suffer through my own ignorance of those advantages which the laws of England afford me as an Englishman.

Chief Judge. We sit here to do justice, and are upon our oaths; and we are to tell you what is law, and not you us: therefore, sirrah, you are too bold.

J. C. Sirrah is not a word becoming a judge; for I am no felon; neither ought you to menace the prisoner at the bar: for I stand here arraigned as for my life and liberty, and the preservation of my wife and children, and outward estate, they being now at the stake, therefore you ought to hear me to the full, what I can say in my own defence, according to law, and that in its season, as it is given me to speak: therefore I hope the court will bear with me, if I am bold to assert my liberty, as an Englishman, and as a Christian; and if I speak loud, it is my zeal for the truth, and for the name of the Lord; and mine innocency makes me bold.

Judge. It is an evil zeal; interrupting John Crook.

J. C. No, I am bold in the name of the Lord God Almighty, the everlasting Jehovah, to assert the truth, and stand as a witness for it: let my accuser be brought forth, and I am ready to answer any court of justice.

Then the judge interrupted me, saying Sirrah, with some other words I do not remember: but I answered, You are not to threaten me, neither are those menaces fit for the mouth of a judge; for the safety of the prisoner stands upon the indifferency of the court: and you ought not to behave yourselves as parties, seeking all advantages against the prisoner, but not heeding anything that may make for his clearing or advantage. The judge again interrupted me, saying:

Judge. Sirrah, you are to take the oath, and here we tender it you, (bidding, read it.)

J. C. Let me see mine accuser, that I may know for what cause I have been six weeks imprisoned, and do not put me to accuse myself by asking me questions; but either let my accuser come forth, or otherwise let me be discharged by proclamation, as you ought to do. Here I was interrupted again.

Judge Twisden. We take no notice of your being here otherwise than a straggler, or as any other person, or of the people that are here this day; for we may tender the oath to any man. And another judge spake to the like purpose.

J. C. I am here at your bar as a prisoner restrained of my liberty, and do question whether you ought in justice to tender me the oath on the account I am now brought before you, because I am supposed to be an offender; or else why have I been six weeks in prison already? Let me be cleared of my imprisonment, and then I shall answer to what is charged against me, and to the question now propounded; for I am a lover of justice with all my soul, and am well known by my neighbours, where I have lived, to keep a conscience void of offence, both towards God, and towards man.

Judge. Sirrah, leave your canting.

J. C. Is this canting, to speak the words of the Scripture?

Judge. It is canting in your mouth, though they are Paul's words.

J. C. I speak the words of the Scripture, and it is not canting, though I speak them; but they are words of truth and soberness in my mouth, they being witnessed by me, and fulfilled in me.

Judge. We do ask you again, Whether you will take the oath of allegiance? It is but a short question, you may answer it if you will.

J. C. By what law have you power to tender it?

Then, after some consultation together by whispering, they called for the statute book, and turning over the leaves, they answered,

Judge. By the third of King James.

J. C. I desire that statute may be read; for I have consulted it, and do not understand that you have power by that statute to tender me the oath, being here before you in this place, upon this occasion, as a delinquent already; and therefore I desire the judgment of the court in this case, and that the statute may be read.

Judge. Then they took the statute-book, and consulted together upon it, and one said, We are the judges of this land, and do better understand our power than you do, and we do judge we may lawfully do it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court?

Judge. Yes.

J. C. I desire the statute to be read that empowers you to tender the oath to me upon this occasion in this place; for, *Vox audita perit, sed litera scripta manet;* therefore let me hear it read.

Judge. Hear me.

J. C. I am as willing to hear as to speak.

Judge. Then hear me: you are here required to take the oath by the court, and I will inform you what the penalty will be, in case you refuse; for your first denial shall be recorded, and then it shall be tendered to you again at the end of the sessions; and upon the second refusal you run a *premunire*, which is the forfeiture of all your estate, if you have any, and imprisonment during life.

J. C. It is justice I stand for; let me have justice, in bringing my accuser face to face, as by law you ought to do, I standing at your bar as a delinquent; and when that is done, I will answer to what can be charged against me, as also to the question; until then, I shall give no other answer than I have already done, at least at present.

Then there was a cry in the court, Take him away, which occasioned a great interruption; and J. C. spake to this purpose, saying, Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may come to the knowledge of his will, and do justice; and take heed of oppressing the innocent, for the Lord God of heaven and earth will assuredly plead their cause: and for my part, I desire not the hurt of one of the hairs of your heads; but let God's wisdom guide you. These words he spake at the bar, and as he was carrying away.

On the sixth-day of the week, in the forenoon following, the court being sat, John Crook was called to the bar.

Chief Judge. Friend Crook, we have given you time to consider of what was said yesterday to you by the court, hoping you may have better considered of it by this time; therefore, without any more words, will you take the oath? And called to the clerk, and bid him read it.

J. C. I did not, neither do I deny allegiance, but do desire to know the cause of my so long imprisonment; for, as I said, I stand at your bar as a delinquent, and am brought hither by force, contrary to the law; therefore let me see my accuser, or else free me by proclamation, as I ought to be, if none can accuse me; for the law is grounded upon right reason, and whatsoever is contrary to right reason, is contrary to law; and therefore if no accuser appear, you ought to acquit me first, and then I shall answer, as I have said, if any new matter appear; otherwise it is of force, and that our law abhors, and you ought not to take notice of my so being before you; for what is not legally so, is not so; and therefore I am in the condition, as if I were not before you: and therefore it cannot be supposed, in right reason, that you have now power, at this time, and in this place, legally to tender me the oath.

Judge. Read the oath to him; and so the clerk began to read.

J. C. I desire justice, according to the laws of England; for you ought first to convict me, concerning the cause of my so long imprisonment: for you are to proceed according to laws already made, and not to make laws; for you ought to be ministers of the law.

Judge. You are a saucy and impudent fellow: Will you tell us what is law, or our duties? Then said he to the clerk, Read on; and when the clerk had done reading,

J. C. said, Read the preface to the act; I say again, read the title and preamble to the act; for titles to laws are *claves legum*, as keys to open the law; for by their titles, laws are understood and known, as men by their faces. Then the judges would have interrupted me, but I said as followeth: If you will not hear me, nor do me justice, I must appeal to the Lord God of heaven and earth, who is judge of quick and dead; before whom we must all appear, to give an account of the deeds done in the body; for he will judge between you and me this day, whether you have done me justice or not.

These words following, or the like, I spake as going from the bar, being pulled away, viz. Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may do justice, lest you perish in his wrath. For sometimes the court cried, pull him away, and then said, bring him again; and thus they did several times, like men in confusion and disorder.

The same day, in the afternoon, silence being made, John Crook was called to the bar, before the judges and justices aforesaid; the indictment being read, the judge said,

Mr. Crook, you have heard your indictment, what say you? Are you guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. I desire to speak a few words in humility and soberness, in regard my estate and liberty lies at stake, and am likely to be a precedent for many more; therefore I hope the court will not deny me right and benefit of the law, as being an Englishman: I have some reason, before I speak any thing to the indictment, to demand and tell you, that I desire to know mine accusers; I have been kept this six weeks in prison, and know not, nor have seen the faces of them.

Judge. We shall afford you the right of the law, as an Englishman, God forbid you should be denied it; but you must answer first guilty, or not guilty, that so in your trial you may have a fair hearing and pleading; but if you go on as you do, and will not answer guilty, or not guilty, you will run yourself into a premu-

nire, and then you lose the benefit of the law, and expose yourself, body and estate, to great hazards; and whatever violence is offered to your person or estate, you are out of the king's protection, and lose the benefit of the law; and all this by your not answering guilty, or not guilty. If you plead not guilty, you may be heard.

J. C. It is recorded in the statutes of the 28th Edw. 3. & 3. and 42nd Edw. 3. & 3. in these words: No man is to be taken, or imprisoned, or be put to answer without presentment before justices, or matter of record, or by due process, or writ original, according to the old law of the land; and if any thing from henceforth be done to the contrary, it shall be void in law, and holden for error. And also in the 25th of Edw. 1, 2. and the 3rd Car. 1. and the 29th cap. Mag. Chart. No freeman shall be taken and imprisoned but by the law of the land: These words [the law of the land] are explained by the statute of 37th Edw. 3. 8. to be without due process of law; and if any judgments are given contrary to Mag. Chart. they are void, 25th Edw. 1. 2.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are out of the way, and do not understand the law; though you adore the statute law so much, yet you do not understand it.

J. C. I would have you tell me the right way.

Judge. Mr. Crook, hear me, you must say guilty, or not guilty; if you plead not guilty, you shall be heard, and know how far the law favours you. And the next thing is, there is no circumstance whatsoever that is the cause of your imprisonment, that you question, but you have, as a subject, your remedies, if you will go this way, and wave other things, and answer guilty, or not guilty; and what the law affords you, you shall have, if you do what the law requires you; or else you will lose the benefit of the law, and be out of the king's protection.

J. C. Observe how the judge would draw me into a snare, viz: By first pleading, guilty or not guilty, and when I have done so, he and his brethren intend suddenly to put me, as an out-lawed person, out of the king's protection; and how then can I have remedy for my false imprisonment? Therefore first clear me, or condemn me, from my false imprisonment, while I am in a capacity to have the benefit of the law, and not to out-law me for an offence created by yourselves; and then, to stop my mouth, you tell me, that if I have been wronged, or false imprisoned, I may have my remedy afterwards: this is to trapan me, and contrary to both law and justice, &c.

Judge. You must plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I do desire in humility and meekness to say, I shall not! I dare not betray the honesty of my cause, and the honest ones of this nation, whose liberty I stand for, as well as my own; as I have cause to think I shall, if I plead to the present indictment, before I see the faces of my accusers: for truly, I am not satisfied in my judgment and conscience, that I ought to plead to a created offence by you, before I be first acquitted of the cause of my being brought prisoner to your bar; and therefore it sticks with me to urge this farther, viz. that I may see my accusers. Interruption.

Judge. The errantest thief may say he is not satisfied in his conscience.

J. C. My case is not theirs, yet they have their accusers; and may not I call for mine? And therefore call for them, for you ought to do so; as Christ said to the woman, Woman, where are thine accusers? So you ought to say to me, Man, where are thine accusers? Interrupted.

Judge. Your indictment is your accuser, and the grand jury have found you guilty, because you did not swear: what say you, Mr. Crook, are you guilty, or not guilty? If you will not answer, or what you have said, be taken for your answer, as I told you before, you lose the benefit of the law; and what I tell you, is for your good.

J. C. What is for good, I hope I shall take it so.

Judge. If you will not answer, you run yourself into a premunire, and you will lose the benefit of the law, and of the king's protection, unless you plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I stand as brought forcibly and violently hither; neither had I been here but by a violent action, and that you should take no notice of it, seems strange to me; and not only so, but that you should hasten me so fast into a course, that I should not be able any ways to help myself, by reason of your hasty and fast proceedings against me, to put me out of the king's protection, and the benefit of all law: was ever the like known, or heard of, in a court of justice?

Judge. Friend, this is not here in question, whether you are unjustly brought here or not: do you question that by law, but not disable yourself to take advantage by the law; if brought by a wrong hand, you have a plea against them; but you must first answer guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. How can I help myself, when you have outlawed me? Therefore let proclamation be made in the court, that I was brought by force hither, and let me stand cleared by proclamation, as you ought to do; for you are *discernere per legem, quid sit justum*, (to determine by law what is just) and not to do what

seems good in your own eyes; (here I was interrupted again) but might have spoken justice Crook's words in Hamden's case, who said, That we who are judges speak upon our oaths, and therefore must deliver our judgments according to our consciences; and the fault will lie upon us, if it be illegal, and we deliver it for law: and farther said, We that are judges must not give our judgments according to policy, or rules of state, nor conveniences, but only according to law. These were his words, which I might have spoken, but was interrupted.

Judge. What, though no man tendered the oath to you, when you were committed, as you say, it being now tendered to you; from the time you refused it, being tendered to you by a lawful authority, you refusing, are indicted; we look not upon what you are here for, but here finding you, we tender you the oath; and you refusing it, your imprisonment is now just, and according to law.

(Something omitted which I spake afterwards.)

J. C. How came I here, if you know not; I have told you it is force and violence, which our law altogether condemns; and therefore I not being legally before, am not before you; for what is not legally so, is not so; and I not being brought to your bar, you ought not to take notice of my being here.

Judge. No, no, you are mistaken; so you may say of all the people gazing here, they not being legally here, are not here: I tell you, a man being brought by force hither, we may tender him the oath, and if he take it not, he may be committed to prison; authority hath given us the power, and the statute law hath given us authority to tender the oath to any person, and so have we tendered it to you; and for your not taking of it, you are indicted by the grand jury: answer the accusation, or confute the indictment, you must do the one or the other; answer guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. Here I was interrupted, but might have said, that the people that were spectators, beholding and hearing the trials, are not to be called gazers, as the judge terms them; because it is their liberty and privilege, as they are Englishmen, and the law of England allows the same; so that they are not to be termed gazers upon this account, but are legally in that place, to hear trials, and see justice done, and might have spoken, if occasion had been, any thing in the prisoner's defence, tending to clear up the matter in difference, and the court must have heard them or him: and this as a stander-by, or *amicus curiæ;* so saith Coke.

J. C. The law is built upon right reason, or right reason is the law; and whatever is contrary to right reason, is contrary to law; the reason of the law, being the law itself. I am no lawyer, and my knowledge of it is but little; yet I have had a love to it, for that reason I have found in it, and have spent some leisure hours in the reading thereof; and the law is that which I honour, and is good in its place; many laws being just and good (not all) but, I say, a great part of it, or much of it; and that is not my intention in the least to disparage, or derogate from.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you have been told, you must plead guilty, or not guilty, or else you run yourself into a premunire; be not your own enemy, nor be so obstinate.

J. C. I would not stand obstinately before you, neither am I so; if you understand it otherwise, it is a mistake indeed.

Judge. Will you speak to the indictment, and then you may plead; if you will not answer guilty, or not guilty, we will record it, and judgment shall go against you. Clerk, enter him.

Recorder. Mr. Crook, if you will answer, you may plead for yourself; or will you take the oath? The court takes no notice how you came hither: What say you? Will you answer? For a man may be brought out of Smithfield by head and shoulders, and the oath tendered to him, and may be committed, without taking notice how he came here.

J. C. That kind of proceeding is not only unjust, but unreasonable also—(here was some interruption) and against the laws aforesaid, which say, No man shall be taken or imprisoned, but by warrant, or due process of law: so that this speech of the recorder's favours more of passion, than justice; and cruelty, than due observance of law: for every forcible restraint of a man's liberty, is an imprisonment in law. Besides, this kind of practice, to take men by force, and imprison them, and then ask them questions, the answering of which makes them guilty, is not only unrighteous in itself, but against law, and makes one evil act the ground of another; and one injury offered to one, the foundation of another; and this is my case this day.—Interruption.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you must not be your own judge, we are your judges; but for our parts we will not wrong you: will you answer guilty, or not guilty? If not, you will run yourself into a premunire unavoidably, and then you know what I told you would follow; for we take no notice how you came hither, but finding you here, we tender you the oath.

J. C. Then it seems you make the law a trapan to ensnare me, or as a nose-of-wax, or what you please: well! I shall leave my cause with the Lord God, who will plead for me in righteousness. But suppose I do take the oath

now at this time, you may call me again to-morrow and make a new tender; or others may call me before them.

Judge. Yes, if there be new matter; or, if there fall out any emergent occasion, whereby you minister on your part new occasion. Mr. Crook, will you swear?

J. C. If I do take it to-day, it may be tendered me again to-morrow, and so next day, *ad infinitum;* whereby a great part of my time may be spent and taken up in taking the oath and swearing.

C. Judge. When you have once sworn, you may not be put upon it again, except you minister occasion on your part.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court, that the oath once taken by me is sufficient, and ought not to be tendered a second time, without new matter ministered on my part?

Judge. Yes, you making it appear you have once taken it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the whole court? For I would not do any thing rashly.

Judges. Yes, it is the judgment of the court; to which they all standing up, said, Yes.

J. C. Then it seems there must be some new occasion ministered by me after I have [once] taken it, or it ought not to be tendered to me the second time.

Judges. Yes.

J. C. Then by the judgment of this court, if I make it appear that I have taken the oath once, and I have ministered no new matter on my part, whereby I can be justly charged with the breach of it, then it ought not to be tendered me the second time; but I am the man that have taken it once, being a freeman of the city of London, when I was made free, witness the records in Guildhall, which I may produce, and no new matter appearing to you on my part, if there do, let me know it; if not, you ought not, by your own judgment, to tender me it the second time; for *De non apparentibus, et non existantibus eadem ratio est.*—Interrupted by the shout of the court, when these last words might have been spoken.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are mistaken, you must not think to surprise the court with criticisms, nor draw false conclusions from our judgments.

J. C. If this be not a natural conclusion from the judgment of the court, let right reason judge; and if you recede from your own judgments in the same breath, as it were given even now, what justice can I expect from you? For, if you will not be just to yourselves, and your own judgments, how can I expect you should be just to me?

Judge. Mr. Crook, If you have taken it, if there be a new emergency, you are to take it again; as for instance, the king hath been out of England, and now is come in again, there be many have taken it twenty, thirty, or forty years since, yet this new emergency requires it again; and although you have taken it, yet you must not make it appear before you answer guilty, or not guilty; therefore do not wrong yourself, and prejudice yourself and family? Do you think that every fellow that comes hither shall argue as you do? We have no more to do, but to know of you, whether you will answer guilty, or not guilty, or take the oath, and then you shall be freed from the indictment; if you will not plead, clerk record it: what say you? Are you guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. Will you not stand to your own judgments? Did you not say even now, that if I had once taken the oath, it ought not to be tendered to me the second time, except I administered new matter on my part that I have not kept it, &c. but no such matter appearing, you ought not to tender it to me the second time by your own confession, much less to indict me for refusal.

Judge. If you will not plead, we will record it, and judgment shall be given against you; therefore say, guilty, or not, or else we will record it. (The clerk beginning to record it.)

J. C. Before I answer, I demand a copy of my indictment; for I have heard it affirmed by counsel learned in the law, that if I plead before I have a copy, or have made my exceptions, my exceptions afterwards against the indictment will be made void: therefore I desire a copy of the indictment.

Judge. He that said so, deserves not the name of a counsel; for the law is, you must first answer, and then you shall have a copy. Will you plead, guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. If my pleading guilty, or not guilty, will not deprive me of the benefit of quashing the indictment for insufficiency, or other exceptions that I may make against it, I shall speak to it.

Judge. No, it will not. Will you answer, guilty, or not guilty? If you plead not, the indictment will be found against you: will you answer? We will stay no longer.

J. C. I am upon the point; will not my pleading deprive me of the benefit of the law? For I am tender in that respect, because it is not my own case only, but may be the case of thousands more: therefore I would do nothing that might prejudice others or myself as a Christian, or as an Englishman.

Judge. Understand yourself, but we will not make a bargain with you, said another judge, you shall have the right done you as an Englishman, the way is to answer, guilty, or not guilty: if you plead and find the indict-

ment not good, you may have your remedy: answer, guilty or not guilty?

J. C. As to the indictment it is very large, and seems to be confused, and made up of some things true, and some things false; my answer therefore is, what is true in the indictment I will not deny, because I make conscience of what I say, and therefore, of what is true, I confess myself guilty, but what is false, I am not guilty of that.

Judge. That is not sufficient; either answer guilty, or not guilty, or judgment will be given against you.

J. C. I will speak the truth as before the Lord, as all along I have endeavoured to do; I am not guilty of that which is false, contained in the indictment, which is the substance thereof.

Judge. No more ado, the form is nothing, guilty, or not?

J. C. I must not wrong my conscience, I am not guilty of what is false, as I said before what is true, I am guilty of: what is not true, I am not guilty of that; which is the substance thereof, as I said before.

Recorder. It is enough, and shall serve turn. Enter that, clerk.

The seventh-day of the week, called Saturday.

Silence being made, John Crook was called to the bar. The clerk of the sessions read something concerning the jury, which was empanneled on purpose, as was said, the jury being discharged who were eye-witnesses of what passed between us and the court: and this jury, being divers of them soldiers, some of whom did by violence and force pull and hale Friends out of their meetings, and some of us out of our houses; and these were of the jury by whom we were to be tried. The clerk reading the indictment (as I remember.)

J. C. I desire to be heard a few words, which are these, That we may have liberty till the next quarter sessions to traverse the indictment, it being long, and in Latin, and like to be a precedent: and I hope I need not press it, because I understood that you promised, and especially the Recorder, who answered, when it was desired, "You shall," that we should have counsel also, the which we cannot be expected to have had the benefit of, as yet, the time being so short, and we kept prisoners, that we could not go forth to advise with counsel, neither could we tell how to get them to us; we having no copy of the indictment before this morning; and because so suddenly hurried down to the sessions, we cannot reasonably be supposed to be provided, as to matter of law, to make our defence.

Judge. We have given you time enough, and you shall have no more; for we will try you at this time, therefore swear the jury.

J. C. I desire we may have justice, and that we may not be surprised in our trial, but that we may have time till the next quarter sessions, our indictment being in Latin, and so large as it is; and this is but that which is reasonable, and is the practice of other courts: for, if it be but an action above forty shillings, it is not ordinarily ended under two or three terms. And in the quarter sessions, if one be indicted for a trespass, if it be but to the value of five shillings, he shall have liberty to enter his traverse; and, upon security given to prosecute, he shall have liberty till the next sessions, which is the ordinary practice; which liberty we desire, and we hope it is so reasonable, it will not be denied, especially upon this occasion, we being like to be made a precedent: and courts of justice have used to be especially careful in making of precedents; for we are not provided, according to law, to make our defence at this time, and therefore if we be put upon it, it will be a surprisal.

Judge. There is no great matter of law in the case, it is only matter of fact, Whether you have refused to take the oath or not, that is the point in issue; and what law can arise here?

Recorder. Mr. Crook, the keeper of the prison was spoken to, to tell you, that we intended to try you this day, and therefore ordered him that counsel might come to you if you would; and also that the clerk should give you a copy of the indictment: this is fair; therefore we will go on to swear the jury; for the matter is, whether you refuse the oath, or not? and that is the single point, and there needs neither law nor counsel in the case; and therefore we considered of it last night, when we sent you word, and did determine to try you, and therefore it is in vain to say anything, for the court is resolved to try you now: therefore swear the jury, crier.

J. C. I hope you will not surprise us: then the other prisoners, who also were indicted, cried out, having spoken something before, Let us have justice, and let not the jury be sworn till we be first heard; so there was a great noise, the court being in a confusion, some crying, Take them away; others, Stay, let them alone; others saying, Go on to swear the jury; which the crier in this uproar and confusion did do something, as if he had done it: then we all cried out for justice and liberty till the next sessions; the court being in a confusion, some crying one thing, and some another, which now cannot be called to mind, by reason of the great distraction that was in the court; neither what we said to them, nor they to us, the noise was so great, and the commands of the court so various to the officers, some commanding them to take us away; others, to let us alone; others, to bring us nearer; others cried, Put

them into the bail-dock; others, to put them within the farthest bar where the felons used to stand; where we were forced into accordingly: and in this hurliburly and confusion that was amongst them, some men were sworn to testify that we refused to take the oath, which we never positively did; other officers of the court, whom they would have sworn, refused to swear, though pressed to it by the chief justice, they desired to be excused. Then spake one of the prisoners again pretty much, but could harldly be understood, by reason of the noise in the court; but the people, to whom he spake with a loud voice, by way of exhortation, might hear the substance of what he said, which cannot now particularly be called to mind; but it was to express the presence and love of God to himself, and to exhort others to mind his fear, that they also might be acquainted with God, &c.

Judge. Stop his mouth, executioner; which was accordingly done.

Prisoners. Then we cried out, Will you not give us leave to speak for ourselves? We except against some of the jury, as being our enemies, and some of them who by force commanded us to be pulled out of our meetings, contrary to law, and carried us to prison without warrant, or other due process of law; and shall these be our judges? We except against them.

Judge. It is too late now, you should have done it before they had been sworn jurymen. Jury, go together, that which you have to find, is, Whether they have refused to take the oath or no, which hath been sworn before you that they did refuse: you need not go from the bar. And like words said the recorder and others, there being a confusion and noise in the court, many speaking together.

Prisoners. Then we cried for justice, and that we might be heard, to make our defence, before the jury gave their verdict; but the judge and recorder said, we should not be heard, making good by their practice, what the chief judge had said the day before, viz. That if we had liberty to speak, we would make ourselves famous, and them odious, crying again, Stop their mouths, executioner; which was done accordingly, with a dirty cloth, and also endeavoured to have gagged me, J. C., striving to get hold of my tongue, having a gag ready in his hand for that purpose; and so we were served several times. Then I called out with a loud voice, Will you condemn us without hearing? This is to deal worse with us, than Pilate did with Christ, who, though he condemned him without a cause, yet not without hearing him speak for himself; but you deny us both.

Judge. Let Mr. Grey come to the bar, room being made, he was conveyed to an officer in the inner bar, where he spake to the court to this purpose: I desire to know whether, according to law, and the practice of this court, myself and my fellow-prisoners may have liberty to put in bail, to prosecute our traverse at the next sessions?

Court. No, we will try you presently.

Judge. Stop their mouths, executioner: and this was the cry of many upon the bench, they being still in a continued confusion; some crying to the jury, Give in your verdict, for we will not hear them; with other words, which could not be heard for the noise, the court being in confusion.

J. C. You might as well have caused us to have been murdered before we came hither, as to bring us hither under pretence to try us, and not give us leave to make our defence; you had as good take away our lives at the bar, as to command us thus to be abused, and to have our mouths stopped: Was ever the like known? Let the righteous God judge between us. Will you hear me? You have often promised that you would.

Judge. Hear me, and we will hear you: then he began to speak, and some others of the bench interrupted him; sometimes they speaking two or three at a time, and a noise amongst the officers of the court: but the judge said, We may give you liberty till the next sessions, but we may choose; and therefore will try you now.

J. C. I bade the people take notice of their promise, That I should have liberty to speak, saying, See now you be as good as your words.

Judge. The law of England is not only just, but merciful; and therefore you shall not be surprised, but shall have what justice the law allows. Interruption.

J. C. I remember what the judge said even now, That the law of England was a merciful law; that the court had said before, They might, if they would, give us liberty till the next sessions, but they would not; and the maxim of the law also is, *Summum jus, est summa injuria;* therefore I hope your practice will make it good, that it is a merciful law; and not to execute *summum jus*, &c. upon me, and thereby condemn yourselves out of your own mouths.

Judge. Jury, give in your verdict.

J. C. Let me have liberty first to speak, it is but few words, and I hope I shall do it with what brevity and pertinency my understanding will give me leave, and the occasion requires; it is to the point in these two heads, viz. Matter of law, and matter of conscience: to matter of law, I have this to say, first, as to the statute itself, it was made against the papists, occasioned by the gunpowder-plot; and is entitled, For the better discovery and suppressing of Popish recusants: but they have liberty, and

we are destroyed, what in you lies.—(Interrupted by the judges, and disturbance of the court.) As to conscience, I have something to say, and that is, It is a tender thing, and we have known what it is to offend it; and therefore we dare not break Christ's commands, who hath said, Swear not at all; and the apostle James said, Above all things, my brethren, swear not—(interrupted)—the court calling again to the executioner to stop my mouth; which he did accordingly, with his dirty cloth, as aforesaid, and his gag in his hand.

Judge. Hear the jury; who said something to him, which was supposed to give in the verdict, according to his order; for they were fit for his purpose, as it seems, they beginning to lay their heads together, before we had spoken anything to them, only upon his words.

Judge. Crier, make silence in the court: then the recorder, taking a paper into his hand, read to this purpose, viz. The jury for the king do find, that John Crook, John Bolton, and Isaac Grey, are guilty of refusing to take the oath of allegiance; for which you do incur a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your real estates during life, and personal estates for ever; and you to be out of the king's protection, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure: and this is your sentence.

J. C. But we are still under God's protection.

Recorder. Adjourn the court: which was done accordingly, and we remanded to Newgate, where we remain prisoners.

Some animadversions upon the whole matter, showing the severity and unmercifulness, if not cruel injustice, of the late proceedings against us: Leaving it to be judged by God's witness in every conscience.

Considering our first taking without warrant by force of arms, and our commitment thereupon, with the proceedings upon that commitment at Hicks's Hall, Middlesex, by indictment against J. C. upon the late act of parliament against Quakers, &c., and his pleading not guilty thereunto, with the court's committing him again to prison, where he remained until the sessions in the Old Bailey, as aforesaid; the court's often refusal to take any notice of former proceedings, or any injury or wrong that he had sustained, either in apprehension or proceedings, or so much as the cause itself, for which he was imprisoned.

The court's putting him upon interrogatories, no accuser appearing, to accuse himself, in tendering him the oath of allegiance, as a snare, that so his refusal might become a crime for them to punish him for; carrying themselves rather as parties, than as equal judges between two.

Because we were surprised in our trial, expecting that, according to our mittimus, and former proceedings, we should have been tried upon the late act of parliament, made on purpose against Quakers, &c. Not in the least expecting any such proceedings as we met withal; and therefore could not be provided to make our defence according to law; seeing we were committed upon pretence of one law, and prosecuted under colour of another; which could not, without force, cast any face upon us, as persons concerned to be tried by it, viz. 3 Jacob 4, entitled, An Act for discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants.

It further appears, in that our judges declined the late act, which was made on purpose, after the imprisoning so many thousand Quakers, only for refusing to take the same oath of allegiance; which imprisonment begat so many debates in both the houses of parliament, that it may be supposed they concluded the penalty of premunire, according to the former laws, was either too great and severe, or that the Quakers, so called, were not at all within the intent of those laws; and therefore they enacted, That for the first refusal to swear, they might be fined, not exceeding five pounds; for the second refusal, not exceeding ten pounds; and the third refusal, it might be lawful for the king to cause them to be transported, &c. But these judges, not liking the parliament's act, nor their judgments expressed in the same, concerning punishing the Quakers, have found out a way to make them feel their little finger to be heavier than the parliament's loins, as is manifest by the sentence of premunire lately passed, only for refusing to swear; whereby they also slight the king's declarations, which say, That no man should be molested, or called in question, for his conscience, &c., as they did his late proclamation, when it was given them in court to be read, which saith, That no man shall have his house searched, or be taken, or imprisoned, under any pretence whatsoever, except by a warrant first had and obtained from some of the privy council, or some justice of the peace, &c. But of these the court would take no notice, when they were urged to them.

Because, when time until the next sessions was desired, for these reasons: 1. Because the indictment was in Latin, and so large. 2. There was need of counsel in the case. 3. It was to be a precedent; and therefore, for themselves, as well as us, there was need of time: judges heretofore being careful in making precedents. Unto all which we had this answer returned, Stop their mouths, executioner; and, Take them away: and all this when it was the proper time for us to make our defence.

Because the moderate jury, that had served upon several trials at the same sessions, were dismissed, and a new jury empanneled only for us, consisting of several persons who had a hand in our illegal apprehensions and commitments.

Their unrighteousness is farther manifest from the recorder's answer to us, when we pressed for time, who said, They could not grant it, because they must deliver the jail; and yet several persons, that were taken and imprisoned upon the same account with some of us, are continued still in prison, there being nothing done unto them in order to any trial: but as liars have need of good memories, so have such judges of careless auditors and spectators, that their words and actions may not be taken notice of. Besides, at the same sessions, the oath was tendered to some persons, and although they refused, yet was liberty granted them till the next sessions; which renders such judges guilty either of partiality, or injustice, or both: and thus they condemn themselves by their own sayings.

Lastly, That which aggravates their severity and cruelty to us, is farther manifest by these things following: 1. That none of the kings of Israel that we read of, ever required such an oath of the people. 2. Inasmuch as the refusal of the oath, simply considered, doth the king no harm, nor the taking of it any good. 3. If it were an offence to refuse to take it, yet the punishment is not proportionable to the offence, which by the just law it ought to be. 4. To conclude, the oath was not duly tendered, according to their own law, inasmuch as it was not read at all to some of us, only we were asked, if we would take it; and to others but once, and not quite through neither, to our hearing and understanding; and none of us in words denied then to take it. He that deserves punishment, is supposed to have done or said some evil: Now the law saith, *Malum non habet efficiendam, sed deficiendam causam;* in English thus, Evil hath not an efficient, but a deficient cause, saith Coke, because some virtue is wanting. Now what virtue is wanting in him that doth speak the truth, without dissimulation, but dare not swear at all?

These things truly considered, and duly weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, it will soon appear which scale goeth down, and over whom this motto deserves to be written, MENE TEKEL, &c. Thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting: for this is the day for discovering of false weights and measures, and of the measuring of the temple, and the worshippers therein, according to John's prophecy, in Rev. xi. And hearken also what the prophet saith, Amos v. 7 and 10, "Ye who turn judgment into wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth; and hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and abhor him that speaketh uprightly;" and at verse 27, it is said, "Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity," &c. saith the Lord, "whose name is the God of hosts." J. CROOK.

Now followeth some collections, that passed at the same Court of Sessions, by Isaac Grey, called Doctor in Physic, at the Old Bailey, receiving the same sentence of premunire with the other two.

Isaac Grey being called to the bar:

Judge. Will you take the oath of allegiance?

Grey. I have been near five weeks in prison; I desire to know for what.

Judge. We take no notice of your imprisonment, nor how you came here: will you take the oath?

Grey. I desire to know for what I am imprisoned, and then I am ready to answer: for no man, in this particular, hath received so much wrong as myself, having received a wound, whereby I was in jeopardy of my life.

Judge. If any have wronged you, take your course in law: will you swear?

Grey. I am a man of a tender conscience, and do desire time to consider.

Judge. Take him away: which was accordingly done.

The next day Isaac Grey was called to the bar, and asked by the judge, if he would yet take the oath? Recorder speaking unto him on this wise: Mr. Grey, you are a wise understanding man, and a scholar; be advised what you do, and do not ruin yourself, but take the oath.

Grey. I desire time to consider, and to do nothing rashly.

Then in the afternoon were all three again called to the bar, and the indictment read.

Judge. Mr. Grey, will you take the oath? Crier, hold him the book.

Grey. I desire to know the cause of my first imprisonment, and to discharge me of the same, before I give my answer to the oath; for I do not know myself guilty of any crime.

Judge. The law supposeth you to be disaffected to the present government, and therefore the oath is tendered you.

Grey. I understand that the fundamental law of England alloweth no man to be accused or condemned upon supposition: I do farther affirm, and that in the light of God, That I am not an enemy to the king, nor to any man living upon the face of the earth.

Judge. Will you answer guilty, or not guilty?

Grey. I desire time to consider of the truth of this matter; the indictment being large, and

having much contained in it, which indeed I do not well understand.

Judge. Will you yet swear, or plead to the indictment?

Grey. I have told you, and that for conscience sake, I dare do nothing rashly.

Judge. What do you talk to us of conscience? Every fellow may plead conscience.

Grey. Do you use to swear such as make no conscience?

Judge. Guilty, or not guilty? When you have answered to this, you may plead what you can in your own defence; but first answer guilty, or not guilty: the rule of the law is, you must first answer.

Grey. Would you have men swear, whether they will or nay, especially when against their conscience?

Judge. We have consciences as well as you: if there be anything, as to matter of conscience, it is nothing; you must plead guilty, or not guilty, that we may not spend time any longer.

Grey. Truly, I desire not that the time should be taken up in anything that may not advantage the good of the people: therefore before I plead, give me a copy of the indictment, and then I shall plead.

Judge. Sirrah, guilty, or not guilty?

Grey. I desire first to be heard as a Christian, and then as an Englishman.

Judge. Do not I tell you, sirrah, if you will plead not guilty, you shall be heard; but if you will not, you will run yourself into a premunire.

Grey. I appeal then to God Almighty, for I shall not wrong my conscience.

Judge. It is no matter of conscience; guilty, or not guilty?

Grey. Not guilty.

The last day of trial all the three persons aforesaid being called to the bar, after some discourse between my fellow-prisoners and the court, myself was forced from thence before I was heard, my fellow-prisoners being violently thrust within the felons' bar, but myself, by command from the bench, was not thrust there; but I desired to be with my fellow-prisoners, and to fare as they fared, and so was put in with them; but after some time, the court being in a confusion, and their officers abusing my fellow-prisoners, by stopping their mouths and the common hangman endeavoured to gag one of them, that they might not speak in their own defence; then I desired I might be heard—upon which the court called me nearer to them: then I approached to their bar, and spake on this wise, I desire to know whether, according to the law of England, and the proceedings of this court, we may not be allowed to put in bail to prosecute our traverse at the next sessions?

To which they answered, We might not.

Then I desired them to do me and my fellow-prisoners justice: for you are to know, that as we stand arraigned at this bar, so shall you appear before the great tribunal of God's justice, to give an account of this day's work, as also of all the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or evil; and what measure you mete to us, shall be measured to you again.

Judge. We know that as well as you; and then called to swear the jury, the court being in a confusion, and the officers and hangman abusing my fellow-prisoners, as aforesaid; then I went my way, the chief justice, so called, being in a rage, called to me in an abrupt manner, saying, You shall be tried according to the laws.

Grey. I do desire to be tried by the laws, and not by passion. They then went on, being all in a confusion and disorder, unto sentence, which was on this wise, You shall forfeit all your real estate for life, and your personal estate for ever; and be put out of the king's protection, and imprisoned during the king's pleasure, according to the statute of premunire. Which sentence was also passed upon my two fellow-prisoners aforesaid.

These things are part of what passed between the court and myself, many things being omitted by reason of the often interruptions, and are written to prevent mistakes, and to inform all moderate inquirers concerning the severity and injustice that we met withal, not only to the loss of all my estate and liberty, but of my practice also, to the damage and detriment of many of my patients, who, through necessity, are compelled to come to prison to me, but have been sometimes hindered from coming to speak to me.

But our desires are, To forgive them that trespass against us, as God hath forgiven us our trespasses against him. I. G.

Glad-tidings proclaimed to the upright in heart, who walk in the light of life: and judgment pronounced against Babylon and her merchants, whose rewards must be according to her works.

Dear flock of my heavenly Father, whom he hath visited and chosen out of the world, to be his peculiar treasure; whose tears are bottled up, and whose groans are in remembrance before him, that he cannot withhold from doing you good. Oh ye faithful and valiant ones for his truth upon earth! He hath seen, he hath seen your afflictions, sufferings, and trials, and hath weighed them in the balance, and tempered your cups, that you may say of the bitterest of them, My God is the portion of this

also. Hath he taken thy valiant men, and removed them hence? What is it for? Because of distaste that he hath taken against thee, or to bring thee, O Zion! to live in this life that never dies? The former is to be searched into; and according to the discovery from God therein, the deep sense is to be impressed upon thy spirit; that his will may be done, and his end answered. Shall I take up a lamentation, and say, How are thy mighty men fallen, or removed by death? And how hast thou been tried, O daughter of Zion! even since thy coming forth from amongst the pots, and since thou hast appeared out of the holes? Though thy days be but young, and thy beauty scarcely discovered; yet how hast thou been hunted? Not only when thou wast in the wilderness, and desert land, but since thou art on thy way to Canaan: how hath Amalek vexed thee, and the nations everywhere been troubled at thee? Art thou born unto it? And must it always be so? Must war still follow war, and new tempests arise so soon as the calms appear? What, no time given thee to put on thy beautiful attire, and to show thyself forth to the alluring of the nations? Yes, surely, thou shalt have a day, and thy glory shall shine, and thy beauty and comeliness be made manifest, as well as thy blackness and deformity. He is but emptying thee from vessel to vessel, that thou mayest not taste of thy lees; but that thy words may be as new wine, to refresh the hearts of the mourners, and as apples of gold set in pictures of silver, to take the eyes of the beholders; that it may be known, that thy food is not that which will corrupt, but upon the tree of life, whose leaves shall heal the nations, and whose fruit shall not fail, but in every month and change be green.

Oh then! why shouldst thou not be content, and thoroughly satisfied with all the dealings of thy God towards thee, and say, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth good in his sight;" he will bring me forth, after he hath thoroughly purged me, and I shall shine as the sun in lustre, and triumph, after the darkest day, and thickest clouds. Then shalt thou see clearly, and understand the end of the Lord, as well in taking away thy mighty men, as all the rest of his dealings towards thee; how that it is not only from the evil to come, but that their blood might cry, now their bodies are dead, louder, and more powerful than when they were living. For know, O Zion! to thy comfort, and Babylon! unto thy sorrow, that though their bodies be dead, their blood speaks, and the spillers thereof shall not escape in the day of the inquisition of the mighty God; for from his hand thou shalt have justice, and the nations shall know it, and be ashamed and confounded for ever. For the spirit of the Lord is upon me, to proclaim glad tidings in thine ears, in the authority of his life, and dominion of his name; and to tell them, that thy warfare is nigh to be accomplished, and thy redemption out of the hands of all thine enemies, hastens; that thou shalt worship and serve thy God, in the beauty of holiness, and land of the living; when Babylon, with all her upholders and adherents, shall not have whereon to lay their heads, or set their feet; but as she hath dealt to Jerusalem, so shall it be measured to her again; "The word of the Lord hath spoken it."

Only wait ye in the shepherd's tents, with the flocks of the companions, and these things you shall see assuredly brought to pass: and the time hastens, that he that hath wisdom shall read, and he that hath understanding, shall understand the number of the beast, and of his name; for it is the number of a man: he that can reckon, let him. The key to open this mystery, and to unlock this secret, is the brightness of the coming of the Son of Righteousness, shining unto the soul, to give the discovery of every motion of the spirit of man in the things of God; that it may pass no longer for the Spirit of God, but may be ceased from for ever, in praying, in speaking, with all the rest of God's worship and service; that all may be done by the spirit of his mouth, who hath the key of David; and openeth, and none shutteth; and shutteth, and none openeth. Then shall be read and distinguished the ministration from the ministrator, that when he removes, the ministration may not be adored, but the Lamb followed wherever he goes: so shall there be no more sea, but the former things shall be passed away, and a sea of glass mingled with fire, appear in the room thereof, and the followers of the Lamb standing by it, as with harps in their hands, and praise in their mouths, unto the Most High, that lives for ever.

Oh my dear friends, brethren and companions, whom my soul greeteth with these salutations of love and good tidings! What shall I say to you all, that may be as oil to make your faces shine, and wine to make your hearts glad, in the midst of all your besettings, huntings, and temptations? Your God sees, and beholds, and ponders all your trials; leave them all with him, and cast your care wholly upon him: for by all your care, not one cubit can be added to your stature. He will bring to pass his purpose, and your desires. O ye upright in heart! be faithful unto him, and follow those things that make for peace; and take heed of this present world, that neither its riches, its frowns, its fears, its sufferings, nor its pleasures, may move you out of your tents; but that the signs of the coming of the Son of Man may be always in your eye, lest either the marrying, or giving in marriage, spoken of, or the

beating of the fellow-servants, do overtake any of you; and then the kingdom of heaven be indeed like unto ten virgins, five wise, and five foolish.

These things are written, not to upbraid any, but to forewarn all, that they stir not out of their tents; but dwell continually in the lowly mind, preferring one another before themselves; cherishing the good in all, and strengthening the weak hands; dwelling as Saviours upon Mount Zion; for it is easy to judge and condemn, but hard to save. So shall ye be known to be children of the Most High, and as epistles written upon one another's hearts, seen and read of all men; and the blessed presence of your Father will be with you, and his glory will not cease to rest upon you: which is the desire of my travailing soul for you all; who am

Your brother and companion, in the faith and patience of Jesus, JOHN CROOK.

From visiting my Father's children, the 17th of the Twelfth month, 1662.

A true and faithful testimony concerning JOHN SAMM, *the servant of the Lord, who finished his course, by laying down his life in Northampton jail, for the Truth of Jesus, the* 16*th of the first month*, 1664.

DEARLY BELOVED OF THE LORD,—Although many of you are not ignorant of the departure of John Samm out of the body, and for what cause he was in outward bonds, which was for meeting with the servants of the Lord; and what his life and conversation was, together with the ministry committed to him by the Lord, as well as his faithful discharge thereof, is well known unto you: and I might be silent, if this were the only end, to tell you of these things; for is there such a stranger in Israel, among you all, as knows them not? But notwithstanding, I have a testimony in my heart, from the Lord, on this behalf, and do desire it may find acceptance with you, to stir up your pure minds, to be sensible of the Lord's dealings with you in his own particulars; and also of his providences and disposings of those, that are near and dear unto you all, as I know this servant of the Lord John Samm was, unto all that thoroughly knew him, and had inward acquaintance with him.

For his education, it is well known in Bedfordshire where he dwelt: as also his conversation, which was just and honest among men, before he was convinced of the truth; for the sake of which he suffered imprisonment five or six times for bearing testimony to the same truth, which at last he sealed with his life in Northampton jail, where he first suffered imprisonment, about the year 1656, in which prison he ended his days, as he foretold, saying, Northampton was the first, and will be the last.

For his life and conversation, I can speak to it, for I was perfectly acquainted with him, both outwardly as a man, and inwardly as a Christian; as a man he was endowed with a competent measure of understanding, and did improve it, unto that end, in the managing of the creation, for which it was given him; being discreet, sober, and of good report among men, and his carriage courteous and loving unto all. Much more might be said of this nature, which I omit.

And as a Christian, he was holy, harmless, patient, meek, valiant and bold, contending earnestly for the faith which was once delivered to the saints, and in which he himself, as a saint, did walk, live and die. Christianity to him, was not a talk, but a life; for rather than he would deny it, he suffered loss of estate, liberty, and life itself: witness his often imprisonment, and his laying down his life at last for the same cause.

As a minister, he had a dispensation of the gospel committed unto him, in which he was a faithful labourer in the work thereof, with great zeal and fervency of spirit, taking all opportunities and occasions in the wisdom of the Lord, as moved by him, to deliver his message unto all people, of all estates and degrees, that he might be free from the blood of all men.

His gift was large, his utterance plain to be understood, his words savoury and powerful, not painted with man's wisdom, but as given him of the Lord, being often spoken in much authority, cutting deep to the wounding of the wicked one in man, and easing of the poor and needy prisoners, being often mindful of the captive daughters of Zion, as of the pure seed in deep captivity, that he might reach it help. When his words began to reach it, he was as one transported with joy; and when it was once raised, and come forth of the prison-house, the song of Moses, and of the Lamb, was in his mouth, with much joy, and great gladness of heart unto the astonishment of the wicked, and filling the hearts of the righteous with great joy, through the overflowings of his cup, and aboundings of God's love in his heart: in which state his face was full of dread, and did speak as one having authority, and not as the scribes: besides, the melody of his voice, sometimes sounding out the high praises of the God of Israel; and at other times the blessed state of the righteous, as they stood in union with the living God, and one with another. Oh! how have I seen him make the earth to tremble, and the hearts of the upright to overflow with joy and gladness, through that abundance of life that hath run through his vessel,

unto the forcing of water out of the rocks, and tears out of the eyes of the saints, in great abundance: his hymns and sounds, sometimes were as flames of fire, consuming the drossy matter, and at other times, as swords and spears, cutting down, and thrusting through the tall cedars and lofty oaks, and wild beasts of the wilderness: which did echo to the true seed, and often made sweet melody in their assemblies, when but few words were spoken by him.

An exhortation unto all the righteous, especially those that were partakers of John Samm's *ministry.*

Did Joseph seek a place where to weep over Benjamin his brother, though yet alive? And can ye, O ye sons and daughters of Joseph, refrain from mourning for the loss of a father to many children, whom he had begotten in the Lord? And is there a time when the true ambassador of peace may weep bitterly? Can it be more seasonable at any time, than when the Lord takes away the righteous? And hath he not done so to many valiants of late, whose trumpets alarmed the world, and made many dead to arise at the sound thereof? What was the cause, and wherefore the Lord hath done it, becomes every one to make inquiry in their own hearts; and the rather, because there is need, yea, great need, of valiants in this day, the harvest being great, and the labourers few. And why the Lord should lessen the number, seems to challenge a diligent inquiry at every one's hand, to find out the cause thereof: and let me stir you up, all ye that love the Lord, to search every one his own heart, with the light of Jesus: and for this, let my harp also be turned to mourning, and into the voice of them that weep: for indeed I will tell you, Oh ye children of my Father! my soul hath deeply considered this matter. And I have this answer; The Lord will do what pleaseth him, with the instruments of his choosing: and who hath been his counsellor? He will raise up, and lay aside, at pleasure; for he will have no idols of jealousy, lest it come to pass, as when he made the brazen serpent at Nehushtan: neither will he have his work neglected, nor his servants slighted, whom he sends forth in life and power. He would have his people to wait upon him in their own measures, every one as they have received, in it to keep close to him, that they all may be taught of him, and have the rejoicings in themselves, and not in another. And the Lord will yet raise up instruments to fulfil his purpose, for his work shall prosper.

By these ways and dealings of his, he would have his children's hearts made loose to all things under the sun, with their lamps burning, and lights shining, having the loins of their minds girt about with the girdle of truth; keeping close unto the Lord with a pure heart, that he may yet further make known unto them his mind and will; for although you are now become the sons of God, it doth not yet appear what ye shall be; but this know, the more and oftener ye see him, the more like to him ye shall be: and let this be your care, that he may be always before you, that you may not be moved. And my dear friends, keep low in your minds, and delight to be often in the deeps with God. Oh watch! I even beseech you all, as dear brethren, that by the Lord's taking away of his servants of late, that have been blessed instruments in his hands, you may come the nearer unto that teacher, and hear his voice daily, which cannot be removed into a corner; that ye may all say, in truth of heart, we are come unto that ministry which cannot be taken away by reason of death. Oh that you may all feel more of this ministry in your assemblies daily, and keep in that seed of life, where you live with the spirits of those just men, whose bodies are removed from you. Indeed I feel the Lord mightily at work in this his day; be but still, and you will see his wonders as in the days past: let love abound among you, as at the beginning, and be pure and clean in heart, and you will see, by all God's dealings, what he aims at, which is certainly to raise up his own life in you all, over all the world, unto his own praise, and your joy for ever.

All you that are sensible of the taking away of dear J. S. as being often refreshed by his life, and comforted through his ministry, sink down into the fountain from whence he had all his supplies; and drink ye of the same, blessing the Lord, that the fountain is in Christ the promised seed, unto whom feel your daily access, oh ye beloved of the Lord! Say in your hearts with my soul, O God! it is enough that we have thyself to go unto; and that we can in thy life, enjoy communion with the spirits of the just ones: and lift up your heads over all the world, and be not dismayed with any amazement, either inward or outward, for your Redeemer lives, and your ransomer will not tarry. And you that are full of sorrow, by reason of your temptations and trials, which are many, and that your own strength is so small; I say unto you all, lift up your heads; for you that cannot live without Christ, but feel your daily need of him, he will not leave you, nor forsake you. Thou art a true heir of him, that canst not live without him; to thee he will come, and will not tarry; and in the mean time, as a good soldier, endure the hardship: it is but yet a little while, and he will ap-

pear without sin unto thy soul's salvation. For I feel thee, and do travail for thee.

Oh thou well beloved! How are my cries unto my God for thee, who laments in thy spirit for want of the Lord, and can hardly be persuaded of his love to thee, thou art so uncomely in thine own eyes; and thou lookest upon his dealings, both within, in thy spirit, and without, in his taking away those instruments whom thou lovest, and by whom thou wast refreshed, as being in wrath against thee, and for thy sake: well I know thee, and am to testify unto thee, in mine, and thy Father's name, that he doth behold thee, and his eyes do pity thee, and he is waiting to be gracious unto thee, that in an acceptable time he may commend his love unto thee, and thy salvation is sure, oh thou travailing soul! And I could even put my soul in thy soul's stead, to ease thee a little.

Well, my cries are for thee, that thy faith fail not: so unto our God give up, and when thou art sinking, as to the bottom of sorrow, there is a hand to support thee, and thou wilt feel it in the lowest dungeon, and darkest deep. Be thou still, and my God will be thy interpreter, to let thee see, know, and understand thy state and condition; with whom I leave thee, in that bosom where Lazarus dwells safely, and at rest, when Dives is tormented, and hath not one drop of that mercy with which thou art filled, to the praise of our God for ever. Amen.

Some reasons why the people called Quakers do absent from the public way of worship, and cannot conform thereunto, though they are exposed to great sufferings because thereof.

We are a people that have desired, and diligently enquired after the true knowledge of God, and the way in which he is worshipped; in which way we desire to walk: and after much seeking, and serious consideration, we do find, and are persuaded in our hearts and consciences,

First, That God is a Spirit, and that his worship is spiritual; according as Christ hath said, John iv. 24. And that none are true worshippers, but such as worship in the Spirit, and in Truth.

Secondly, That men must first feel and receive a measure of the Spirit of the Lord, before they can come to know the true way of worship, which is only learned in the Spirit, ver. 22, 23.

Thirdly, That no man upon the earth, can or ought to prescribe how, or after what manner, God Almighty is to be worshipped, so as to impose any practices upon men; but is to leave that to him, to direct them by his good Spirit, in things pertaining to his worship; and he is to persuade them thereunto: and that they ought not to be compelled or forced to the true worship; much less to that which is so justly suspected by many people, not to be the true way of worship.

And it doth appear to us, that the public way of worship, or the worship of the church of England, is very different from this spiritual worship: for we see, that they have not received the measure of the Spirit of Christ, which leads into all truth, but they daily rebel and transgress against it, doing those things that they should not, and leaving undone those things which they ought to do; so that they are without spiritual health: and these cannot be the spiritual worshippers; for they that do worship in the spirit, do feel health and peace in it. And therefore we have good reason to absent from the public way of worship.

And because that those, who do frequent that worship, are not born again of the Spirit of Christ, John iii. 3. but are still in an unregenerate state, following the pleasures and vanities of sin, and living in all manner of wickedness, as swearing, lying, drunkenness, murder, cozening, and cheating, and what other evils may be mentioned, which may be found among those worshippers; and these are the works and fruits of the flesh, and not of the Spirit of God, Gal. v. And therefore we do absent from that worship.

Besides, they do not seek to draw and win people by love and tenderness, and by the example of a good conversation, but labour by violent force and compulsion, to bring people to their worship; which the true worshippers and Christians never did; and persecute, and cause such to suffer, who are otherwise minded, that cannot come to their church and worship, according to their prescriptions; which the true worshippers never did, but said, "If any were otherwise minded, God should reveal the same unto them," Phil. iii. 15. and they did not by force impose their religion upon others. But we do believe, that imposing religion upon people, is of antichrist; and that all that do so impose, are in the way of antichrist; and we do, and must, absent from them.

And also, we find their ministry is much different from the ministry of the true church of Christ, both in call, maintenance, doctrine, and conversation; for they were "ministers of the spirit, and not of the letter," 2 Cor. iii. Neither were they called by man, nor taught by man the things which they did preach; neither did they "receive it from man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ," Gal. i. and they had "received his Spirit, by which the deep things of God are revealed," 1 Cor. ii. But these

ministers are made at Oxford or Cambridge, by learning natural languages, and old books and authors, and serve such a time there, before they go forth; and when they have attained that, then they run, when the Lord never sent them; and they use their tongues, and say, He saith it, when the Lord never spoke to them, nor called them forth to preach his word. They are made ministers by man, and sent out by man, and two or three hundred pounds a year calls them thither; and there they will stay; and such the true prophets and servants of the Lord witnessed against, as may be seen, Isa. lvi. Jer. xxiii. Mic. iii. The ministers of Christ did give freely, as they had freely received, according to Christ's command, Matt. x. But these ministers receive and force tithes from the people, which Christ came to put an end to, Rom. x. 4. The apostle said, "The priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law;" by which law, tithes were paid, Heb. vii. which the ministers of Christ never received, much less to force people to pay them, but did witness against them; for they pertained only to the priests of the first covenant: and so in their maintenance we find them contrary to the ministers of Christ. And also they differ in their doctrine; for the ministers of Christ did preach, that people might wait to receive Christ into their hearts, and that they might know Christ in them, else they were reprobates; and if Christ was in them, the body was dead because of sin, and they came to be dead unto sin. Every particular member of their church was to know the Spirit of Christ in him; "and if any man had not the Spirit of Christ, he was none of his," &c. Rom. viii. But these ministers tell the people, that they are Christians, and the church of Christ; though they know nothing of this in them, but live in sin and unrighteousness, and are dead to truth, and feel nothing of the operation of the Spirit of Christ in them, but still sin against it, doing that they should not do, and leaving undone that which they should do, and are not saved from sin, nor made free by the truth. They tell them, they must never expect to be free from sin, nor to know the revelation of Jesus Christ, as former Christians did, nor to know the power of God, to work mightily and effectually in them, to destroy the works of the devil, while they are on this side the grave; and so keep them in blindness and ignorance, ever learning, but still laden with sin, and divers lusts, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, which makes free, as we have seen; and therefore we have denied them. We believe, with the ministers of Christ, that the truth makes free; and that it is possible to know Christ so made manifest within, as to destroy the devil's works, and to save from sin; and that he that is born of God, sins not. We say, we believe that such a state is attainable on this side the grave; and yet we acknowledge, there is a state the saints knew, and passed through, in which, if we should say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness: and this was spoken to little children in the truth, that they should not sin, John ii. But there were fathers, that had known the truth, and young men, that were strong, in whom the word of God dwelt, that had (take notice) overcome the wicked one. Many other things might be mentioned, but these may be sufficient to show, why we deny that ministry, which hath not profited the people at all; but they are proud and covetous, as thousands do know.

Again, we do absent from the public way of worship, because of its deadness and formality; because we cannot find, that the immortal souls of people are refreshed therein, nor that true and spiritual comfort is received thereby: and we do believe, and upon true search and examination, do find, and also are persuaded in our consciences, and that by the Spirit of the Lord, that the most part of their ceremonies and practices, in their worship, are but vain traditions of men, and no heavenly divine institutions; and we may say, as the apostle said in another case, "They do not make the comers thereunto any whit the better;" but they are still miserable and dead, and want that which only can give life and satisfaction to the soul; to wit, the knowledge of Christ's appearance in themselves, and of his life and virtue.

And having seen these things, that they want the Spirit of the Lord to exercise them in their worship; that they are not born of it; that they want the fruits of it; that they force and persecute people, that cannot for conscience sake conform to their way of worship; that their ministry differs from the ministry of Christ, in call, maintenance, conversation and doctrine, and is the very same with the false prophets and deceivers in the days of old, being found in their very steps and practices, that their worship is dead, formal, and carnal, and doth not give satisfaction to the soul; we cannot conform to it, but have denied it upon just ground, and in conscience to the Lord do absent from it; and not out of obstinacy, as some would accuse us.

And again, we absent from it, because we have found a better way, in which we can trust our souls: and find health and peace, and spiritual comfort, and true satisfaction, in this way in which we now walk with the Lord, and

worship him in spirit and truth; and we find his living presence in our assemblings together, in the worship and service of God: for we meet together to wait upon him, and to perform holy duty to him, and speak as his Spirit moveth in us, and gives us utterance, and pray in the spirit, and this only is acceptable to him. This is spiritual worship, when the Spirit of the Lord exerciseth man in the things he performeth towards God: and if his spirit doth not stir or move in us, we are silent, waiting to hear the Lord speaking in our souls; and this is according to the saints practice. And because we have found great peace and satisfaction to our souls in this way, in which we now walk, we cannot deny it, whatever we suffer; and choose rather to obey the Lord, that we may have and feel his peace in our hearts, than to obey men, to avoid all sufferings.

And because we would not lose that peace, and make shipwreck of our faith, we cannot conform to the public way of worship; and not out of any wilfulness or obstinacy. We desire to spend our days in the fear of God, to walk in justness and righteousness towards all men, and to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us; to love God with all our hearts, and our neighbours as ourselves; and to avoid the iniquities and abominations that daily abound among those that are of the public way of worship. And we dare not riot in the day time, nor spend our precious time in vanity, nor waste God's creatures, and spend them upon our lusts, which will be cause of God's severe judgments upon men and nations. We cannot go with multitudes to do evil, but must have respect to the Lord God that made us, to live unto him, that we may die in his love and favour, and that we may be heirs of that kingdom which is everlasting; into which the sayers Lord, Lord, must not enter, but those that do his will. And this is that we seek, and which is our only end and aim, the Lord knows; and if for this we must be hated and afflicted, we cannot help it: for we must not deny the Lord, but will trust in him, though we perish for our obedience unto him; and because this is our desire and resolution, we do absent from the public way of worship, and cannot have fellowship with the unfruitful workers and works of darkness, but do rather reprove them.

And as for our refusing to Swear:

We would have all men to know, that it is not out of obstinacy or wilfulness, that we do refuse, or as though we had any reserve to ourselves, because we cannot swear allegiance to the king, as if we would plot or contrive mischief against him. No, God knows, and his people knows, and the witness of God in the consciences of our very adversaries, will one day testify for us, that this is not the cause why we refuse to swear; but it is only and singly in pure obedience and conscience to the Lord Jesus Christ, who saith, swear not at all; and this is his command unto his followers: "Though it was said by them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform thine oaths unto the Lord." They might then swear, for it was commanded; but now Christ being come, who is the end of the law, and fulfiller of it, saith, Swear not at all: by which it is clear, that all swearing is forbidden; for the law did forbid and prohibit all vain and frivolous swearing. If these words of Christ did reach no farther, than to prohibit that, as some would limit them, then Christ had only forbid that which before was forbidden by the law; but it is very plain his words extend farther, because he repeats what before was forbidden and commanded, and then goes on farther, But I say unto you, Swear not at all, &c. And how he could have spoken more fully, I cannot tell. Also the apostle James preaches the same doctrine, with the same absolute prohibition; But above all things, my brethren, swear not; for it was so positively forbidden by Christ, that he put that as it were above all things, neither by heaven, nor earth, (mark) nor any other oath: no oath was to be sworn by the true Christians, who were brought out of the strife, that was among men, into love, and peace, and good will towards all men.

And truly it is a token of darkness, and much ignorance, that any man professing Christianity should have any word to say against such a thing, which is so clearly forbidden. And how many Christians have suffered since, for refusing to swear, appears by several ancient histories: and upon the same account only do we refuse to swear at this day, having received the Christian spirit, which in us saith, swear not. And therefore, upon this general account, we cannot swear allegiance to the king; but we can and have proffered to promise in faithfulness, and do desire, that the same punishment may be inflicted upon those that break their word and promise, as on them that break their oaths; and if this were taken, it would appear, that we make as much conscience, and more, to keep our promise, as any men do their oaths, and it is to the full as binding to us: for it is a common saying among men, those that will swear, will lie; and many that will now swear allegiance to the king, to save their outward liberty, would soon swear against him upon occasion. And if it had been known, that ever we could swear in any case, since we were a people, and would not now swear allegiance to the king; then indeed there were great cause of suspicion: but we have always denied to swear, in any case,

since we knew the truth, and had the Spirit of Christ to guide us; and have suffered upon divers accounts in former days. Therefore, in reason and justice, we ought not to suffer in this case, for refusing to swear allegiance to the king; neither ought men to ensnare us, because of the tenderness of our consciences to the Lord; for we have always desired the good and happiness of the king, and all men, in this world, and that which is to come. And inasmuch as we live in the fear of God, and peaceably, it is that which brings honour to good government and kings, when subjects do live in the fear of God. And such as do live wickedly, in ungodly ways and practices, dishonour God and good government, and kings too. We are for peace, and deny that spirit that would plot or contrive mischief against the king, or any man's person; for our principle is peaceable, and leads to love and good-will towards all men; which is the principle of truth and honesty; as will appear, when all false suspicions will die, and the refuge of lies, and evil reports, will be swept away. Thus we have spoken the truth, in simplicity, desiring that it may be for good unto all, to whom it may come.

We are lovers of truth and righteousness, and every one that truly desires to walk therein; in which alone true happiness and everlasting peace are enjoyed, by all such as believe and walk in the light of righteousness, which leads out of the evil way, that the sons of men have long run on in, in the time of great darkness, which hath overshadowed the earth, shall pass away; and light shall shine more and more in the hearts of men; in which all that do walk shall know the salvation of God, and partake of his mercies, and great loving kindness, and praise and magnify his glorious name for evermore.

Reading Jail, the 22d day of the Fifth month, 1665.

[The following address appears to have been written while the plague was prevailing in London, and designed to bring those who were in affliction to a proper consideration of their own states, and of the administration of the Lord's judgments in the earth, that they might profit by them.—Ed.]

Compassion to all the Sorrowful, Afflicted, Visited, Tempted, Suffering Seed; whether inwardly or outwardly, in the city of London, or elsewhere in England.

Thus saith the Lord, say to them that are of a fearful heart, be strong, fear not; behold your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompense; he will come and save you.

This is spoken unto you, whose consciences are tender, having the deep sense of God's judgments upon your spirits, which are now upon the city of London, and other parts of this isle; whether upon your own persons or families, or as yet more remote from you, who wait upon the Lord in the way of his judgments; if possibly he may be entreated by you, to stop his hand from slaying the righteous together with the wicked, and those who know not their right hand from their left. Ye know if his anger be kindled but a little, that blessed are all those that put their trust in him.

I know your griefs, and am well acquainted with your sorrows; which are most of all, that ye yourselves have not redeemed the time, as ye now see ye might have done, although ye grieve to see others despise God's laws. In that for your time ye might have been teachers of others, ye have need to be taught the first principles of the teachings of God; as repentance from your dead works, it being your daily burden, that ye can feel no more life stirring in your hearts and services, nor any more faith towards God, to draw life and virtue from him; nor any more of the operations of his hand, and openings thereof, to fill you with his blessings. This makes you doubt sometimes, whether ye are the sheep of his pasture, or of the number of the flock of his hands, by reason of your leanness of soul, and poverty of spirit; concluding in yourselves, ye have not yet truly learnt the doctrine of baptisms; seeing ye find so much of self, and the spirit of this world alive in you, and so little of the hay, straw, and stubble, yet consumed and burnt up in you; that ye question, many times, whether ye know the foundation of God laid in your hearts. And ye find daily so many temptations and vain thoughts lodge within you, to the disquieting and vexing of your righteous souls, that ye fear the baptism of the Holy Spirit is not yet attained by you; seeing your sorrows are so many, and your comforts so few and uncertain, that ye know not certainly, whether there be any such Holy Spirit come into your hearts.

And for the resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment, ye fear that ye know little of them, more than ye have received by the hearing of the ear, and reading of the letter without you; therefore ye doubt that your faith stands but in word, and not in power: because it removeth so little out of your hearts that stood there before, and giveth you no more victory over the world; but as ye were, so ye are still, too much in bondage to it, which is your grief; although, too long after, victory is present with you; but how to attain and perform it continually over all things, both in words, thoughts, and actions, ye find not.

Yet ye cannot satisfy yourselves with the common faith, viz., That such a state or condition is not attainable, but rather find cause enough in yourselves, to judge your own remissness and negligence, in not watching in the light, to keep your hearts with all diligence, experiencing that now your own folly doth correct you, because ye have often had precious seasons and opportunities, as a daily price, put into your hands, but ye improved them not as ye might have done. Nevertheless, ye dare not, like those, whose foolish hearts are darkened, lay the fault upon God, as if the reason was, because he denied you power; never intending to make you perfectly holy, lest your salvation should be of yourselves. But experience hath taught you otherwise, in that when ye are at any time most holy and sanctified throughout, in body, soul, and spirit; ye are then most meek and lowly, inheriting the presence and kingdom of God in your hearts.

Further, ye know there would be no variance or discord between the Lord and you, but for your defects in love to him, and watchfulness to his counsel; from which causes, flow your miscarriages in life and conversation; and such darkness upon you, that ye cannot see the salvation of God, crying out as undone; saying, We are cast out of thy sight, O Lord; wilt thou be merciful no more? And no marvel, because ye know right well, that if the Lord be always before you, ye cannot be moved.

Thus far I have traced you, by the footsteps of the flocks of the companions; although to you they seem as untrodden paths, and like the way of an eagle, and as a ship at sea: yet be it known unto you, the same steps have been trodden by your brethren that are in the world, as the way of the Lord, to show them what was in their hearts, like as he did to Israel of old.

O that I had the tongue of the learned, so as to show you the causes of your diseased weaknesses, that a perfect cure might be received.

First of all, I find your minds abroad, and your eyes gadding too much in the ends of the earth, where ye find many wandering like yourselves; which so occupies your minds, as to strengthen your hands in this evil, and thereby to lessen [the sense of] it in yourselves.

Also the wicked one so busieth you, in finding fault with others, as if ye were to keep their vineyards, whereby he cunningly enticeth you to neglect your own, under pretence of service to them; or otherwise, to fill your hearts so with prejudice against religion itself, as if all men were liars. Which thing lurking so secretly in your bosoms, that when the winter cometh, and storms arise, it gendereth to fear and bondage, through the mixture of unbelief, carelessness, and lukewarm indifferency; all which now appears to be a monstrous birth, although before nursed and dandled as a most beautiful child, and none so likely to inherit the kingdom as it; but now ye see it is for judgment, and must not be heir with the son of the free woman.

Again,—as many by talking of what once they did possess and enjoy, have lost the sense and comfort of what they should have to support them at present; so others, by speaking so much of suffering, are made unfit to suffer; and at this day, how many are there, who have so spent their precious time, in often relating the cruel deaths and hardships of others, that they are neither prepared to die, nor fitted for trial themselves: and hence also ariseth the multitudes of their fears and troubles.

Another cause of your fear and trouble, I find to be the falling of many good and righteous people in this common calamity; as if the Lord had no more respect to them that serve and fear him, than to the wicked and profane; seeing what befalls the swearer, befalls him that fears an oath. But this comes to pass, that none may presume, and that all may fear before him; yet the accuser of the brethren wounds you so sorely on this account, that ye daily feel his stinging, by all tidings that come to your ears, concerning the Lord's visiting the righteous with the wicked, and little children in their innocency, with grown people in their sins. As this doth much embolden the ungodly in their presumption, so it doth discourage the weak in the faith, as if they served God for naught; not remembering that it is written, No man knoweth either love or hatred, by all that is before him. And it is meet it should be so, because the love and hatred are to the two seeds of Jacob and Esau, which are invisible: therefore, they that keep not to the light, in the daily watchfulness through believing in it, but look out at things visible and temporal, such are unstable in all their ways, and misinterpret all the Lord's proceedings: whence ariseth such discontentedness of mind, and trouble of spirit, that they are ready to say with Jonas, They do well to be angry, thinking they have cause enough for it, even unto death.

Thus doth the evil nature deal with the Lord, when it gets loose from the bit and bridle. But this is the plague, for people to die in their sins, as Christ said to the Jews, all must die, but ye shall die in your sins.

Yet hear, O Jacob, and hearken, O Israel, that art afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted; the Lord will lay thy foundation, as with precious stones; thou shalt be taught of the Lord, and in righteousness shalt thou be established: thou shalt be far from oppression, for thou shalt not fear.

A further cause of fear and trouble, may be

the natural temper and inclination of your minds and spirits, not yet knowing the seed of life, so raised into dominion in your hearts, as to witness it stronger in you, than he that is in the world; therefore ye lie open to the storms and blasts of fear and distrust; notwithstanding the root of the matter may be in you, yet is it but as a seed sown in weakness, and as yet not raised in power. By reason of your natural temper, ye may labour more with your own hearts, than some others do, and yet not be able to attain that victory and courage which they arrive at; which makes you conclude, the root of the matter is not in you; and that one day ye shall fall by the hand of Saul; and your fears do so attend you, upon every approach of danger, as those that can do nothing of your own selves, and yet are able to do all things, through Christ strengthening of you. I know you well, that when ye are naked, none so timorous, ye knowing self to be of no reputation; but when ye have girt on strength, and sunk down into the armour of light, none so bold and valiant; although thou be but a little one, thou art as David, not afraid of great Goliah, when into the name of the Lord thou art gotten. Feel me, for I would not have you dismayed, because of this kind of fear: therefore be ye still; when ye feel it arise in you, look not at it, but keep your minds out of all compliance with it; and the just that live by faith, will spring in your hearts, suddenly daunting your fears, and driving them back; whereby you will witness the power of God to arise in you; by which, through faith, ye will be kept unto salvation.

But in your journey it will fare with you, as sometimes with Ahaz, unto whom the Lord said, Ask thee a sign, when the enemies conspired against him; but Ahaz said, "I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord," &c. In like manner will he find your souls compassed about with evils; some that ye are guilty of through negligence, &c., and others laid to your charge by the accuser, as if because he tempted, ye had consented; and others also by him threatened to come upon you, as a just reward for the former: yet in this very condition the Lord bids you believe in his grace, that shall be sufficient for you in this great strait; but take heed, at such a time, lest, like Ahaz, you hastily reply, "I will not, nor I cannot believe; neither will I tempt the Lord, in presuming to be quiet and still, through believing in his light and power, that secretly shows me my duty, and stirs me up unto it in my own breast, in this close besetting."

I say unto you, if ye will not now believe, as in hope against hope, ye shall not be established; but on the contrary, if ye will believe in the light, this great distress, and sore siege, shall be unto you, as the death of Lazarus was unto Martha and Mary; concerning which, Christ said, He was glad, although they were troubled, in that it should be an advantage to their faith, whereby they saw the glory of God in Christ, raising him from the dead.

But I know you are so overwhelmed with fears, many times, that ye cannot hearken or be still, like the children of Israel that could not hearken unto Moses, because of the anguish of their spirits: even so do your fears and unbelief indispose and unfit you for any service acceptable in God's sight, whereby ye are ready to conclude yourselves to be without, amongst the fearful and unbelieving, &c. Rev. xxi. 8. But I say unto you, that he who came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance, shall not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax; he it is that invites you, because ye are weary and heavy laden; and whoever comes to him, he will in nowise cast off; for he comes to deliver those, who all their lifetime were subject to bondage, by reason of the fear of death. Therefore, take heed ye refuse not him that speaks from heaven, who appears the second time unto them that look for him, without sin unto salvation, to set them free, through believing in the truth, which God loves in your inward parts. This freedom, in due time, ye will reap, O ye that have sown in tears, if ye faint not; and that ye may not faint, he hath provided a cordial for you, and that near you, even the Spirit itself to help your infirmity, and to comfort you by bearing witness with your spirits, that ye are the Lord's; which above all things ye desire to know, and to have the full assurance of. The counsel of the Lord is unto you in this case, to delight yourselves in him, and hereby will you enjoy the desires of your hearts; and through keeping his sayings, which ye will hear him daily saying in you, and unto you, as humble and meek, in his light ye will abide and walk, and ye easily know his voice, and his words to be spirit and life; and that ye may be fully assured it is he, the works which he doth in you, and for you, bear witness of him. And by faith in him, will he become an inhabitant in you; for we are all the children of God, by faith in Christ Jesus; and by faith he dwelleth in your hearts; and hereby will ye know that ye know him, and have the full assurance of him, because the Son of God is come to give you this understanding, by virtue of his being in you, and ye in him, who is true God, and eternal life.

I have now something to say to those fearful, that are without amongst the unbelievers, and abominable, murderers, and sorcerers, and all liars, who shall have their portion in the lake; who cannot endure the Lamb, nor the presence

of God, when he sits upon the throne, but fly to the mountains and hills, in which they have trusted, to hide them in the day of calamity. These are of Cain's generation, that are better at killing than sacrificing; and as the fruit of their doings, they are always afraid, and that where no fear is, even of every man, not knowing whom to trust, as Cain was; and although such hide their sin, as Adam, they shall not prosper. But of this sort I have something to say, more at large, by themselves, and so I pass them by at present.

Others there are, who are yet without amongst the dogs, unto whom I intend not the children's bread before spoken of; and they are such who are always learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, to make them free from their fears, being laden with sin, and led away with divers lusts; thinking an opinion of truth will save them, while they are crucifying afresh the Son of God, and putting him to open shame; flying to scripture sanctuary, as the Jews did, who searched the Scriptures, but would not come to Christ; and in a wrong zeal, as the disciples did, when they would have had those consumed that followed not with them, urging to Christ, the example of Elias. But let these know, that their fears flow from the guilt of sin that defiles their consciences; which all the sacrifices that they offer day by day, can never take away, nor make the comers thereunto perfect; because they reach not the conscience, but still there remains a conscience accusing for sin; because they believe not in the light to walk in it; that the blood of Jesus might be known, to sprinkle their hearts from an evil conscience; that they may witness by it perfection, as pertaining to the conscience. Therefore these are not free from affrighting, terrifying fears, because their sins remain; how confident soever they may seem to be of their eternal conditions, in that they know not the truth, as it is in Jesus; for if they did, it would make them free. Unto such I say, they are yet too high and wise for God, and therefore must come down to know a meek, poor and quiet spirit within them; which is of price, beyond all their talk, knowledge, and empty profession of Scriptures, God and Christ without them, while they have not learned to stand still, to feel the Spirit of Christ to be their strength and leader within them: these shall likewise perish and die in their sins, if they bring not forth fruits meet for repentance, through that faith which is held in a pure conscience.

But unto you whose hearts are tender, and consciences awakened unto righteousness, shall the Son of Righteousness arise with healing in his wings; for ye love his present appearance in your hearts, and wait for the brightness of his coming, to consume whatever is contrary to himself, that he may be, and none besides him. Therefore, for your comfort, I have this to assure you of, from my God and your God, that he will come quickly, and will not tarry, and ye know his reward is with him; because ye never enjoyed him, but ye were sufficiently rewarded for waiting upon him.

And these clouds of sufferings, whether sickness, bonds, or banishment, are but as the evening, which must be added to the morning, to make up the last day, in which God will perfectly raise up his seed, as well as the first day. O sing, thou barren, and thou that didst not bear; for now shalt thou be fruitful in children, and they shall sing together, as the sons of the morning of this blessed holy day, the new song, which none can learn, but the redeemed out of the earth: although now in the evening thou mayest be weeping by the rivers of Babylon, with thy instrument untuned, because in a strange land. Behold the bridegroom cometh, at whose presence thy sorrow shall be turned into rejoicing, and thy joy shall none take from thee: but the world shall mourn; and now is the day of their sorrow begun, even that great and sore distress of nations spoken of, with that inexpressible wo, wo, wo, upon the inhabitants of the earth; which hath been often sounded through the Lord's witnesses and servants, that it may be known there have been prophets in England, and sounding in thy streets, O London! But who shall live when God doth this, besides the seed that shall serve the Lord!

Feel it already begin to arise in your hearts, O all ye that fear the Lord! by all the oppositions it meets withal; and saying in you, if this be to be vile, to rejoice at the return of the glory of Israel, I will yet be more vile, and all the lookers on, like Michal, shall be ashamed, when the seed of David shall be exalted over all, to the praise of the glory of the name of its God for ever: therefore, thou royal seed, it is good for thee to draw near unto him; that when he takes peace from the earth, both within and without, that then thou mayest encourage thyself in the Lord thy God, who is over all blessed for evermore. Amen.

This is from a sufferer with the righteous seed, and one that prays and waits for its deliverance out of all its troubles, in all where it yet groans for redemption, a salutation of unfeigned love.

The fourth of the Seventh month. 1665.

J. Crook.

Truth's Progress: or, A Short Relation of its first Appearance and Publication after the Apostacy. Containing—1. *An Epistolary Salutation.* 2. *An Expostulation.* 3. *The Description of the Truth, as it was declared in the beginning, with its Progress, Operation, and Opposition.* 4. *The Rise and Ground of the true Ministry.* 5. *To all who have at any time, or in any place, wrested or misapplied my words or writings, as some have done, to make them suit with their evil intentions; that they may be convinced of their evil, and do so no more.* 6. *That all jealousies, and all false judgments grounded thereupon, may be removed out of the minds of all concerned therein; and they cautioned for the future of all such dealings and practices.* 7. *The Author's Appeal concerning himself.* 8. *An Exhortation to all, to try themselves by the Truth, as it was received and published in the beginning.* 9. *That all who are fallen may be restored; and the way of their recovery declared.* 10. *A Word of Reproof to all people and professors, who encourage themselves and one another to hope for the downfall of the Quakers, so called, and the Truth which they profess, because of any thing that befalls them in this world.* 11. *The afflicted soul's complaint and cure.*

Dear Friends,—From the deep sense of the great care, love, mercy, and long-suffering of God, which he hath exercised towards us all, do I at this time write unto you; desiring the Lord so to direct my heart, that what is here signified, may fully and effectually reach every conscience and condition; that they may be as words in season to every state, hitting the mark; and as nails fastened by the Master of the assembly, in every particular of you.

If Christ loved the young man, as it is recorded in Scripture, because from his youth upward he had been towardly, affecting the best things, and observant of God's commands; then, in pursuance of Christ's example, ought every one of us, that are his disciples, to pity and compassionate all those who have been convinced by the everlasting gospel, of the way to life and salvation, which some of them have been breathing after, ever since their young years, and yet now may be hindered, by satan's wiles and devices, from walking in that way and path of peace and happiness; some by one snare, and others by other stratagems, which the subtle adversary useth to beguile the simple withal.

Indeed my heart affects mine eye in this matter, and I could say from my very soul, O that some arrow out of the bow of the Almighty might wound and slay that enemy, which hath stopped any in the race which once they were running in, to obtain the crown! What shall I say unto you, or do for you? For my bowels yearn after you, and my spirit is grieved for you, night and day, that are hindered; that ye should come so near the good land, as not only to behold it afar off, but many of you so near the borders thereof, as to taste the fruit of it; and yet go back again into the wilderness, amongst the briars and thorns: what pity is this.

2. Shall ever length of time, multitude of business, increase of worldly riches, offences, prejudices, snares, or temptations, or whatever can be named, be able to blot out the sweet remembrance of the tender mercies of God unto your souls, showed unto you in the day of your sore and deep distress, which I am persuaded many of you once felt, and were in measure acquainted withal? Shall any heighth, length, breadth, or depth, be able to separate you, that have tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, from the sensible soul engaging feeling of that love and mercy, so freely bestowed upon you? Or to stop your mouths from proclaiming, in the assemblies of his people, what he hath done for you, when you were very low, even like unto dry bones? O take heed, take heed! lest your continuance in evil be accounted, by the pure and just God, a despising of the riches of his goodness and forbearance, and long-suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth to repentance.

For who can, with Samson, return to view the dead carcases of the strong lions, which by the grace of God they once overcame, and that but while young and green in the truth, and not be melted in spirit, and broken as before the Lord, through the sense of the sweetness and freeness of that love and goodness, that so fully gave them the victory, through faith in his name and virtue?

O! can you remember those years of drought and famine, not of bread, but of hearing the word of the Lord, which passed over your heads, when the very heavens were as brass, and the earth as iron, and not be astonished, that the little black cloud should appear in your day, which must spread until the face of the whole heavens be covered, and all the earth be watered thereby?

What were ye, or your father's house, or any of us, when we were as the poor shepherds that kept their flocks by night, that then the day-star should appear, and arise in our hearts, and not first manifest itself to the doctors and great rabbies of the time, that first from them might flow the light of life; but that God's free choice in the promised seed might appear, to the stilling of every enemy and avenger? And shall any, that have been eye-witnesses of

these things in any measure, draw back, or be found unthankful to him, that found them out, and ordained strength for them; when otherwise the devourer had at that time destroyed them?

But lest I should seem to any to be like those the apostle speaks of, that said, "Be clothed, fed, and warmed;" but neither gave them clothes, food, nor fuel, to relieve and succour them; I shall descend into particulars, for the clearing the truth, for the relief and better information of all those principally concerned in this testimony, and for the keeping of my own soul free from the blood of all men: and bear with me, if I use plainness, and let no man account me his enemy, because I tell him the truth.

It was the practice of the prophets and apostles in their time and day, to remind the people of the wonders, mercies, and deliverances, that the Lord had given to them, and to their fathers; as may be seen by Nehemiah, David, and others; and by the martyr Stephen, and the apostle Paul: both of God's dealings with them, and with their fathers; and how the truth grew and prospered, and who were the enemies of it; and how the Lord upheld his witnesses, and scattered his adversaries: and also by what way and method those were reclaimed and reduced, that had backslidden and fallen from their steadfastness, and from the gospel-order: as in general may be seen by the prophets' exhortations and messages to blacksliding Israel; and in particular, Samuel towards Saul, and Nathan to David; and others also, recorded in Scripture. In like manner I find it recorded in the New Testament, that it was the apostles' practice, to restore from mistakes and irregularities, by bringing them concerned to the beginning; as in the case of divorce by Moses, for the hardness of people's hearts; but it was not so in the beginning, as it is said. And also to rectify mistakes, and confirm due subjection in the marriage state; the apostle instanceth God's giving the woman to the man; or, that Adam was first formed, and then Eve; and also, how Sarah called Abraham lord. And likewise in the abuse of their love feasts, or breaking bread, Paul brings them to the beginning, or Christ's practice of it at first; saying, In the same night he was betrayed, he took bread, &c. As if to bring abuses and mistakes to the first, were to see their last.

3. In like manner let me mind you a little of the appearance and publication of truth again, as in the beginning, and of its progress unto this day: not at large, in all particulars, lest I should swell the volume beyond my intention; but, as in a map, to bring the substance pertinent to the occasion, to the reader's view, in as small a compass as I can, with freedom and clearness.

After the long, grieved, retired, solitary state of the church in the wilderness, it pleased God, in his appointed time, to cause a voice to be heard, crying, Make strait the way of the Lord: all flesh having corrupted their way, and their guides being blind, there was no hope that ever people could find their resting-place, which they had so long forgotten: their physicians being of no worth or value, working no perfect cure upon any of their soul-sick patients; pouring brine, instead of oil, into their wounds; and giving bitter gall and vinegar to dying men, instead of reviving cordials; mistaking both the disease, its seat, and way of cure: applying words and promises to the memory and natural understanding, as if the malady had been in the head, for want of knowledge in the brain. When as the people, Mephibosheth-like, were all diseased in their feet; not looking, as they should, unto their walking, to make straight paths for their feet, and the law of God to be a light unto their feet, and a lantern to their paths.

Now the word of the Lord was precious in those days; for there was no open vision. And the voice which at first was heard in the wilderness, crying, Prepare the way of the Lord, came afterward to be heard upon the Mount, out of the most excellent glory; confirming his appearance, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." So mighty was the word of God, that it grew and prospered, cutting down whatever stood in its way, the strong oaks, as well as the tall cedars; levelling many high mountains with the low valleys. It was so quick and powerful, that it discerned between the thoughts and intents of the heart, and divided between the flesh and spirit, shell and kernel, form and power, painted Jezebel and the true Spouse, and between the marrow, and the bone that cased it: discovering to all men their thoughts, making all flesh to tremble in its progress: whence, in scorn, came the name Quaker to be given to those that came under its power.

It abased itself and made it of no reputation; and it made the cross to be endured, and taken up daily, to all excesses and superfluities, whether in meats or drinks, apparel, or honours and dignities below; in whatsoever they fashioned themselves to this world, and its glory, that was not of the Father; and to follow only those things that made for peace, and whatsoever was of good report; reforming throughout, in body, soul and spirit, as well as outwardly, in gestures, and postures, and language, and behaviour, diverse from all people; which made them a gazing-stock to men and angels, and to be hated of their near relations:

yet, through taking up the cross daily to those things, they despised the shame that came upon them from the wicked world. The truth of all these things is known to them that were eye-witnesses from the beginning.

It made many to cast away things of great value, as in the apostles' days, their pictures, laces, and other needless attires and superfluities, with which many, (that the word of eternal life met with in its progress,) were then adorned after the fashion of this world. By its authority, it spoiled the image and pomp of this present world, insomuch that the very visage of many was so marred, that they became a wonder to their former intimates and acquaintance; laying low all sorts of people, bringing down the honourable of the earth, in that day to deny their titles and attendants; some from the judgment-seat, and others from their great gains, in their needless traffick; making many valiant men of war to put up their swords, and become men of peace, and to learn war no more.

But what shall I say of the wise and learned, men of all professions, religions, and opinions, that were gathered from all quarters of the land, as it took them in its progress; and honourable women, of all persuasions, not a few? Making some to leave their nets, and others the receipt of custom, to become followers of truth; though not to disdain their lawful callings, but to return to them again; as Paul did to his tent-making, and others to their nets, upon occasion. An ancient father once said, "we never read, that those who were called from the receipt of custom returned thither any more:" observing thence, that some callings, once laid down, ought never to be taken up again.

4. What unwearied pains the truth made many take, to run to and fro, to inform and forewarn their relations and acquaintance, lest they should neglect the day of their visitation; and, they, knowing the truth, should become guilty of their blood, because they had not forewarned them; is known to many witnesses. How many, like David's worthies, brake through an host and camp of dangers, to bring the water of life to the thirsty souls; and what blows and bruises, imprisonments and suffering they met withal, there was scarcely in that day such a stranger in Israel, but knew it right well. And will it not be charged by the Lord, that sent them, as great ingratitude in those that received of their water, but now have forgotten it, so as evilly to requite them for their good?

How tender were the hearts of those made in that day, who received the word of life? And what was too dear for them to part with, for the advancement of truth, and its testimony? Nay, what zeal, what care to preserve those then begotten, lest they should be turned aside by the enemy? If but an evil report was occasioned through any indiscretion, what pains was taken to stop it? Or if any nakedness appeared in any, what love and pity was used to cover it; lest the world should know it, and blaspheme the pure name of God thereby, and the person perish in the snare of the devil, for want of a little balm and restoring medicine? I need not mention, except to provoke those that are in a declension in these things, the love that abounded, and the delight that the sheep of God's pasture took, in being often together, their hearts cleaving to each other, like the soul of Jonathan and David; many hours seeming but a short time; and often meeting together, although through great hardships and difficulties, appeared as nothing, in comparison of the great joy and comfort they found in coming together to meet with the Lord, and to feel the glory of his presence amongst them.

All which is known, and much more, unto those that were eye and heart witnesses from the beginning. Let me remind you also of the great care and circumspection that every sound heart had at that day, of whispering or backbiting any, or of letting in any hard or prejudicial thoughts or jealousies, concerning any that were in the least measure in the truth; but much more touching the least of those that had the message of glad-tidings to deliver from the great God; whose care was, to approve themselves in all things, lest the gospel should be blamed, either through life or doctrine. How few and savoury the words of all convinced were, that had their hearts seasoned with the grace of God, to the edification of all that conversed with them; being watchful, lest their hearts should be sown with mingled seed, or that they should mix spirits with the world; being principally careful, that their hearts might not be overcharged with the cares of this life: not at all affecting great things for themselves, nor to get a name in the earth; but to stand approved in God's sight, which they valued beyond the judgment of the wise, and of the honourable in the earth, or of any of the sons of men; is also fully known to them that were converted in the beginning.

What the testimony itself was in the beginning, as to doctrine and good manners, I need not mention in particular; because it is also known and testified unto by many witnesses, as it was in the beginning: as also, its form and dress, in which it first appeared upon the stage of this world. Only let me remember you of its disguised habit, that none of the worldly wise could know it, or receive it in reality.

How it did anatomize and dissect men in

their inward parts, whereby they came to see and understand the mystery of iniquity in all its workings, lineaments, and dependencies, with the man of sin, his seat and government in them, above all that is called God, and how he was worshipped as God; which was the cause why those, who thus learned of Christ, appeared so rough and sharp against hypocrisy in all professions, of what form or opinion soever they were, from a true certain sight and knowledge they had of the states and conditions of all people, in their several ways and worships; discerning the insides of others, by the spirit of truth, which had given them a certain knowledge of themselves. From whence, as truly learned, and like skilful physicians, they came to understand both the diseases, and the cause of them, and also the right way of cure for them; and durst not daub with untempered mortar, as the unskilful builders had done before them; nor heal the several hurts and diseases of people slightly; but first removed the cause, and then the effect ceased. Thus the Lord blessed the truth, and prospered it from the beginning, in the hearts and hands of those who continued faithful witnesses of it, and to it, as it was in the beginning: blessed be his holy name for ever. Amen.

But the way of cure being so sharp and terrible to all flesh, many that assented to the skill of the physicians, and were convinced of the truth, after they had tasted a little of judgment, as the sharp medicine, to eat through all the deadness and darkness within them; all the passages of life being dammed up, and the power working strongly to remove all those obstructions, many escaped, and fled the judgment, not being able to endure the mightiness of its operation, and therefore never came through the work of regeneration; but got loose, after a deadly wound, and so became only formal for a time. Such, although they might come out with us in the beginning, yet went away, some to the earth, and others to their old courses, according to the proverb, having opportunity of returning, they returned again with the dog to his vomit; which manifests, they did not stand by faith, nor were born of the immortal seed.

These, like the star John speaks of in the Revelations, fell from heaven to the earth, and then became chief factors for the evil one, being entrusted with the keys of the bottomless pit, and had power to hurt all but the green thing, for the time suffered, which will not be long, beyond those that never attained to a state higher than the earth; and such revolters are profound to make slaughter; and are like unto Gehazi, coveting after those things, which that master refused, whom they pretended to serve. But they have been, and shall be also requited with like plague and punishment; for the leprosy of Naaman came upon Gehazi. Let him read that can understand.

Now, friends, it is in my heart, as God shall enable me, somewhat to let you understand the cunning workings of the enemy, in his opposition to the truth, and to betray the simple; to this end, that they who have been beguiled by him, may be delivered out of his snare; and others prevented by their example, that the truth may prevail in and over all.

The contests about religion hitherto, have not been so much about the trial of spirits, as between opinion and opinion, and between interpretation and interpretation of Holy Scripture. And yet it hath been the complaint of all sides, that they have not had fair dealings from the adverse party; especially from those that have had the sword, and outward power on their side; because, like the Jews against Stephen, when arguments have been wanting, they have presently run to the heap of stones. Like dealings the innocent have met withal in this age; when, as in religious matters men ought to be conquered or silenced, as the stars in brightness do exceed each other, and the darkness also, and the moon them all; and as the sun doth both the moon and stars, by a transcendent and outshining glory, which rather naturally swalloweth them up, or comprehends them, than forceth them, or as the vast ocean doth the little brooks and rivers; or, according to Scripture phrase, as mortality is swallowed up of life; and in this sense ought every less measure to be subject to the greater; and so it is not hurt by, but blessed of the greater; as it is written, the less is blessed of the greater. And not as beasts do each other, by force and mastership; as it is written, man being in honour abideth not, but becometh like the beast that perisheth; and what the master-beast's carriage is to all the rest, experience showeth. But Christ gently leads, not forcibly drives, his lambs into the fold of rest.

But now as the contest comes closer between spirit and spirit, it must needs be hotter, because the relation is nearer; and differences between near relations, if one side doth not bear, are more disquieting, than between neighbours, and worse between neighbours than strangers; for now the enemy, as it were, hath all at stake at once, knowing his time is but short, and therefore rageth the more; and the battle must needs be sharp, because he is cast out of many already, blessed be the Lord, and must be cast out of more daily; because that everlasting gospel is preached again, and must be, to all nations, for a sign of his destruction, but their recovery and salvation; that, as sin hath reigned unto death and darkness, so righteousness might reign to light and life, un-

til the knowledge of the Lord covers the earth, as blindness and ignorance have done, and as the waters cover the sea.

So that now the great business is, for all who are convinced of God's everlasting truth, to examine themselves with the light of Jesus Christ, that they may know what spirit they are of; and not to conclude, they are all born of that right spirit, because they once were in measure guided by it, or because they have it at present convincing them, or striving with them, to gain obedience from them in all things unto itself. And therefore to father all actions and motions upon it, as the author of them; is not only an heinous offence against God, but also dangerously hazardous to that soul which so presumes.

Therefore I shall in short speak something concerning the pure, holy, sanctifying Spirit of God, that every one may understand what spirit they are of; as the apostle did, in order to recover those that were drawn aside amongst the Galatians, bringing them to the beginning, saying, Ye began well, ye began in the spirit; and also reminding them of the fruits of it, which while they abode in it, they knew: and also the fruits of the flesh, which also they might know to abound in them, so soon as ever they had departed from the Spirit; and doubtless he instances such particular fruits of the Spirit, as most abound in those who abide in it, toward those which have departed from it, as the most effectual means to reclaim them. On the contrary, the like may be said of the particular fruits of the flesh, which he instanceth; else he spake but in general, and so answered not the particular occasion, as most proper to obtain his travail, which was their recovery. The particular fruits of the Spirit he instanceth, are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law.

Now the contrary to these, must needs proceed from the flesh; otherwise they could not try themselves according to his advice. In like manner do I exhort all to come to the light and Spirit of Christ within them, to show them their miscarriages, and whether they hold the truth as it was in the beginning. For envy, strife, bitterness, fierceness, wrath, watching for evil, despising those that are good, and such as are employed by the Lord to feed his lambs, and to preach the everlasting gospel freely, as they have freely received it; or to lay stumbling blocks in the way of the weak; or to cause the way of truth to be evil spoken of, because of the miscarriages of some; these, and the like, doubtless, are evils that the Lord will not suffer to go unpunished; and are for judgment, and must be repented of, by all that are guilty of them.

Let none that are guilty think to wipe their mouths, and say, these things concern not me. To the witness in thee thou art brought, from whence there is no appeal; for if that condemn thee, God is greater. I am now in all faithfulness endeavouring thy recovery, and if I may speak it without offence, I could even desire that my breast were as a window, that every one might see through me, and within me, whether my heart and my soul desireth or seeketh any thing else besides the advancement of truth, and the liberty of every captive, that in any measure breatheth after the living God; for I am sure there is a seed that would serve the Lord, did not a hard heart hinder it within, as Pharaoh did without.

Let me in honesty of heart reason with you a little: what can you charge against this elect seed? Who hath it wronged? And whose name hath it defamed? Or whom hath it betrayed? Or whose gold, or silver, or apparel, hath it coveted? Or what good order hath it broken? Or did it ever put any upon the forsaking the assemblies of the saints? Either for fear of suffering, or out of sullenness of mind, because of prejudice against the persons of any; or out of slighting contemptuous thoughts, either of those that meet, or of the worship and service which they perform? Nay, is it not the hasty peevish spirit that concludes all men are liars, because some are so, that profess the truth; and therefore slights all in the mind, how fair soever they may seem to be to any outwardly. Take heed of it, for indeed the enemy works secretly to thy hurt, while thou lettest in such thoughts and reasonings; I am sure these things are not with the consent of the pure seed of life, but to the grief of it, couldst thou understand its voice, which at present is stopped from thy hearing, by the multitude of thy thoughts, prejudices, consultations, and conclusions; all which make thee confident in thyself, that thou dost well in what thou dost; like Jonah, who replied to God, he did well to be angry, even unto death.

Oh remember, that when once the light is put out, and darkness takes its place, how great is that darkness, as Christ said to the Jews. I have a travail in my spirit at this time for thee; the Lord is my witness, I lie not. Oh what shall I do for the poor oppressed innocent soul, that lies under the dust of fleshly rubbish, as in a grave covered with earth in thee? Shall I say to thee in the fear and name of my God, Arise, and come forth; for why wilt thou die? Arise, and shine, for thy light is come, which doth make manifest thy state, and all the mountains shall melt before thee, and all clouds shall be scattered, and brightness appear in the face of the whole heavens; and instead of cruel bondage, that soul in whom life ariseth, shall

enjoy a glorious liberty; and for grief and heaviness, the oil of joy and gladness; and for mourning and sorrow, the beautiful garments of praise and thanksgiving; for where the Spirit of the Lord is in rule and authority, there is liberty; and the Lord is that Spirit, which sets free the soul from death, by breaking the bands thereof, and snapping the chains in sunder. All thy straitness is in thy own bowels, by letting in evil thoughts, jealousies, and surmisings. But thou wilt be enlarged through thy accepting of judgment upon all these things, and whatever else is contrary to the holy God; for I am to preach the everlasting gospel to thee this day, that thou mayest arise that sittest in the dust, and show thyself forth; and awake to righteousness, thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light and life. For Christ Jesus the Son of Man, is this day held forth, and lifted up unto thee, that thou mayest see him, and be saved by him, as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, to cure all the hurts they received in the wilderness; and to heal thy backslidings, and love thee freely, if yet thou wilt hearken diligently, that thy soul may live; and look up in the light to him over all thy thoughts, miscarriages, and fears, and sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon thee. For the time to come, owe nothing unto any man but love; and when thou art converted, thou wilt strengthen thy brethren; as before thou didst weaken them by thy evil example and conversation, inventing of that which will now be thy shame, as in the converted estate thou abidest and continuest.

I long and travail in my spirit, to see the day wherein many that have been beguiled, like Samson, through the cunning craftiness of the wicked one, shall be restored again; for why may not the long grieved resisted spirit of grace, yet so strive again, as to give them victory over all that hath captivated; like the hair of Samson that was shaven, but grew again, whereby his strength returned, that he slew more through his death, than he did by his life. Surely those that delight to dwell inwardly in close fellowship and communion with God, are sensible of the many wiles and devices which the enemy useth, to draw out their minds to give heed to those vanities which he on purpose suggesteth to make them forsake their own mercies, tendered freely to them in the light of Jesus.

What bait more likely to take, than the resemblance of that which the right innocent spirit loveth? As may be seen in the serpent's beguiling Eve from the simplicity of Christ, the express likeness and image of God, under a pretence of bringing her more into it; as it is written, And ye shall be as God, or like unto God, knowing good and evil; which the apostle calls, a beguiling through his subtilty. It is good abiding with God, in the state whereunto man is called by God, and not to remove, until he is sure the advance and remove is by the same God.

My love to the seed in all, and readiness to lend those my hand that were fallen, hath procured like judgment from some, as the Jews gave against Christ; because he kept company, and eat and drank sometimes with publicans and sinners, to seek the lost amongst them. But the Jews seeing his readiness to mercy, tried him, whether he would do justice at all in any case, by bringing to him the woman taken in the act of uncleanness; which thing, although it proceeded from an evil intent in the Jews; yet it proved an occasion to him, to manifest both mercy and justice; mercy upon the woman, and justice upon her accusers, as being faulty persons themselves, and therefore not competent and true witnesses, to be taken in the due and right administration of justice; which method Christ still observed, to meet with forward and malicious prosecutors.

I have longed for an opportunity, a little to express my spirit and soul in this matter. I have been a man, like Heman, afflicted from my youth up, and few, but the Lord, have been acquainted with my exercises inwardly; though outwardly also I have had my share. Indeed, having had much forgiven me, and much love and mercy showed to me, I cannot but be like-minded; as I am kept to the seed of life in myself, for the sake of which, I have been upheld in and over all; and what I have felt and seen the Father do to me, when I have at any time, in any thing miscarried, that do I, or at least, ought always, and in all things, and like cases, to do to others; and when I have not done so, I have felt the Lord rebuking me for it.

I acknowledge from my heart, that in cases wherein I agree with others, both concerning the disease, and the danger of it, yet in the way of cure, I somewhat vary; especially if I have laboured under the same temptation myself, and remember what way I was restored or helped. Some by corrosives, and sharp medicines, where the case is desperate, may be recovered; and some others also may be lost and slain, which, by a skilful hand, through the use of lenitives or cordials, might have been preserved. And if experience may give her vote, I judge she will direct to love and pity, as the most excellent way, in the first place, and in ordinary cases. But wherein I have miscarried in being too mild, and offended any, I hope they will forgive me that wrong, as they expect to be forgiven, who have at any time miscarried on the other hand.

5. But if any, on the one hand, have taken

encouragement, either from my speaking or writing, to strengthen themselves in evil practices, contrary to the truth, as it was in the beginning received and held forth, from the light and Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; I declare, in the holy name of my God, whom I serve with my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that I never intended any such encouragement, but always intended and endeavoured peace and union. And, whatever might proceed, at any time, either from my pen or tongue, was only to heal and make up breaches, where any were already made; and never in the least either to make new ones, or the old ones wider. And whoever they are, that have wrested my words or writings, to suit their humours and evil intentions, to hinder the prosperity of truth, and to make discord among brethren, whether in this isle, or the isles beyond the seas, they have wronged my words, and the naked intentions of my heart, and will bring upon themselves misery and destruction, if they continue therein. This I desire may be prevented by the Spirit of Jesus, making them sensible of their danger therein, and to bear the indignation of the Lord, because they have sinned against him, unto a thorough change and reformation in them for the time to come: and I can and do freely forgive the wrong done unto my particular.

6. On the other hand, if any have conceived jealousies in their minds, and watched for occasion against the innocent, and grounded a false judgment upon those misapprehensions, and then sent it abroad as a certain thing, on purpose to bespatter the guiltless; such shall bear their jugdment, whoever they be.

I have often, in secret, considered what reason there should be for some men's jealousies; and I could find none more probable, than that of Saul's against David, viz., because of the voices of others, with this note upon it, "And Saul eyed David from that day forward." But whether any thing of like nature or resemblance hath ever been in my heart, much less endeavoured by me, concerning the least labourer in my Father's vineyard, is known to the Lord.

7. And I appeal to all you that have known me in bonds and at liberty, amongst whom I have laboured, and been conversant these twelve years and upwards, who have known my doctrine, and manner of life, whether I have sought myself, or any thing from you, to enrich myself, but have gone a warfare at my own charge? And whether I have handled the word deceitfully, but endeavoured always to stand approved in God's presence, and to be manifest to your consciences in his sight? And whether I have used lightness among you, to stir up the vain mind to unprofitable discourses? Or whether, at any time, I suggested jealousies amongst you, concerning any of the Lord's people? Or to beget a low esteem in your minds, of those that labour in the word and doctrine of Jesus? Or, whether I have sought to get entertainment in your affections! Nay, had it been the will of God, I could have desired often, that my message might have been delivered, and my face and person have been unknown. I have often said, and again I do declare, that those who keep in the feeling love of God, and honour and respect his Spirit in themselves, let such so kept, if they can, disrespect the ministers of life and peace. Bear with me, if I use plainness in this matter, for it is for no other end, but to answer the good in all, and that the gospel might have a free passage in all hearts and consciences, wherever it is published, either through this vessel, or any other whom the Lord shall use; and that an open door may be ministered through all the churches of Christ, for the word of eternal life to enter into them, from henceforth and for ever.

I labour, and am pained in spirit, until all bands be broken, and all the hearts and minds of those convinced, be opened, and prepared as a bride for her husband: that none may be found foolish virgins, contenting themselves with the words and talk of truth, like oil in the lamp only, which will go out and be consumed, if the seed of truth within be not daily felt, as oil in the vessels, to keep your lamps burning, and your lights shining, that men may see your good works, and glorify the God of your salvation.

8. I beseech you, friends and brethren, to suffer the word of exhortation to prevail with you, unto a thorough examination of your own hearts, with the light of the gospel of Jesus, whether you have kept to the truth, as declared and practised in the beginning; or you have suffered loss in your inward man, and find decays of love to God, and of zeal for his truth upon earth. I know right well, that a good condition may be easily lost, but hardly recovered. Examine thyself, whether thou delightest thyself now, as much as at first thou didst, in communion with God and his people? Are the assemblies of his children as dear to thee as ever they were? If not, seek out the cause, and let no pretence blind thy mind from a diligent attending thereupon; but keep to the seed in thyself, which thinketh no ill, much less doth any, and in that thou wilt feel the benefit of communion with God's people, and wilt be bound up together with them, as in the bundle of life: and a bundle is not easily broken and shattered, as particulars apart are. Search whether thou hast kept thy garments clean, from being defiled with the spirit of this

world, building again in thyself, that which once thou destroyedst in others. If riches increase, set not thy heart on them; which they will easily get, if thou be not watchful and diligent in keeping thy heart close unto the Lord, and his truth in the inward parts: for the love of money is the root of all evil, as it is written.

9. Take often a view of the truth, as it was in the beginning, and what effect and operation it had upon thee, when thou wast first convinced; how low, how meek, how poor in spirit, and humble in heart and mind; making thee to esteem every one better than thyself; seeing and knowing more evil in thyself, and in that nature by which thou wast a child of wrath, than in all the world beside, as in thy eye at that day. And surely experience showeth unto the watchful, that that nature is the same, and will be bringing forth the same fruits again, if it be not mastered, and ruled over by the pure and divine [Spirit]; which made the apostle say, after his conversion, That in him, that is to say, in his flesh, was no good thing: which quickened state made the poor disciples cry out as guilty persons, though clear from the act, Master, is it I? Is it I? Whilst seared Judas takes no notice of a particular intimation given by Christ, concerning himself, who told him plainly, "He that dipped his finger with him in the dish, should betray him;" of which his hard heart took no notice. Again,—art thou as careful to keep the truth without blame, as at the beginning? and as ready to restore the fallen, and to cover the nakedness of thy brother, as at first? Is there no whispering, evil speaking, and backbiting, and watching with an evil eye, and searching after weaknesses and haltings in some, accounting them great and heinous miscarriages, being glad of them, to defame those whom thou hast a mind to defame; and taking no notice of greater miscarriages in others, whom thou respectest, and wouldst have thought well of? Durst thou do thus in the beginning, when thou wast first convinced, and the lively quickening spirit ruled in thee, keeping thy spiritual senses always exercised, to discern between good and evil? Thus let every one try themselves with the measure of truth, that they may see whether they have kept to it as it was in the beginning.

But you that have kept your habitations with God, and close to the truth, bless the Lord for his goodness unto you: for if he had not kept you, you had run out, and miscarried, as well as others; for you do not bear the root, but the root you. And how know you, but you have been spared for such a time as this, like Queen Esther, to attend the king's presence, that you may be instruments to divert the evil purposes of the enemy of the holy seed? And that many, fallen into their snares and temptations, by the spirit of meekness in you, who stand by faith, might be restored, to the making of you shine more gloriously in the firmament of God's power, through the converting of many from the evil of their way. Blessed shall you be of the Lord, who are found diligent in this work. For this is my testimony for the Lord this day, that another gospel shall never be preached, to gather men and women to God; for it is the everlasting gospel: and those who know it to be the gospel of their salvation, can say, that there is more than a bare opinion, or different judgment between them and others, that do not believe in the light within, that lighteth every one that cometh into the world, to be sufficient to lead to God, through Christ, from whom it comes: yet it is possible for one, that once knew the truth in measure, and after departed from it, to think as slightly of the truth as those that never knew it. It was not Dives, but Lazarus, in the parable, that knew the difficulty of the passage into Abraham's bosom; while Dives thought the way passable at pleasure. Nevertheless, this gospel must more and more spread and shine, in its glory and beauty, until the man of sin be fully discovered in all minds and hearts, that the kingdoms of this world may become the Lord's, and his Christ's.

Whatever hath fallen out, or shall yet be suffered to come to pass, to obstruct and hinder the work of this gospel, shall in the conclusion be ordered of God to work together for its advancement, as if such things had never been: for those flames of fire, which are and shall be rendered upon those that obey not the gospel, shall make those, that are sanctified through obedience thereunto, the more to glorify God: and the perishing of others, through unbelief, shall make those that are saved, through faith, the more to admire the riches of God's love and mercy unto them.

Therefore, arise thou that sittest in the dust; and sing forth the high praises of God; and come forth of the pit, and out of the prison-house, and show thyself forth; for the day of God's mercy is come, even the set time to pity Zion, that mourned in the dust, because God had forsaken her. Thou that shakest thyself, like a man of war, and rejoiceth like a giant to run his race, notwitstanding the storms and winds, clouds and mist, that may seem to interpose, thou shalt yet sing in the heights of Zion. For thy sake am I stirred in spirit, that all bonds may be broken, and all weights and burdens laid aside, and the yoke of Christ put on every neck; that with one shoulder we may all draw in the work of the Lord, until the fallow ground of people's hearts, whereon groweth briars and thorns, be plowed up, and the seed

of the kingdom may sprout and grow in them also, until the nations become like the garden of of Eden, and the mountain of the house of the Lord be on the top of all mountains, that the nations may flow unto it for ever. Amen.

10. Now I have a few words unto you, sons and daughters of men, into whose hands this testimony may come, of what judgment or persuasion soever you are; and it is by way of advice, to take heed that you harden not your hearts against the truth, because of any miscarriages in those that do profess it. It is no new thing for a Judas to betray his master, and a Demas to embrace this present world; nor for all Asia to turn aside for a time. Remember, thou art doing the same thing daily, and knowest it not, in thy heart and spirit, against the strivings of God's good Spirit in thy own bosom. Remember that Sarah's laughing at the angel's message, was rebuked by the angel; and Hagar was cast out, with her son, for his offence, who mocked Isaac after he was born, which by the apostle is called persecution; saying, As he that was born after the flesh (referring to Ishmael) persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, (referring to Isaac) so it is now. I know many are big with expectation, concerning the downfall of the Quakers, so called, and the truth which they profess, and ignorant of the Quakers' foundations. Take heed of speaking evil of things ye know not, lest ye render yourselves more like beasts than men, in so doing. Say not, as those mockers did, Where is the promise of his coming? Where is that perfection you speak of, and that union you glory in? lest your bands become strong.

The doctrine of perfection doth stand, and shall stand for ever, which the Quakers asserted; for they never assigned any particular man to the world, as lodging it there; but Christ the promised seed, and those that abide in him; and such, the Scripture saith, sin not, because in Him is no sin. The Quakers asserted perfection attainable through God's grace, and that every Christian ought so to believe, in despite of the devil's enmity; which priests and professors opposed: and this was the question between us and them; and not whether this or that particular man hath attained it. And so it stands firm and safe; notwithstanding what the evil eye doth, or can spy out against it.

For the union we speak of with God, and one with another, we never placed it in the name, or outward form only, but in the light of Christ; not talked of, but walked in. But if any convinced of the light of Christ, say, They have fellowship with us in him, and yet walk in darkness, they lie, and do not the truth; for no lie is of the truth: and their practice is a sufficient evidence to convict them, without any further trial: for, according to Christ's doctrine, the remaining of sin, is a sufficient conviction of blindness; as he said to the Jews, Because you say you see, therefore your sin remains, &c. But all that do walk in the light, as he is in the light, have fellowship one with another. We never asserted, that all convinced, must needs be converted; nor that all converted must needs always keep in that state, and could never depart from it; but that every one's safety was, in keeping to the grace, whereby they should know how the grace kept them; as it is written, Hereby we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments: and it is but our reasonable service, that we should do as much for God, as we have done for the devil; as it is written, Rom. vi. 19, "As ye have yielded your members servants to unrighteousness, even so yield your members servants to righteousness," &c. How this hath been done unto the motions of lust within, may easily be known; even so may the motions of the good Spirit within, be known and yielded unto, which is but most just and equal. So that the union with God, and one with another, in the light of Jesus Christ, amongst all that abide and walk in it, stands as firm as ever it did, between the faithful and watchful in spirit: for we never held out a fellowship and communion between light and darkness, nor between good and evil; but in the good only. Therefore your hopes and expectations shall be abortive, and your eyes shall fail, who look to see your desires accomplished upon the truth, and children of it. As you love your own souls, cease such thoughts and expectations; for you will but harden your hearts the more thereby, and be disappointed at last; but bow your necks unto the yoke of Christ, which will convey you to the true rest for your souls, and show unto you, as in the light you believe, the end of all your observations, and carnal ordinances, and beggarly elements, to the rending the veil off your hearts; which will remain and continue, until Christ be witnessed, the sum and substance of all things to you, and in you, through the application of his Holy Spirit, and not through any imagination, or traditional credulity, in yourselves.

11. A few words to you, little children, that are ready to be troubled, because of the prosperity of the wicked, and your own trials increasing upon you, and it may be such as you never expected to meet with: saying within yourselves, Have I forsaken all that is near and dear to me in this world, to embrace the truth? Have I left all other societies and fellowships, to come into the fellowship of truth; expecting I should never have found those, professing the same truth with me, and such as were convinced before me, to differ among themselves;

or that any such fruits should have been brought forth by any that profess the truth? Nay, saith some weak one, I would have thought hardly of such in time of my profession, as not fit for the fellowship I then was in. I know the enemy tempts thee sorely, sometimes by raising doubts in thy mind, whether it be truth or no, which thou hast received and suffered for; but after a little combating with him about this, thou shakest him off, as that liar which from the beginning thou wast troubled with. But then he comes upon thee, with a new assault, to justify this man, and to condemn the other; and to take part with this thing, and to condemn the other; which doth so bewilder thy mind, and darken thy understanding, that thou art at a stand what to do, sometimes liking, and sometimes disliking, this and the other thing, the enemy suggesting to thee, that thou hadst better never have received the truth: and thou seest, saith the enemy within, what thou hast gotten through all thy hardships and sufferings; more trouble, vexation, and disquicting of spirit, than ever thou knewest before: thou resolving at sometimes to sit still, and to meddle no more, and never to come to meetings with God's people again, but to pass away thy time with as little trouble as thou canst; thinking sometimes to take this course, and sometimes the other, to get ease to thy mind; or else to mourn away thy days in sorrow.

I have this to say to thee, thou poor soul; Keep thou thy own habitation with God, in the measure of his grace committed to thee; and meddle not with other men's matters, neither those that are given to change. Shut out all that would interrupt thy communion with God, and with his people that keep their minds out of strife, and that follow those things which are of good report, and which make for peace; these things follow. And keep in love with all those that love the truth, and are tender of it, and seek its advancement above all; who have no end to self, nor to this world, nor the things of it; but unto purity and holiness, and a close walking with God in Spirit; and thy temptations will wear away, and those broken bones shall be set again unto a firmer union with God, and his truth and people, than ever thou wast in before. Then the broken bones shall rejoice, and thou conclude, that in faithfulness God hath suffered thee to be tried, that thou mayest learn obedience by all thou hast suffered; and understand, that it was to make thee abhor thyself more than ever thou couldst have done, had not these things befallen thee; that, with Job, thou mayest attain to a knowledge of God beyond the hearing of the ear; which will reward thee double for all thy sufferings and trials, and make thee keep close unto the Lord, and to the fellowship of saints for ever: that through thy experiences many wanderers may be converted to God, and thyself established in his blessed truth for ever, and become a pillar in God's house, and go no more forth; but be found to the praise of the riches of the glory of his grace, whose mercies, wilt thou say, endure for ever.

Thus having finished my testimony at this time, in faithfulness to God, and his requirings, in what plainness he was pleased to bring things to my remembrance; desiring to answer the least good in all hearts and consciences, but not to regard the evil will of any, nor to please the minds of the unstable multitude, whether professors or profane; knowing the one sort, like the Jews, will cry Hosanna to day, and crucify him to-morrow; and the other, like the barbarians, who sometimes concluded the apostle a murderer, and presently changed their mind, and said, He was a God: for I am more a freeman, than to sacrifice my just liberty to any man's humour; and more a Christian, than to ask any man leave to perform my duty to God, or to hold the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with respect to persons; but in Christ alone, the author of it, who is God over all, blessed for ever.

AN EPISTLE *to all that are young in the Truth, and lately convinced; who walk in, and assemble amongst, the People of God called Quakers; that they may escape the wiles of satan, and continue and walk in the way of righteousness.*

WE call to remembrance the labours, hardships, and inward travailing pangs and throes of the true gospel ministers in the days of old; and we know the same in our day, in our measures, the apostle saying, Of whom I travail in birth again, till Christ be formed in you.

And blessed be the Lord, there are many witnesses in this our day, not only of instructors, but of such as, through deep travail, have begotten many to God; and these, being once children themselves, retain the sense of the childish state of those who are come inwardly to feel some renewings in the spirit of their minds, by the gospel power, in order to the overturning of all their old building, that now, like to Jerusalem of old, for their despising and rejecting the true prophets, there was not to be one stone left upon another.

The old serpent perceiving his kingdom to be shaken, by the operation of that divine light, grace, and power of God, which will admit of no terms any longer to be made with him; or any subjection or compliance in the least to be

yielded to him, or to any of his works, every plant now being to be plucked up, that the heavenly Father hath not planted; yea, the fig-tree that bears no fruit, whereby the hungry may be relieved, must wither by the curse of his displeasure.

Then this crooked serpent, that is more subtle than all the beasts of the field, twists and turns himself every way, if possible, to entangle again those that are turning from his thick darkness, to Christ's marvellous light, that hath showed them where they have been, with whom they have been conversing, and what they have been doing in the dark, and what path they must walk in, if they will arrive at the land of rest.

And thus we found judgment to begin at the house of God, in order to the overthrowing and purging out of all that had defiled, that our bodies might become the temples of the Holy Spirit.

Oh, the many devices that the enemy useth, that true judgment might not take place! and when it did take place, how did he transform himself, to make us believe his suggestions, viz., That now we had lain long enough in the furnace, and the tin and dross was all gone, and nothing now was left but pure gold. But when we at any time lent an ear to these his delusions, we found by experience, that which he suggested to be gold, was but tin and counterfeit metal; and that he lied unto us, when he said, We had been long enough in the refining fire: although the fleshly part was glad of these tidings, hoping thereby its life would have been spared.

So that we saw, we must go into the furnace again, and there continue all the appointed time of the Father, till, indeed, we were changed into the state of the precious sons of Zion, truly comparable to fine gold.

And this was the way in which we waited, under the great tribulations and sore judgments; that we might not only be convinced, and take up a rest there, in that we believed the words of truth, and could dispute for it; but that we might be converted, and, in the spirit of our minds thoroughly renewed; that we might be as saviours upon Mount Zion, and as workers together in the gospel of our Lord Jesus, to help and strengthen the weak brethren and sisters, and speak a word in due season to the weary soul; which work was not at all wearisome to us, though our hazards and hardships were great sometimes, to get a hand to the helpless ones; yet when once we got but a little hold, and we felt them coming nearer to truth and us, then our hearts rejoiced, and our souls were right glad.

And they whose beauty was hid as with bull-rushes, and smeared as with mire, then they appeared to be goodly children: these were sweet encouragements unto us, greatly refreshing to behold these prisoners thus showing themselves forth, which made us, with many more faithful brethren, not to love our lives unto the death; but even for the truly good man, dare to die, when called thereunto.

The spirit of that blessed man began so to stir in our bosoms, that we could even, in a sense, have wished ourselves accursed for our kindred, acquaintance, and countrymen, that they also might feel what we felt; knowing upon what ground they stood, and what zeal they as well as we had: but the true knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus, was wanting; the vail of observations and carnal apprehensions being over the heart, which nothing can remove but Christ; who is the life and light of men, and glory of his people Israel.

There are many witnesses yet alive, who can testify to these things, and much more than we intend at this time to mention; only some few particulars we may hint at, to the end that no travellers towards Zion, may turn aside from the footsteps of the flocks of the companions, nor err from the right way, as it was received and walked in at the beginning.

O! what fear and holy dread was upon our spirits, lest we should think our own thoughts, or give way in the least to the fleshly motions of our own minds, or admit any of the cares for the things of this life, or give way to any inordinate affection to the nearest and dearest relations, lest thereby we should be hindered in the day of our espousals, from being chaste virgins unto Christ!

Likewise, what carefulness of our words! what watchfulness to our ways! what heedfulness of our company that we might keep our consciences clear; that our lives and conversations might show unto all men, that we are under the government of Jesus, that we might be manifest to God's witness in every man's bosom; and in these things the Lord blessed us.

Again,—how careful were we, that we might not lose one tittle of our testimony, by the keeping to the plain language; that we might not lift up the proud spirit in any, by mincing in that particular.

How did our moderation appear unto all men, in our meats, and drinks, and apparel?

And how inwardly retired did we walk, fearing to draw out the minds of any into unprofitable discourses; having a principal regard to the inward exercise of our minds, lest we should lose our own conditions; which made us prize retired meetings, in which we were sensible of the teachings of the true prophets from the false, in ourselves, and others? Then we were sensible of the living word to

take deep root downward, that from thence we might bring forth fruit upward, to the praise of God: desiring ye may walk in these steps.

Time would fail to tell of the poverty of spirit, humility of heart, lowliness of mind, brokenness of soul, contempt of the world, not only of its glory and riches, but of all its wisdom and knowledge, counting it dross and dung, in comparison of the excellent knowledge now manifested in us, through the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We cannot pass by that godly fear, which at that day was in our hearts, lest by discoursing, or reading many books, we should awaken again the old wisdom and understanding, and again get the notion of things in the carnal comprehension, and thereby lose our experimental knowledge of the inward work of God in our particulars: from which experience we are careful to speak about the things of God; finding it our safety and preservation, to keep to our own measures; and not to deck ourselves with the words only, or other men's gifts; nor yet to pride ourselves with our former experiences and knowledge, though God's jewels, according to the prophet's words.

These things being witnessed in the beginning, we exhort and advise all, especially those that are young in the truth, and newly convinced of the everlasting way, and make profession of the same, that they be careful to avoid all those things which the godly fear caused us to avoid at the beginning; and so much the more, because our enemies and opposers are waiting for all occasions to asperse the holy truth, and the true professors of it: in which practice they follow the steps of the enemies of God in former times, who not only watched for mischief, to make offenders for a word, but were ready to fall upon the hindermost and weakest amongst them; and that when they were but newly convinced of the truth; even while they were yet in deep exercise of mind.

Then if they could draw them out, to dispute of any thing beyond their own measure, they will boast of that, and charge any advantage, that they have gotten from the weak, or newly convinced, upon the whole body; and put us, either to deny the unlearned words that were spoken, or them that speak them, though their intentions were right, these men being willingly ignorant of, as well as envious against the truth, and them that walk therein.

Therefore cast not pearls before swine, lest they turn again and rend you: so out of our love to, and care for the truth, we desire all such friends, and convinced people, to keep to their own measures, trusting more to the simplicity of Christ manifest in themselves, than to any wisdom, parts, or arguments of their own, in the earthly or natural comprehension.

For we have found by many years experience, that true simplicity, and inward poverty of spirit, God hath always had regard unto, beyond all flourishing expressions, and gilded speeches, that may charm, and take the outward ear, but never deliver the prisoner out of the pit.

Neither hath the work of God thus far prospered by such weapons of war, or words of man's wisdom; but by a secret virtue, that always attended the truly poor in spirit, that did appear what they were only by grace, and its work upon the conscience; and to this day do all the true labourers work with the same means.

And if you that are newly convinced, would be kept lively in your conditions Godward, your growth must be, only in walking in the light, and keeping in the grace of God; and then for words and knowledge, they will come fast enough upon you, as God hath service for you: and by so doing, you will both save yourselves, and them that hear you; and also, frustrate them that wait for evil.

From which grace of God these things are written, and in the same commended to your consciences; desiring heartily, that in your own measures of the same, you may be preserved amongst the faithful witnesses of Jesus, till your days be accomplished, and you finish your course with joy.

This from us, who labour and travail in the work of the gospel, for the advancing of the name of the Lord, your friends in God's truth,

JOHN CROOK,
THOMAS GREEN.

London, the 15th of Eleventh month, 1672.

AN EPISTLE *to all that profess the light of Jesus Christ (within) to be their guide.*

DEAR FRIENDS, BRETHREN, AND SISTERS, that believe in the inward and spiritual grace which is the light of our Lord Jesus Christ, I salute you all; desiring, that as we received Christ Jesus the Lord, we may all so walk in him. In order hereunto let us all watch, and be mindful how we received the truth at the beginning: which is the subject-matter upon my heart, by this epistle, to signify unto you.

For you know, many of us, before we received the truth, as it is in Jesus, felt some stirrings of life; and therefore separated in our judgments and opinions from the generality of our neighbours and countrymen where we dwelt, because of an inward cry from a deep

want in our souls, and hungering after the constant enjoyment of that which we with many others professed; but could not find in any thing under the sun.

So poor and needy were we, that the dealings of God with our spirits in that day, in some sense, may be said to resemble God's proceedings with Adam, when he set all the creatures before him, before he gave him a meet-helper; that when he saw he could find out no fit helper for himself amongst them all, he might have the more account of the meet-helper that was after given him of God.

So it was inwardly with us, until that trumpet sounded, which directed our minds to the light of Christ Jesus in our own hearts and consciences, which when we believed the report, and made trial of its sufficiency, we soon found the meet-helper for our souls; to wit, the arm of the Lord to be revealed in it, and made so bare, that we knew it to be the Lord's arm, which brought deliverance to us.

But not from all our enemies at once, yet so that we understood plainly, by certain experience, that the tendency thereof, and the end of its being made bare, was to deliver us out of the hands of all our enemies; that being delivered, we might serve God, without a tormenting, distrustful fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our lives.

And the way thereunto was, by the working of this arm of power in our inward parts, to make a separation within, between the precious and the vile, and between our own spirits and God's Spirit; between our own wills, and God's will; between our own thoughts, and God's thoughts; and our own ways, and God's ways.

So that we found the great business of regeneration and restoration, was to be wrought within us; and what sorrow, what trouble, what horror, what distress, what wars, and rumours of wars, were within us, many know; and what earthquakes were in divers hearts, which might occasion the name Quaker to be given to some of us; those that were eye-witnesses from the beginning are not ignorant of these things.

O what carefulness, what watchfulness, what circumspection, what awfulness of God, and what dread of his power, was upon our spirits, lest we should speak our own words, work our own works, walk in our own ways, or think our own thoughts! so diligently did we keep watching over our hearts, being conscious to ourselves, that we should give an account for every idle word; which caused us to learn a bridle for our tongue, that our words might be few and savoury, ministering grace to the hearers.

How solid were our looks? How grave were our countenances? How serious was our carriage? and how exemplary our behaviour and conversation amongst all that we conversed with, lest we should give occasion for any to speak evil of the blessed truth of the living God?

And if any, though but newly convinced thereof, walked disorderly, or that took up their rest in a bare convincement, and came not to be converted to the life and power of God in their own particular, which at the beginning was soon discovered by that spirit of discerning, which in the light we received from God, how conscientiously solicitous were we to admonish, instruct, advise, and counsel them, to take heed of a false rest, or running into, or doing any thing by bare imitation from others? Yet how tender were we of bruising, hurting, stopping, or hindering any stirrings of light and life, lest the lame should be turned out of the way, and the feeble be left behind.

The spirit of holy David was in our hearts, who would not consent that the sore and weary ones, that could not get over the river Bezor, should lose their part of the prey, because they tarried with the stuff; but made it a law and a statute in Israel for ever, that they should have part alike.

And how did we love and pity those that took pleasure in the stones of Zion, and favoured the dust thereof? What carefulness was upon us for them? And if we found any like the young man in Mark xix. 22, that had been religiously inclined from their youth, how did we love them? Watching for opportunities to communicate some spiritual advice to them.

As if the new kindred, that Christ speaks of, Matt. xii. to wit, whosoever shall do my Father's will, the same is my mother, sister, and brother, who was now discovered again, and the beauties of holiness were now made manifest, with the many glorious privileges enjoyed thereby, as to see clearly, and know certainly the living God; for hereby came we to know, that we knew him, because of the beauties of holiness, in keeping close to his commandments, whereby our love to God, and one to another, was manifest unto all.

For we durst not let in distrustful thoughts of God, nor one of another—faith in him then becoming our law: so that our care was steadfastly and constantly to believe in the light, by which we had seen him; and to dwell in a holy fear, lest we should trangress the law of faith; by which Christ was then kept dwelling in our hearts, and all boasting of self-righteousness was utterly excluded.

But with how much difficulty we kept that faith, you only know, who like valiant soldiers have endured hardships in the good fight of faith; whereby we ourselves were preserved

and kept, by the power of God through faith, that we might in due time receive the end of our faith, to wit, the salvation of our souls.

And then, because we believed in the power, as we were moved of it, we spake by it, and such words, like Jonathan's bow, never returned empty, but wounded the hypocrites; like the man that shot the arrow out of simplicity, which smote disguised Ahab between the harness, so that he died; according to the word of the Lord by Micaiah.

You may remember also, how like Ephraim, at first, we were as little children, and spake trembling; saying often in our hearts, as Jacob did of the mountain where God appeared, to wit, How dreadful is this place? And how quick and powerful were those words that proceeded from that dread of God in our hearts!

The great mystery of the false prophet, that rides upon the beast, being then inwardly discovered, with the mystery of his name, and number thereof, to wit, the number of a man; which caused us at the beginning to cry down vain, corrupt man, both in ourselves and others; feeling that God was risen in his power, to confound his wisdom, and to bring his fleshly prudence and policy to nothing: therefore we feared the getting up of that man's part in ourselves, being so battered by the inward judgments of God upon ourselves.

That with good Jehoshaphat we said in our hearts, We know not what to do, but our eyes are towards thee, O God: then in this valley of helplessness, straights, poverty, lowliness, and humility, God pleaded with our fleshly part; so that in the day of our distress, although we multiplied our services, and doubled our offerings and observations, to obtain relief; yet Christ refused all these our works, that he might freely make himself known unto us, which in due time he did, as Joseph unto his brethren, and saith that scripture, "there stood no man with him, when he made himself known unto them;" to the exalting of the riches of the glory of his grace in us, whereby sorrow fled away, and our own mournful spirits were now made to rejoice in God, and our formerly troubled souls began to magnify our Saviour.

Thus former things passed away, till the tempestuous sea was no more; but joy and gladness was in our dwellings, and the voice of melody in our hearts, and in the midst of our assemblies.

But before we came hither, you know, fellow-travellers, that Mount Sinai was first in our way, where we tarried a while, and felt the entertainment of her flames, and heard the voice of words, and the sound of her trumpets, and were witnesses of her terrible earthquakes, yet fled not; but with Moses a remnant drew near unto the thick darkness where God was: but others made this mountain the end of their journey, escaping with their lives still in their own doings; yet these, though they might in profession come out with us thus far, they were not of us, and in time will go out from us, that it may appear, they came not through all the tribulations that a remnant went through.

For from thence a remnant came unto the ministration of the prophets, where they met with openings and prophecies of good things yet to come, before they did come: and here others fled as on the sabbath day, as if now all labour was at an end; and here they took up their rest, but God did not sanctify it, and therefore glorying and pride got up in these; boasting in the gifted man, soon forgetting all dependence upon the opener, viz., the Spirit of Truth, to exercise their hearts and tongues in the management of all, for the glory of God, and refreshment of his own seed in the hearts of his people.

But a remnant still travelled on, through John Baptist's cry in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, and come to repentance from all their dead words and works, that every valley might be filled, and every mountain and hill brought low, and the crooked made straight, and the rough ways made smooth: then came we to see the salvation of God, to wit; The Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world, whom then we followed; leaving John as some of his own disciples did.

Some also came with us as far as John's baptism, that washeth away the filth of the flesh; but not coming to the baptism of Christ, which washeth away all filthiness both of flesh and spirit; also they left us at John: such as these may be compared to the king of Israel, who, at the command of the prophet, smote the ground often; but not smiting it long enough, until the enemy was consumed, he missed of a perfect victory, and full conquest; so do all that take up their rest in any thing short of the Lamb of God.

These things being thus witnessed in the spiritual travails of a remnant at the beginning, let us all search and try our ways, whether we be still following the ancient footsteps of the flocks of the companions, by keeping in the pure separation from the fleshly part in ourselves, ministering only from the ability that God gives; which a remnant, that have kept to their first love, and their garments clean therein, have done, to the praise of the Lord God Almighty for ever.

My exhortation therefore is unto all, but more especially to you that are children of believing parents, and servants to believing masters, with all the younger men, and younger

women, convinced in these latter times, knowing that a remnant of these also have kept their garments clean, to examine yourselves, how you came by your profession; Whether you, that are children and servants, received it by tradition, only because of your outward relations, &c., or from the inward work of God upon your own spirits, as those did that received the truth, in the love of God, at the beginning. For many may endure sufferings, and undergo the repoach of a Quaker, and all for sinister ends; to whom I say, as Jacob did to Simeon and Levi, You have troubled us, and, as much as in you lies, have made the truth to stink amongst the inhabitants of the land; yet a remnant dare not do so, blessed be the Lord. But to you that are grieved and troubled, because of these, I say to you also, as the Lord on this occasion said unto troubled Jacob, Arise, and go up to Bethel, the house of God, and dwell there, Gen. xxxv.

O the bemoanings of many tender souls at the beginning for the loss of their conditions, sometimes through their own negligence, and sometimes through the enemy's subtilty, weeping like Rachel for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they were not, are fresh in my remembrance.

But of later times many come amongst us, that in outward appearance may seem to be of us, who as yet never truly knew the meaning of such bemoanings, nor the bitterness of Rachel's tears, but walk as if the gate of entrance into the truth was grown wider, and the path and way thereof broader than it was at the beginning; for how careful were those that came to witness the truth, at the beginning, to keep low and humble, that they might not be drawn from their own measures, lest their own words should become their burden, and they be condemned in themselves for uttering that, as in the name of God, which came not from the Spirit of the living God!

Therefore it was, that so mightily grew the word of God, and prospered, bringing all down, to the loathing of their persons, in true humility, growing up in every honest heart; that the fruits of the spirit were manifest, as in the apostles' days, to wit, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law, saith the apostle: and they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts. If we live in the spirit, let us also walk in the spirit: let us not be desirous, saith the apostle, of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another. But like brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ.

My heart is overcome, when I take a view of God's dealings with us, from the day that he first visited us, unto this present time. My dear friends and brethren, you know how Christ (our Joseph) knew us, when we knew not him; and made himself known to us, as Joseph did unto his brethren, while guilt and fear, distrust and horror, were in their spirits; and then commanded, that they should do unto, and one for another, as he had done unto and for them all.

Therefore let all come down to the remembrancer, the Spirit of Truth, which will distinguish between those that are now arrayed with the beautiful garments of their youthful days, viz., humility, meekness, righteousness, and the true zeal of the Lord; and those that have only a show of it: and there let us behold one another in our comely attire, with the glorious visions of the Almighty in our hearts; judging down all stirrings of envyings and evil surmisings against any. For, can we consider the price we cost at first, and the love, care, and watchfulness of our God over us unto this day, of whom a remnant can say, as Jacob did, He hath fed us all our life long: and not be in the love one with another?

Can we contemplate the miseries we have been delivered from, and the mercies we have been made partakers of, since we were a people, and not be humbled before our God, for any unthankfulness and distrust? Can we view the prisons and dungeons, the banishments, and all outward losses, and spoiling of our goods, with the reproachful scoffs, and scornful slightings, by such, that some could say, with holy Job, They were not worthy to eat with the dogs of their flocks; and not to be melted before the Lord, and abased, as unworthy of the least of all his mercies?

And can we remember our blessed support under all those sufferings, and the sweet presence of the Spirit of Christ in our hearts, saying in us, under all these trials and exercises, as the disciples did, when they returned to Christ their Master, after their weary travels, to wit; We wanted nothing, &c. We wanted no perfumes to take away the noisome smells; we wanted nothing to make our hard lodgings easy; we wanted no pleasant walks to make our straight confinements joyous; and we wanted not the society of outward relations, and former acquaintance, to pass away the time; because the Lord our God turned all our hardships into unspeakable comfort, and true contentment?

And shall any now say, God's arm is shortened, that he cannot save; or his ear is heavy,

that he cannot hear? God forbid, that all the milk, and wine, and honey, and other fat things, with which we have been often spiritually feasted at God's table, should be all forgotten, and buried in the wilderness; saying in ourselves, as rebellious Israel did of old, to wit; Can he now prepare such a table in the wilderness for us?

But rather let us, with Manoah's wife, the mother of Samson, conclude, If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering and a meat-offering at our hands; neither would he have showed us all these things, and done so much for us, as he hath done, from the very beginning that we were a people, unto this day.

Therefore lift up your heads, you valiants of Israel, that have come through the dark burning mountain, and through the pleasant and delightful openings and prophecies, through and beyond all outward washings, unto the Lamb of God, that your robes may be washed white in his blood; that thereby you may overcome, and then sit down in that kingdom which cannot be shaken, with weary Abraham, thoroughly tried Isaac, and wrestling Jacob.

O how glorious are you all in the sight of God, and all his people, even as an army terrible with banners, in the sight of all adversaries! therefore keep your ranks, and march on in your heavenly way, which the Lord of Hosts himself hath set you in, and Babylon the great shall fall before you more and more; for the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it; and you, with all the holy martyrs of Jesus, shall rejoice over her downfall for ever.

These few words farther and again, spring up in my heart to you all, dear friends, brethren and sisters, to wit; That we may be always mindful how we received the truth at the beginning, and be careful that we travel on with our feet always shod with the same humility, and poverty of spirit, as when we were first shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; never forgetting, nor changing the poor man's food, to wit, our old water and pulse, for any portion of the rich man's dainties; but still waiting on God, that in due season gives both milk to babes, and strong meat to them of riper age; bearing in our remembrance the great execution that was done at the beginning, by the smooth stones out of the poor shepherd's bag.

Now to the pure harmless seed, that cries in our hearts, I commend you all, that therein as in the cleft of that rock, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail, we all may dwell and abide for ever: so shall the work of the Lord prosper, to his own glory, and all our comforts for ever. Amen. JOHN CROOK.

The 17th of the Sixth month, 1678.

An epistle to young people professing the truth.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Knowing that many which fear the Lord, and think upon his name, have had, for some time, a concern upon their minds for the declining conditions of many young people that are amongst us; saying often one to another, What will become of the next generation, considering the youth of this are so degenerated from those that received the truth at the beginning? Whereupon it came into my heart, according to the examples of Christ and his apostles, who to rectify abuses in marriage, and other things, saith, but it was not so from the beginning; intimating, that the best way to amend things amiss, is to bring people to the beginning; that as they received Christ Jesus the Lord, so to walk in him; which is the drift and end of this epistle to young people, and others professing the truth.

Many are yet alive, who from their own knowledge can testify the humility, mortification, and self-denial of the youth at the beginning, together with their contempt of all youthful vanities, &c., their words few and savoury, their countenances grave and serious, in their places diligent and faithful; being examples of temperance and sobriety to neighbours and acquaintance; in the worship and service of God attentive and watchful; carefully improving all opportunities to increase their communion and acquaintance with God, in Christ Jesus the light. All which were as blessed signs of those times of refreshment from God's presence, that the souls of the faithful were then made partakers of.

Let children inquire of their parents, that were eye-witnesses from the beginning, and they can tell them; let servants ask their faithful masters, and they can inform them, what manner of people the younger sort of Quakers, so called, were at the beginning: nay, there were few such strangers in the places where the truth first took place, but they could declare these things. By all which, as in a glass, many now, professing the same truth, may see themselves bearing another image: therefore ought diligently to make inquiry, what is the cause, and whence the disparity ariseth; for if the gospel at the beginning proved itself to be preached again, by the fore-mentioned, and many more blessed effects upon all those that received the truth in the love of it; what is the matter? Is not the gospel an everlasting gospel, and Christ the way, the truth, and the life, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever? And doth not his works still, in the hearts of the called, chosen, and faithful, bear witness of him?

Therefore, it is to be feared, those that are thus fallen, have received another gospel, or the

gospel perverted, or turned upside down, as the apostle speaks; seeing those at the beginning, began in the spirit; but since that, many that began well, think to be made perfect by the flesh, where too many hold the truth in unrighteousness. But my design is, not to accuse, but to inform those that are out of the way, if possible they may be reclaimed, before the evil day overtake them.

I know some of the younger are ready to blame the elder, and some children their parents, and some servants their masters' examples: to all which I say, That such as are guilty thereof shall bear their own burden, and shall not escape the righteous judgment of God: but you, that make this plea, know, that the soul that sins shall die; and the witness of God in your consciences, if hearkened unto, will convince you of the vanity of this fig leaf covering, and the deceitfulness of your own hearts, in thinking that the evil example of others will be an excuse for your backsliding.

For those that in their youth received the truth at the beginning, were surrounded with evil examples on every hand; so that if examples could have prevailed to continue them in worldly vanities, they could never have broken through those oppositions from acquaintance and nearest relations; for if they had looked outward, all hopes of preferment in this world were wholly gone; and looking inward, there appeared such strong holds of satan, as seemed impossible ever to be overcome; the truth itself being such a stranger in the earth, that almost every body was backward to give it entertainment, especially if they had any thing in this world to lose for harbouring of it.

Whereas the youth and others of later times found the truth both ready proved, and successfully defended, against the subtile arguments and wits of those professing times, in which it at first broke forth; and that not by the might and power of wit, or outward learning, but by simplicity and godly sincerity, accompanied with holiness of life and conversation; which was a great confirmation to the first publishing of it: together with the meek and patient, yet bold and valiant, suffering the loss of all for the truth, as it is in Jesus. By which, in a great measure, the rough way was worn smooth, and the passage made much more easy to those that followed, than it was at the beginning. For those that were as gazing-stocks at the beginning of latter times came to be well known; and that estrangedness to persons and principles came to vanish away, and a good esteem of the truth, and of those that professed it, sprang up in divers persons: so mightily grew the word of God, and prospered at the beginning.

But alas, of latter times, the wild boar of the forest hath got into the vineyard, and rooted up many hopeful plants; and others are fallen into the world's customs, ways and fashions, who are become as spots in the true Christian assemblies, and blemishes to the truth, as it was at the beginning; as if the sins of Sodom, which were pride, carelessness, excess, and contempt of the poor, were become the virtues of Zion. Many young people, and others, getting into those things again, which their parents, relations, and acquaintance, for good conscience sake, were forced to lay aside; as if in these latter times the efficacy of truth was not the same as at the beginning; and as if the cross of Christ, that was so powerful then was now become of none effect.

Little doth the wanton youth of this age think what sighs and tears their godly parents, and friends that love them, pour out in secret for them, both because of their eternal estates hereafter, and the dishonour they bring here unto the blessed name and truth of God; whereby it is become a saying amongst ancient people, that the Quakers now a-days are not like those at the beginning.

What watchfulness, what carefulness, what diligence therefore ought every one to use, lest by bad company and examples, they should be ensnared before they are aware, and so by degrees be drawn to such inconveniences, as afterward they will find very hard to withstand; until they are brought to that degree of stupidity, and hardness of heart, that all exhortations to virtue and godliness find so little entertainment, that even strangers in our meetings are more serious, and tenderness of heart sooner procured in them, than in many who have frequented our assemblies from their childhood unto men and women's estates, so evil and catching are the bad examples of others to them whose hearts are not kept tender to God.

Be serious therefore, all you that make profession of the truth, in your tender years, and examine yourselves, how you came to make profession of it. Was it for some by ends, and sinister respects, or was it by education from your parents, or others only? Not regarding the good intention and end thereof, so as to come to the root of the matter in yourselves, nor heeding to be guided by the light in your own consciences; but from time to time feeding only upon good words from others, as it is to be feared too many do at this day. I say unto all such careless ones, I pity your condition; for all your goodness will prove like the morning dew, that soon vanisheth when heat ariseth; and your profession will wither, like the corn upon the house top: therefore let the time past suffice, that you have spent your precious time to no purpose, and rest no longer in an easy mind, above the cross; but sink

down in deep humility to the oppressed seed of God in you, which he hath left as a witness for himself, that you might not be as Sodom, and like unto Gomorrah, if you diligently hearken to it in your own particulars.

Parents and others, that fear the Lord, are bound in duty to God, to use all means they can to impress the tender minds of their children and youth with the sense of God's power; and in so doing they shall not lose their reward from God, although their children, when grown up, turn their backs upon it. For parents, at the beginning, looked upon the truth as the best portion for their children; not so much heeding their preferment in this world, if by any means they might have an interest in that which is to come. And in order thereunto, they counselled their children to mind the inward and spiritual grace, that so they might not rely upon any outward and visible thing for preservation and defence; because that inward and spiritual grace was commended to us at the beginning, as the best teacher, to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live godly, righteously, and soberly in this present world. But if young people will reject the good advice of their parents and others, and degenerate from their education, their destruction will be of themselves; and their poor grieving parents, and others, can but mourn in secret for them.

Children and others ought to know, that there is no standing at a stay, or stop in religion; for not to go forward therein, is to go backward: hence it is that the scripture saith, Heb. vi. "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame." And being a business of the greatest importance, the apostle urgeth it from the similitude following; "For, saith he, the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them for whom it is dressed, receiveth blessings from God; but that which beareth thorns and briars, is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned."

If there be therefore any consolation in Christ the Truth, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels of mercies, you that live carelessly and wantonly upon the earth, consider your conditions, and examine yourselves, how far the fore-mentioned scripture affects you; for I have a deep concern upon my heart for you all, that have forsaken your first love, and bear another image, than those young people I have mentioned at the beginning.

Suppose by your conformity to the vanities of this present world, you should gain a large share therein, which but few obtain; what will it avail when terrifying death looks you in the face? Have you forgotten Moses's choice, who esteemed it greater riches to suffer afflictions with the people of God, than to be related to the court of a great monarch? What shall I say to prevail with you? Is it not great pity, that any who in years past bore the frowns of the great ones of the earth patiently, went through reproaches cheerfully, and many hardships constantly, for some time, and doubtless such felt a reward from God for their encouragement? Why then should you lose your crown at last?

Come, let us reason together, and let God's witness speak. Wanted you any thing, while you kept your integrity? Did you not witness one day in God's presence, better than all the delights that ever you had, since your minds by looseness and vanities have been enstranged from him? Did your pleasures and companions in folly ever afford you that comfort, and inward contentment and peace, which sometimes you have felt amongst God's people? Why then do you deprive yourselves, by your negligence, of that sweetness and comfort, which no created enjoyment can recompense the loss of, besides that further hope of glory that is laid up for those that walk uprightly?

Many of the youthful people and others amongst us, need not say, What is truth? Because I know it hath often proved itself to their consciences, beyond all outward demonstration; and they cannot be ignorant how divers that have backsliden have been followed with a secret hand against them, in all they have gone about.

Come away therefore, and tarry no longer in lying vanities; and let not any say, they cannot leave them; for that is the language of your soul's enemy to discourage you; wherefore resist him stedfastly in the faith, and he will fly from you; for he hath no power, but in darkness and unbelief. Watch therefore to the light of Christ Jesus, that discovers all the twistings of that crooked serpent, and take up the daily cross to those evils that so easily beset you; and you will find, as you have often heard, the armour of light at hand to defend you against all your youthful lusts: as, blessed be God, there are yet a cloud of witnesses alive, that can, from good experience, testify the same.

P. S. Let none despise these lines for their plainness; for we were a plain people at the beginning. I know some of the younger sort are

apt to be taken with fine words, and fashionable language, as with other things in fashion; but experience shows, that that which tickles the outward ear, commonly stops there, very seldom coming so low as to the truth in the inward parts: therefore this epistle is sent abroad in so plain a dress, on purpose, answerable to a plain seed in them that are puffed up, but ought rather to have mourned; which seed being reached, and their souls relieved, my end is answered, JOHN CROOK.

Luton, the 16th of the Sixth month, 1686.

To Friends of Sewel's meeting, Bedfordshire:

DEAR FRIENDS,—Having this opportunity, I I was willing to signify my remembrance of you, amongst whom I was conversant in my young years, and now am old; yet I can say, in all that I have seen, I never saw the righteous forsaken; and therefore these lines are to encourage you all, to be faithful to the light of Christ Jesus, in your hearts and consciences, for that is the true grace of God, in which the faithful do stand, and shall stand to the end, notwithstanding all discouragements either from enemies in your own bosoms, or from without; notwithstanding the wicked one's rage, who goes about every way to discourage and hinder, both the prosperity of truth within, and without also; yet the truth in which you have believed shall prosper; and you that are faithful to it, shall hold out to the end. Therefore love the truth nevertheless, but rather the more, because it is rejected of men; but it is that which God hath chosen, to exalt his name in the whole world in his due time, and at present doth exalt it in the faithful. It is now near forty-four years, since first myself, and it may be, some others, that are yet alive in the body among you, heard the joyful sound of truth; since which time we have seen the wonders of the Lord, in preserving both the truth and the faithful in it, blessed be our preserver for ever.

My exhortation to you all is, To love the truth, and one another in it, for it is the best portion you can have in this world; therefore do your utmost to make it the portion of your children after you; for godliness hath the promise of this life, and that which is to come. And, I beseech you, refuse not the chastenings of the Lord; for I can tell you, by good and long experience, that afflictions are God's furnace, in which he refines his people as gold; then they can tell of his doings, and that they are miraculous in their eyes, as my soul can do this day, as a man that hath been afflicted from my youth up. Now in my old age, being eighty years, in all which the Lord hath tried me, but never forsaken me; but often instructed me in his secrets, and confirmed me in his truth, and given me the benefit of that counsel which I have given to you and others; so that I have found the virtue of those exhortations to be a comfort to me in my greatest extremities, to my unspeakable satisfaction and joy.

This I speak, not to boast, but to confirm you in the truth, that we may all persevere unto the end, and finish our course with joy, in despite of all opposition whatsoever. And this shall you do, that are faithful to the light of Christ Jesus in your own particulars; for that must be watched unto, and waited in, unto the end; that the light, as it comes from Christ, so it leads to Christ, and exalts the Father, through the Spirit, who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen. JOHN CROOK.

Hertford, the 3rd of the Third mo. 1698.

Truth's principles: or, those things about doctrine and worship, which are most surely believed and received amongst the people of God, called Quakers, viz: concerning the man Christ, his sufferings, death, resurrection, faith in his blood, imputation of his righteousness, sanctification, justification, &c. Written to stop the mouth of clamour, and to inform all who desire to know the truth, as it is in Jesus, by the servant of the Lord, JOHN CROOK.

TO THE READER.

It being allowed by some late adversaries, that we are more sound in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, than they thought of; yet they persist to object, that we have altered our religion, and that our ancient Friends held grievous errors: I am therefore willing in the 81st year of my age, that this following treatise should be reprinted, that they may see what myself, with our ancient friends, held in the year 1663. JOHN CROOK.

Hertford, the 10th of the Tenth mo. 1698.

TRUTH'S PRINCIPLES.

Many are the reports that are abroad concerning this people, not only as to their practices and deportments, but also as to their doctrines and belief. The former, time having in a great measure resolved and worn it out, as being the refuge of lies for the ignorant and unrighteous to flee unto; for that stormy and wintry appearance is well nigh over and gone, because the sun is so far risen, and the true light so shineth, that most begin to see, that those reports were but lies and scandals, raised as fig-leaves to cover the nakedness of other professions, that begun so manifestly to appear, through the light that shined in these people's lives and conversations. But though the first

be gone, yet the latter still sticks with many, as not knowing what they hold, as to doctrine; some saying, They deny the scriptures, and the resurrection of the body, and all ordinances, with the man Christ, and his death and sufferings, and imputation of his righteousness, and faith in his blood, &c. Wherefore, for the satisfaction of all that would willingly be received, and know the truth, as it is in Jesus, I have written this short account of their faith and belief; and if it were possible, to stop the mouths of clamourous tongues, before sentence be given against them, by some signal stroke of the Lord from heaven; which he will undoubtedly in his appointed time, reveal and make manifest, to the trembling of all hearts concerned therein, and tingling of all ears that shall hear thereof; when it shall be said unto them, "The holy shall be holy still, and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still." Rev. xxii. 11.

We believe, that the God of all grace, hath given a measure of grace, or some manifestation of his Spirit, and light thereof, unto all men; according unto these scriptures, John i. 9; Titus ii. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 7; Neh. ix. 20; and experiences of all men, who, at some time or other, do feel something in their hearts and consciences, that doth lust against the flesh, and the flesh against it: and that these two are contrary the one to the other: one lusting after evil, which is evil; the other after good, which is good; the one carnal, the other spiritual; the one from the earth, the other from heaven, Gal. v. 16, 17.

We believe, by this gift, grace, and inspiration of the Almighty, man only can come to know the true God truly; what he is, and how he works in the hearts and consciences of people, to regenerate them, and make them bear his image; according unto 1 Cor. i. 19, 20, 21; Luke x. 21, and experiences of all that ever were regenerate and born again.

We believe, that all the errors and mistakes about God, and the things relating to his kingdom, sprang and arose from men's wandering from this gift of God, into their own imaginations; whereby, though they thought themselves wise, yet they became fools, and erred, their foolish hearts being darkened, according to Rom. i., not knowing the "Scriptures, nor the power of God;" as it is written, Matt. xxii. 29.

We believe and know, that this gift and grace of God appears in and unto all men, that all may be without excuse, accusing for the evil, and excusing for the good, according to Rom. ii. 15, 16, showing unto man what is good, and reproving of him in his own conscience for the evil, whether thoughts, words, or deeds; and that this "reproof of instruction is the way of life." Prov. vi. 23.

We believe, that as the true God, and eternal life, is known only by the light of this gift and grace, according unto the Scriptures; from which light and Spirit of God came the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, as it is written, 2 Pet. i. 21. So can they only be read, as truly to be believed, fulfilled, and practised, in the light and power of the same; and all that are out of this spirit, must needs be ignorant and unlearned, in the apostle's sense, who wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction, as it is written: for Peter and John were unlearned men outwardly, but inwardly read in the knowledge of this light and Spirit of God, and wrested not the Scriptures. Acts iv. 13; 2 Pet. iii. 16.

We believe, according to the Scriptures, 2 Cor. iv. 3. That wheresoever the power of God is not known within, there the gospel is hid, and unknown unto them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them, and God should heal them. Because it is only by the light of Christ, the power of God, that the creature comes truly to see himself in his lost and undone state; from which sight ariseth a true sense in the heart of the creature, that makes him cry out of his wretchedness, by reason of the body of sin and death, which necessitates him to look out for a Saviour, whom God manifesteth in and by the same light, that shines in the heart, on purpose to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, God's image, whereby God healeth the soul. And therefore doth the devil, the god of the world, strive so much by the gifts of the pleasures, profits, vanities, and lusts that are in the world, which he presenteth to men and women now, as he did to Christ, in the days of his flesh, when he showed to him all the world, with its glory; which glory is, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life; whatever may make this life happy, as it were, in the things that may pride it, or lift it up to sit as queen. And as men and women take and receive these gifts from the god of this world, their minds are blinded, because they believe not in the light, which showeth them the vanities of all the gifts of the god of this world; which gifts, the devil knows, if they be received, will so blind the minds of them that receive them, that they will not come to be sensible in the true light of their lost conditions, so as to cry unto God from the deep and true sense; for then God, out of the depths of his love and mercy, could not but heal them. And therefore, lest the true light should shine into them, to give them the sensible knowledge of themselves, and God should heal them, the

devil, as god of the world, by the things of the world, endeavours to blind the mind, not the brain-knowledge, but the heart-feeling sense within, in the mind, lest the light within should so shine, as God should heal them; and all the bustlings of satan, with his gifts, are but to blind the mind, lest God should heal the soul, that complains to him, from the true sight and sense of his misery, as in himself.

By this grace and gift within, we believe, that to us, though in the world there be lords many, and gods many, there is but one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, witnessed within man, only by the Spirit of truth, that manifests both the Father and the Son; and these three are one, and agree in one; and he that honours the Father, honours the Son that proceeds from him; and he that denies the Spirit, denies both the Father and the Son, and is Antichrist; but he that believes in the Spirit, and is led by it, is a son of God; Rom. viii. 14. "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God."

We believe, the Scriptures bear witness unto, and testify of Christ; but they say, the witness of God is greater than them; the Spirit itself bearing witness with our spirits, that we are the sons of God. For it is not the scriptures without the Spirit, nor the Spirit contrary to the scriptures; but the Spirit's discovering the will of God in the heart, or opening of the scriptures in its own time and way, and not in or by the will of man, but as itself pleaseth, who searcheth all things, even the deep things of God, and manifests them unto the soul, which giveth the perfect, sound, and saving knowledge. For, said Christ, the Spirit shall take of mine, and show them unto you: and as holy men gave forth the scriptures, 2 Pet. i. 21, so holy men, and they only, come truly to understand them; and not proud or ungodly, because their hearts and lives do not answer the hearts and lives of those that gave them forth, as face answereth face in a glass. This we believe to be the reason, why so long preaching, by men of corrupt minds, who have and do handle the words deceitfully, for selfish ends, and filthy lucre sake, hath brought forth so little fruit, and been to so little purpose; for "had they believed, and therefore spoken, and stood in God's counsel, they should have profited their hearers," Jer. xxiii. 21, 22, 23, to the end.

Through this gift we believe, that Christ Jesus, the Son of God, was manifested in the flesh, in the fulness of time. And this we know by the same spirit, by which our fathers believed he was come, and Abraham saw his day; by the same we do believe he is come, and do see his day; as also by the prophets and apostles' writings: which two-fold cord is not easily broken.

We believe also, according to the scriptures of truth, that this same Jesus hath God highly exalted, and given him a name above every name, that whosoever believes in him, shall not perish, but have everlasting life; and that there is not another name, whereby man can be saved, than this name of Jesus Christ; nor is remission of sins to be preached by any other name. But as we do not believe that the outward letters and syllables are that name, that are to be bowed unto by the outward knee, no more than the letters or syllables in the words God, or Spirit, seeing the scripture saith, "Unto God, who is a Spirit, every knee shall bow," Isa. xlv. 23. But that name which saves, is the power and arm of God, that brings salvation from sin, and makes every soul that names it, to depart from iniquity. This is that name which was preached, and which is preached, through faith; in which name, remission of sins is obtained: therefore was the outward word Jesus, given him, as his outward name; Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins: (mark) for he shall save, &c. So that which saves, is the name, which is to be believed in, which is that arm of God that brings salvation, when no eye pities, neither is there any to help; the power of God that then saves, is that grace that comes from the fulness of Christ the Saviour: and without this virtue, Christ and Jesus are but empty names, 1 Cor. xii. 3: "No man can say, that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost."

We believe also, that this Jesus died for, or because of sin, and rose again for the justification of those that believe in him, as well as to manifest to all the world, that he was the Son of God, and that he thereby spoiled principalities and powers, and triumphed over them openly, and led captivity captive in his own person; yet we believe and know, by his grace in our hearts, that as his name Jesus, without virtue and power, is but an empty word; so his dying, without man's conformity to his death, or being planted in the likeness thereof, or being crucified with Christ, as saith the scripture, Rom. vi. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Gal. ii. 20, will not profit man, as to the salvation of his soul, no more than the naming of his outward name Jesus doth at this day make people to depart from iniquity. For we believe, and are sure, that man must die inwardly, as well as Christ died outwardly, and must be put to death in his flesh, as Christ was in his: for "he that is in the flesh, cannot please God," Rom. viii. 8, "neither cease from sin;" but "he that is dead is freed from sin." Rom. vi. 7. And yet man's dying unto sin, and the root and principle of it in himself, is so far from making void Christ's death in his own person, that it establisheth it to all those ends and purposes,

for which it was intended of the Father. As the cures which the physician doth, manifest and establish his skill and ability; so doth man's dying unto sin and self, and living unto God, manifest and establish the virtue and power of Christ's death. For as man manifests his being risen with Christ, by his seeking the things that are above, Col. iii. 1, 2, so doth he manifest his knowledge of the death of Christ, by his being crucified with Christ, and bearing about in his body, the dying of the Lord Jesus. For as it is not an outward belief, gathered from the letter, that will change the heart and life, though it may the judgment and opinion, so is it not a belief from the history, or letter only, that can give man a saving knowledge of the death of Christ; but he must have the same glory and power of the Father in measure, working in him there, to beget faith in his heart, that he may believe unto salvation from his own filthiness and unrighteousness, as well as confess with his mouth, Rom. x., and must have that spirit in him, quickening his mortal body, as well as to believe that it was in Christ, "and raised him up from the dead," Rom. viii. 11. And this man, whoever he be, bond or free, that thus believes the death of Christ, and its satisfaction to God, as well as its usefulness to man, cannot make it void, nor divide it and its virtue upon the soul that thus knows it. But he will say, here is a dying man witnessing the death of Christ, and nevertheless the same man living with Christ, and concluding, if Christ had not died, man must have perished in his sin; this being the way found out by God to recover him; whereby he knows Christ, and him crucified, and what the preaching of the cross of Christ is, which is foolishness to them that perish, but to them that are saved, the wisdom of God, and the power of God. 1 Cor. i. 18.

By this gift of God in our hearts, we further believe, that Christ Jesus rose again from the dead, according to the scriptures, and sits at God's right hand in a glorious body; and we believe that our low estates and humbled bodies, shall be made like unto his glorious body, through the working of his mighty power, whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself; and that this mortal shall put on immortality. For though we believe, that Christ Jesus hath lighted every man with his light, whereby man may come to know himself lost and undone, as before is said; yet therefore is not every man saved, though the grace that appears to all men is sufficient in itself; but some have the grace of God bestowed on them in vain, not liking to retain God in their knowledge, though something within them shows them what is good; "but they reject the counsel of God within, or against themselves, to their own destruction," Luke vii. 30. (see the margin). And yet it doth not follow, that the grace is insufficient itself, no more than it follows that Christ's death is insufficient, because he tasted death for every man, and yet every man is not saved. Neither doth regeneration, or the believing in the light of Christ within, make void the death and sufferings of Christ without at Jerusalem, no more than believing the scripture testimony without, concerning Christ's death, makes void the work of regeneration and mortification within. But as the apostle saith in another case, so say I in this, For as the man is not without the woman, neither is the woman without the man in the Lord; even so is not the death and sufferings of Christ without at Jerusalem, to be made void and of none effect by any thing within; neither doth the light within make that of none effect without, but both in the Lord answer his will. For though there is, and may be, a knowledge and belief of what Christ did and suffered without the gates, in his own body upon the tree, and yet sin alive in the heart, and the work of regeneration not known; yet it cannot be so, where the light within is believed on, and obeyed, so as to have its perfect work in the heart, to regenerate and make all things new, and to be of God; this man can never make void what Christ hath done and suffered without. And yet this new birth, or Christ formed within, and dwelling in the heart by faith, doth not limit or confine Christ to be only within, and not without also, but both within and without, according to the good pleasure of the Father, to reveal and make him known, for, "He fills all things, and the heaven of heavens cannot contain him," and yet is he at God's right hand, far above all heavens, in a glorious body.

And we also believe the resurrection of the just and unjust, the one to salvation, and other to condemnation, according unto the judgment of the great day; and then shall every seed have its own body, according to 1 Cor. xv. 36, 37, 38, which we verily believe: for if the dead arise not, we are, of all men, most miserable. But because we dare not be so foolishly inquisitive, as to say, With what bodies shall they arise? Therefore do some say, We deny both the resurrection of the body of Christ, and of all that shall or will be dead: but this also is false; for "every man shall be raised in his own order; but Christ the first fruits," 1 Cor. xv. 23. And we believe, they shall be raised with the same bodies, so far as a natural and spiritual, corruptible and incorruptible, terrestrial and celestial, can be the same.

We further believe, according unto the scriptures, concerning faith, That that faith is only true, which is God's gift, and hath Christ

Jesus, the power of God, for its author and object, and is distinguished from the dead faith, by its fruits: for though in description and definition they may carry a resemblance, yet in nature are as different as a living man is from a dead, which wants not form or shape, but life and power. So saith the apostle James, "As the body without a spirit is dead, so is faith without works;" even so is that faith which stands in the wisdom of words, and not in the power of God. By the one, man is kept in captivity to the world, and the things of it; but by the other he hath "victory over the world," 1 John v. 4, and the seal and witness thereof in his own heart, whereby it is purified, and God is seen; for the pure in heart see God, Matt. v. 8. This faith differs men now, and their worships, as it did Cain and Abel; for, "by faith Abel offered up a more excellent sacrifice than Cain," Heb. xi. By this living faith, Abel saw beyond the sacrifice unto Christ, the first-born of God; beyond the firstling of the flock, which he offered; and therefore God had respect unto Abel and his offering; but God rejected Cain and his offering, though he had faith to believe it to be his duty, yet sticking in the form, and not flying on the wing of faith unto Christ the one offering, he missed the mark, as all have done ever since, that have gone in Cain's way of worshipping, as well as killing men about worship. But we believe that faith to be only true and saving, that flies over self-righteousness, as well as filthiness, unto the fountain of life in Christ; which faith hath nothing of man in it, but is as the breath of life, by which the soul lives; not a bare assent to the truth of a proposition in the natural understanding, but the soul's cleaving unto God, out of a naturalness between Christ and the soul; and so lives rather by relation, than bare credit, or desperate adventure and hazard; not looking at its doing to commend it, but God's love and bounty in Christ the light, to receive it; and yet holiness is its delight, and he can no more live out of it, than the fish upon the dry land.

We believe, That this faith keeps the mind pure, the heart clean, through the sprinkling of the heart from an evil conscience, by the blood of Jesus, which remits the sin, and justifies the soul, through the virtue of this blood received into the heart by this living faith, which receives all its power and virtue from Christ, in whom it abides as its root and object, whereby justification is witnessed "from sin, not in sin," Rom. vi. 22: "But now being made free from sin, and become servants unto God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life."

We believe, That justification and sanctification are distinguished, but not divided: for as he that sanctifieth and justifieth is one, so do these go together; and when the soul hath the greatest sense of justification upon it, through the virtue of the blood of Jesus by the living faith, then is it most in love with holiness, and at the greatest distance from sin and evil; and whenever there is a failing in sanctification, there is also some eclipse of justification in the eye of the soul, until faith hath recovered its strength again, which it lost by sin's prevailing. For as the farthest and clearest sight is in the brightest day, so is it with the soul, when it is most in the brightness and beauty of holiness, its justification appears most glorious, and its union and communion most sweet and lasting; and so, like twins, as they are much of an age, so they are like one to the other; and "what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

We also by this light believe, that acceptance with the Father, is only in Christ; and by his righteousness made ours, or imputed unto us; not by the creaturely skill, but by the applicatory act of God's gift of grace, whereby the soul feels the difference between self-applying by its own faith, and God applying by his Spirit, and so making Christ unto the soul, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption: so that we believe, and are sure, that there is a great difference between imputation, as it is the act of man's spirit, and as it is the act of free grace, without man's forcing. And so we distinguish between imagination and imputation, between reckoning or imputing that is real, and reckoning or imputation that is not real, but a fiction and imagination in the creaturely will and power: and because we are against the latter, we are clamoured upon, as if we denied the imputation of Christ's righteousness, when it is only unto those that are not made righteous by it, to walk as he also walked. For, as the scripture saith, It is not he that saith he is righteous by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, but, "He that doth righteousness, is righteous, as Christ is righteous," 1 John iii. 7; he that believes otherwise is deceived. And yet it is not acts of righteousness, as done by us, nor as inherent in us, as acts, by which we are accepted of God, and justified before him; but by Christ, the author and worker of those acts in us and for us, whereby we know that we are in him, and he in us, and we hold him as our head; into whom all things are gathered together in one, even in him.

We further believe, that God is only to be worshipped, and not any likeness that man makes unto himself of God, from any view, sight or knowledge that he hath had of him, but in every act and service, man is to know what substantially, as well as whom speculatively or notionally, he worshippeth; as it is

written, John iv. 22, "Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews." And he that thus worships the Father, honours the Son by the same spirit, which is one with the Father and the Son; in which spirit only God is worshipped, according to the form of its own choosing, and manifesting of itself in and by, according unto the good pleasure of the Father, who is a Spirit, and limits man unto the Spirit's form; but allows not man to limit the Spirit unto his form: though it be not of his inventing originally, but of the Father; yet man must no more limit God unto it, than he could command God to appear in it at first: for as he chose it himself, so hath he reserved liberty to leave it at his pleasure; who works all things after the counsel of his own will, which he hath purposed in himself; that the gift of the knowledge of the mystery of his will, might for ever be acknowledged to be of his grace, and from the riches of the glory thereof, according to Eph. i., and man be bound, but God free; man bound to wait in the light for God's movings; but God free to move in whom, to what, and when he pleaseth: then man is to go, when he saith, Go; and come, when he saith, Come; and such servants do serve him; and then there is no more curse, as in the days of will-worship and voluntary humility, "but the throne of God, and of the Lamb," Col. ii. 18. 23. Rev. xxii. 3, 4, and "they shall see his face, and his name shall be on their foreheads."

We believe also, that this worship is spiritual, and not carnal, in all its parts and ordinances; and not to be imposed by any outward force, but performed by the inward leadings of God's Spirit, according as the holy men of God were led and guided in the days past, who gave forth the scriptures; all impositions of worship outward, being only enjoined under the first covenant, that made nothing perfect, until the time of reformation, spoken of, Heb. ix. 10. But Christ being come, there is an end as well of such impositions, as of the meats and drinks, and divers baptisms, and carnal ordinances; they being all but temporary, and in order unto an end; but all to vail Christ, the sum and substance of all, (the first) pointed at by all, and (the last) ending of all, the Amen. And he that thus worships God in Christ, his ordinances are spiritual, not carnal, and his faith carries him beyond his works, with righteous Abel; and preserves him, that he is not drowned in the form, like Cain; neither falls he short of the glory of God, nor of his assurance of acceptance with him.

We believe there is one baptism necessary unto salvation, Eph. iv. 5, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." And this baptism is spiritual, of which John's water was but a figure, John i. 31, "That he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water," saith John: and 1 Pet. iii. 21, "The like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." This one spiritual baptism into the name of Jesus Christ, is that which saves; the water being but a figure, that Christ might be manifest to Israel, who had divers baptisms imposed on them, until the time of reformation; but Christ, the substance, being come, the shadows flee away. And yet, wherever any believe they are commanded now by the same Spirit that commanded the believers to be baptized in the days past, either for the furtherance of the gospel, or trial of their faith, we judge them not: but this obedience is very rare to be found; and we could heartily desire, that all would consider seriously, whether literal sayings, observed only by outward reading, hearing by the ear, or inward impulses upon the heart by the Divine Power, are the motives unto obedience in this kind. And if honesty and uprightness of heart may be heard, we believe and know, the many dead souls every where, notwithstanding their baptisms, will be as so many witnesses against them, by their grovelling upon the earth, as so many slain and killed men by the letter; while the Spirit's quickenings have not been in the true baptism into death. For we find by daily experience, that most men and women live like Pharaoh's lean kine, only to eat up the fat, and to envy those that are not so lean-souled as themselves.

We believe also, that as there is one true saving baptism, so there is one bread or body of Christ, which all the saints do feed upon; and though they may be many, as to persons, yet their bread is but one, and they all in it but one bread. And this we believe is the "flesh that came down from heaven," John vi. 33. Though the outward Jews now, as then, murmur at him, because he said, "I am the bread which came down from heaven," verses 41, 42. But Christ, verse 45, to stop their murmuring, tells them, that the knowledge of this mystery was only revealed unto them whom God, and not man, teacheth; and no more than are taught of God, can set seal and subscribe unto this truth in Jesus: though we believe also, that Jesus did take outward bread, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, as the scripture saith; and this was a figure of his body, that was to be pierced and broken upon the tree, to show forth his death until he came. And we believe he did arise again, and appear unto his disciples: "And all that believed were together, and had all things common," &c. "And they continuing daily with one accord in

the temple, breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people." Acts ii. 44, 45, 46, 47. And we believe that the apostle, in 1 Cor. xi. 20, saith true, where he saith, "When ye come together therefore in one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper." And all that he speaks in that chapter, is not to perpetuate that outward breaking of bread, otherwise than as the believers did, that were "filled with the Holy Ghost, in singleness of heart:" and yet we judge not those who break outward bread, and drink outward wine, being in a belief they are commanded so to do, to put them in a remembrance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, by the Remembrancer, the Spirit of Truth, which is appointed by the Father, to lead into all truth. But to do it by imitation or tradition only, as most do it, if not all, at this day, we know it is not an offering unto God in righteousness, neither do we believe this to be the communion of the body and blood of Christ; and yet, the eating of the flesh, and drinking of the blood of Christ, we believe man must know and witness, or he hath "no life in him;" John vi. 53, 54, 55. We believe that many are striving now in their spirits, as the Jews did, verse 52, saying, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" And not only the Jews, but many of his disciples said, "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" verse 60. And at verse 63, he tells them, "It is the Spirit that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life:" and he that hears and understands these words, that are spirit and life, will not be offended at what I have spoken of the flesh and blood of Christ.

By the same spirit and grace we believe, that prayer is an ordinance of God, when performed by his Spirit, in its words, and not those which man's wisdom teacheth, or without words, by sighs and groans which cannot be uttered; and these so often as the Spirit itself pleaseth: but the form without the Spirit, whether it be by words of other men's framing, or words of a man's own spirit, according to his will, time, and manner; this is not the prayer that prevails with God. And we believe, there is none so weak and infirm, but this Spirit proffers its help at some time, though man regardeth it not; and the more man's mind is gathered from all visibles, the more he comes to be sensible of the movings of this Spirit, in its secret cries to God, answerable to the wants of that man or woman, in whom it moves. By due watching thereunto, we believe and know, the spirit of prayer and of adoption that cries unto God, comes to be discerned and distinguished from a man's own spirit and will.

We believe, by the same gift of grace, that there are several administrations, and several operations, according to 1 Cor. xii., and all "by the same Spirit;" as before the law, and after the law by Moses; and after by John the Baptist, and Christ and his apostles; and in all these the ministration had acceptance with God, through the management of the Spirit; and its rejection and dislike of God, for the want thereof. And by this Spirit were the Scriptures given forth, and holy men of God did speak, prophesy, preach, and pray, as they were moved; and for want of it, the letter did, and doth kill. And for the further appearance and pouring out of this Spirit, answerable unto the work and service that God had for them to do, they were to wait, as Christ commanded his disciples to do at Jerusalem, to receive the promise of the Father: for, by this Spirit, he that speaks, speaks as the oracle of God. And therefore as it was the practice of the people of God in old time, to wait for the moving and stirring of this Spirit, that they might speak as it gave them utterance, in the evidence and demonstration thereof; so do this people, called Quakers, now; and according to its moving in their hearts they minister, according to the signification of the Spirit, whereby they understand both what and when to speak, and when to be silent; as also, who they are that minister and speak in their own wills, above the cross of Christ, which the apostle was careful always to be in subjection to, lest he should make it void, by speaking the words which man's wisdom teacheth; and therefore as the saints did, so we do believe, and therefore we speak: and such preaching and speaking in faith, as well as praying in faith, is acceptable unto God, as his worship, and not otherwise.

And we further believe, by the same Spirit, that the sum of all religion, according to truth, and the signification of the word (religion) is man not at liberty in his will, but bound again unto God, by his having given to him, by the light of Christ within, the true sight and knowledge of himself, as in himself, as lost and undone for ever; and from this sight, a true sense to arise upon and remain with him, from whence spring unutterable groans and cries unto God, under the weight of the burden and wretchedness, by reason of the body of sin and death; and then when there was none to help or pity in this state, then is mercy showed in Christ the arm of God, which is revealed as an help, neither seen, nor known, where, how, or when to come at, or meet with it: and this begets in the heart of that man or woman, in and unto whom it is thus revealed, thanks and praises unto God, for this gift and revelation of his Son, in this needful time, whom the soul sees to be the gift of eternal love.

And we believe and know, upon this love and faithfulness of God, is founded, built, and established, the everlasting covenant, whereby not only all men may be saved for its ability, but some shall be saved because of its prevalency, which is not like to the covenant which he made with our fathers. And although all mankind is not saved, yet it is not because either of insufficiency in this covenant, or of the weakness of the grace that appears in and unto all men; but because of man's will, loving death, and choosing his own delusions, whereby his destruction is of himself, and God clear of his blood, in the free tender of his grace, gift, and striving of his spirit within him. For we know assuredly, according to the scriptures of truth, and experience of all souls that ever were truly converted to God, that though by grace man is saved, not of himself, but by the free gift; yet as the old world did, and those rebellious Jews spoken of, Acts vii. who, as did their fathers, so did they, always resist the Holy Ghost; so do men now. And yet in the tender of this grace, and striving of his spirit, the Lord is a God so hiding himself in the management of this striving, and ministration of his Spirit, as if it wholly depended upon man's choice and consenting, that man's will as to him, is, as it were, free, in rejecting or accepting, life and death being set before him; whereby, in the wisdom of God, the propensity of his nature, as it came out of the hands of his Maker, hath an advantage, by this dealing of God, to put forth itself; so that man is as free in the choice, as he is in the refusal of the tender of mercy and help, and that with an equal indifferency, as it appears to him in this state; notwithstanding afterwards, in the further growth in this grace and knowledge of Christ, he sees clearly and convincingly, that the grace, that wrought hiddenly from his sight and knowledge, in the first working, tender, and ministration of God towards him, gained his consent through its own prevalency in the love of God; by which sight and sense, self comes to be abhorred, and the free love so admired, that he knows from first to last, all was of grace, and that free; that self is not able to challenge any thing, as due from what it had done; but all of gift; and yet, as before, with such an equal indifferency on man's account: so that God may and will be just, both in condemning and saving, and the justifier freely of all that believe in Jesus, the light of the world.

Therefore let all take heed how they dislike this ministration of God, and striving of his Spirit in their hearts and consciences, under colour and pretence of its insufficiency; and therefore they will not come to him, because his drawings and strivings are not so strong as they would have them to be, looking for such an overpowering and irresistibleness, as they are not able to withstand and gainsay; lest such perish through a wilful neglect, for want of stretching out their hand, when the Lord holds out his; and so they perish in the ditch, with a vain expectation of farther power, or cry in their mouths, Lord have mercy upon us. And with the sluggard, while they cry, Yet a little more slumber, and folding of the hands to sleep, their garden is overgrown with weeds, and their backs clothed with rags, and they beg in harvest; whilst others, that have sown in tears, not fainting, do in due time reap in joy; and not despising the crumbs that fell from the table, nor the day of small things, witness the presence of their beloved, come down into his garden, and walking among the lilies.

Let these things be truly considered, pondered, and weighed in the true balance of light and righteousness, lest any soul perish through the false weight and measure; so shall my soul rejoice, that any have escaped the net of the fowler, through the discovery of the true light, and God have all the glory, unto whom alone it belongs; and man ashamed, confounded, his mouth stopped, and he laid in the dust for ever: and then shall my end be answered in writing these things.

JOHN CROOK.

An epistle to Friends, for union and edification of the church of God in Christ Jesus. 1 Cor. i. 10. *Now I beseech you brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment.*

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN, &c.,—I salute you all in that first love wherewith God loved us, and we so dearly loved one another. In my old age I cannot forget those times and seasons of comfortable refreshment we have enjoyed together in the Holy Spirit of our heavenly Father: praised be his blessed name for ever.

That which is in my heart to you in this epistle, is, to remind you of that free love of God, that visited us in our low estate, when we were cast out, as it were, in the open field, void of all shelter, as in a weary land, quite tired, and weary of every thing: then was made known to us the hiding-place from the storms, &c., which we found to be as a rock in that weary, wayless, wilderness-state and condition.

My dear friends, you that know and can witness what I write, what remains, but that we love him that first loved us, and one another

in him. The former will appear by our keeping his commandments, and the latter by our diligent and tender watchfulness one over another, for our preservation in the same love unto the end.

Remembering that all miscarriages, both towards God and towards one another, arise and spring, commonly from the decay of love: this procured that dreadful threatening to Ephesus, of having her golden candlestick removed, because she had left her first love, &c.

I doubt not but there are those yet left among us, who can remember that esteem and good persuasion that many people had of the truth, and of those that professed it at the beginning, because we loved one another; and therefore many concluded we were the disciples of Christ. And it may be observed, that because Peter knew man's heart is not more ready to deceive him in any thing, than concerning true and unfeigned love, he prefers not his own knowledge of his heart, but appeals to Christ's knowledge of it, viz., "Lord thou knowest I love thee."

And because true love to the brethren is such an excellent grace and virtue, the primitive Christians counted it a sign of their regeneration, saying, "We know we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren:" but seeing there is an hypocritical fawning, that looks like love, the apostle sharply reproves that, saying, "Let your love be without dissimulation."

Therefore as God's free love in Christ Jesus was the cause of our gathering to be a people at the beginning, who were not a people, but gathered us, as it were, out of all sorts of professions of religion, to be a people to his praise; and did, agreeably to his promise, Jer. iii. 15, 16, raise up pastors, according to his own heart, that fed us with divine wisdom and understanding; which was in some measure the fulfilling of that prophecy, so that we pursued after the substance, which is Christ Jesus; and left the shadows, ceremonies, and figures, as ending in him the substance; of which figures, the ark of the covenant under the old law, was chief; as Jeremiah, prophetically speaking of the gospel times, saying, "In those days saith the Lord, they shall say no more the ark of the covenant of the Lord, neither shall it come upon the heart," as the margin hath it, "neither shall they go after it," &c.

Now, dear friends, seeing we began in the substance, which was the appearance of Christ Jesus in spirit and power, let all watch, and be careful, that they turn not aside, lest by hearkening to the fleshly wisdom, and carnal reasoning, any of you fall back again into the naturals, where the shadows pass for substances; and so become bewildered again, and at a greater loss than you were in before: for then it may be said, It had been better for you that you had never known the way of truth; viz. (better) not only because it will be harder to return again, than before your first convincement; but also the fiery furnace, through which such must pass, will be hotter; because the state the backslider is fallen into, is aggravated by his being once enlightened; which renders that condition near unto impossibility of returning according to Heb. vi. 5, 6.

This I speak as a warning to all concerned, that they which stand, or think they stand, may take heed lest they fall; for, "Blessed is the man that feareth always;" because he that casteth away true fear will restrain prayer; and the restraining of prayer, will discover the irreligious and careless: and the hypocrite doth not truly discern prayer, though he makes long prayers.

Therefore, dear friends, as you would persevere unto the end, in your spiritual union with God, and communion one with another; and as you would have such as should be saved added to the church, and that the number of them may be increased through the world, until the kingdoms thereof become the kingdoms of the Lord, and his Christ's; which must be accomplished, and the mystery of God finished, Rev. x. 7, compared with 11, 15; I say, as you desire the accomplishment of all these things, in their season, what manner of people ought you to be in all godliness of conversation? which brancheth out itself into all particulars of religion, and the duties thereof, as children to parents, subjects to their governors, wives to husbands, servants to masters, and the younger to the elder, &c., as the apostle writes to Titus: which exhortation would be to no purpose, did not the grace of God appear to them all; therefore he saith, "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men," &c., whereby the apostle exalts the sovereignty of grace, for the performance of all these duties; exhorting them to keep the "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace:" for peace must be kept in all the states and conditions God hath placed people in; peace and love being the bond that will preserve in the unity, both with God, and one with another.

The children of God are bound together, as it were, in the bundle of life; and as they continue so bound, the gates of hell can never prevail against them: but if any separate from that bundle of life, and unity in the spirit, they are soon broken. Therefore I exhort all, to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; and then will you abide in the new covenant, that is ordered in all things, and sure. For, although the great covenant is between the Father and his Son Christ Jesus: yet that cov-

enant is derived from the Father to all his children in Christ Jesus: so that every particular, according to their measure, can say, with holy David, "Thou hast made with me an everlasting covenant," &c., as they abide in the unity of the spirit, and bond of peace.

But if this unity of the spirit be departed from, by disorderly walking, and running greedily after this present world, hasting to be rich, &c., such oftentimes miscarry, not only to the loss of their own estates, and ruin of their families; but also to the wrong of their neighbours; and above all to the dishonour of their holy profession, and causing the way of truth to be evil spoken of.

Let not such deceive themselves, by thinking such miscarriages may be salved over, or covered with an outward and formal profession of the truth; for God is not so tied to any profession, that they should be at liberty to walk after the lusts of the flesh, and to please themselves; but if we break covenant with him, he is not bound to keep covenant with us; but the breach is always first on man's part, as the prophet Zechariah speaks, Zec. xi. 10, which was signified by the two staves, beauty and bands, saying, "And I took my staff, even beauty, and cut it asunder, that I might break the covenant that I had made with all people;" and it was broken in that day; and the poor of the flock that waited upon God, knew that it was the word of the Lord.

And when the unity of the Spirit is departed from, and the bond of peace broken, the other staff, bands, which signified their outward form or discipline, could not keep them together; but God soon cut that asunder also, that he might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel; for the brotherhood between Judah and Israel of old did not stand in the outward form of the same profession only, as appears Isaiah lxvi. 3, where it is said, "He that killeth an ox, is as if he slew a man: he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck;" even when these things were outwardly required: but they were departed from the holy Spirit of God; therefore it follows, "But to this man will I look, saith the Lord, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word."

Dear friends, let us be careful to keep to the laws of the house upon the top of the mount, which is, "Holiness round about," Ezek. xliii. 12. If holiness be round about, then God is there, according to his promise, and Christ is in the midst, be the number never so small; yet it may be called the house upon the top of the mount, because the Lord is there; then there is no room for formality, or carnal liberties, nor any thing else, that tends not to holiness and purity; but whatever advanceth and promotes holiness round about, even in all our ways, words, and actions, that the doctrine according to godliness may be maintained, even that godliness that is in Christ Jesus, although we suffer persecution for it. The name of this house, THE LORD IS THERE, will end all other names, as it is foretold, that the time shall come that the Lord shall be One and his name One in all the earth.

His name is his power, and presence of his Spirit and glory, and as we give up wholly to his disposal and ordering of us, then it will be with us inwardly in all our meetings, as it was outwardly at the dedication of the temple; which God took so kindly at the hands of Solomon, that he would not dwell in it himself, though it was so much famed in the world, but gave it up to the Lord, that "God so filled the house with his glory, that the priests could not enter in," as it is written in 2 Chron. vii. and not only so, but God provided such plenty of sacrifices, that there was scarce room to receive them.

As we give up to the divine power of God, as Peter calls it, that will make us partakers of all things that pertain to life and godliness, and so fill our meetings with greater glory than at the beginning; when few words oftentimes did the work of the ministry, to God's praise and glory, and to the comfort and satisfaction of the souls of his people.

Those pastors which God raised up at the beginning, according to his own heart, went out to God's work, as Abraham did out of his country and father's house, not knowing whither; so they not questioning God's assistance, or disposal of them in his service; and like Israel when they left Egypt, and set forth their three days journey, saying, "We know not wherewith we shall serve God until we come there."

So poor in spirit were they in that day, and so closely kept they retired unto the light and measure of the Spirit of Christ within, that they durst not, out of an holy fear, open their mouths, till the word of the Lord came, saying, as the prophet Jeremiah speaks, and when that stopped saying, they had done speaking until it came again.

This was one great cause, wherefore the truth, at the beginning, so mightily grew and prospered, together with the holy conversations, answerable thereunto, of those that received the truth in the love of it, into the good and honest heart, as it is written.

These things I write unto you by way of remembrance, to stir up your pure minds to follow these good examples, that those of latter times may beware of lusting to speak many words, and of thinking that may do the business of the ministry; and of lusting to preach

or pray, to gratify an itching ear after speaking; or sometimes to show their gifts and elocution, for applause. This is not spoken to stop the motion of God's Spirit in any, nor to despise youth truly sanctified and gifted, but that none may be exalted when they see people affected with their ministry. Pray observe Christ's caution to those early messengers, that came and told him, that unclean spirits were subject to them, &c., by advising them not to rejoice in that, but rather that their names were written in heaven, Luke x. 20. This may be a caution to all those of lower attainments and less authority, who had need to take heed of popularity, or striving for a name on earth, but be sure their names are recorded in heaven.

Timothy was a young preacher, but rarely qualified, yet Paul in his epistle to him, amongst other counsel that he gives him, he advises him to exhort the younger women, as sisters, with all purity. Timothy was a young man, and probably attended with temptations of youth; therefore Paul adviseth him to shun youthful lusts; and instructs him to be careful in his exhortation to young women, that he do it with all purity, lest any sinister or by-end should creep in to defile, and so frustrate his exhortation. A good caution to all young men, that are but young preachers also.

Those pastors after God's own heart, at the beginning, kept much to the word of exhortation, to the light of Christ in the conscience, as a seed that was sown for the righteous to bring forth a plentiful crop of holiness to the Lord; from whence also sprang pure living praises to the Almighty, for bequeathing such a legacy and gift through Jesus Christ, unto such poor orphans as we were, at that day, when as to religion, we could call no man father on earth; nay, we scarcely durst call God father, in that state we were then in, at our first convincement. Yet I can say, with many more at that day, viz. in God, the fatherless found mercy, through Jesus Christ.

Let all be careful, how any meddle by way of prophecy of times and seasons, so as to fix destructions and desolations to be on, or within, such a certain time. But keep to the form of sound words, and gospel doctrine, used in holy Scripture, and examples of gospel ministers, and not to be too positive about persons, places, and things; which if imaginary, presumptuous, or mistaken, proves to the great dishonour of truth, and stumbling of many, if not to the ministering an occasion of atheism, to such as watch for opportunities thereunto, and also to cause many not to regard true prophets.

The first preachers among us, as all true preachers do, minded more the goodness and sincerity of those that came among us, than they did the number of the people: their business and message was, to gather the poor lost sheep of the house of Israel; and to call sinners not only to change their opinions, but to change their hearts, lives, and conversations, that such might be added to the church, as should be saved; and in all things they showed themselves workmen, that need not be ashamed; they were experienced in the word and doctrine, and knew that a bare convincement in the judgment and understanding, was not sufficient to make disciples of Christ; and that unhewn stones, as they came out of the quarry, were not fit to build God an house to dwell in; but would rather prove a disgrace to the workman that useth them, and a dishonour to the whole building, if made use of; for such unskilful builders indeed, may well be ashamed of their work, and give it over till they are better experienced.

Therefore such ought to be remembered, as have spoken unto us the word of God, whose faith follow; considering the end of their conversation, Christ Jesus, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, as Heb. xiii. 7, 8, 9. And that you be not carried about with diverse and strange doctrines; for it is a good thing, that the heart be established with grace, and not with meats, as saith the apostle.

Therefore dear friends and brethren, let us all abide with God, in the calling whereunto he hath called us; and none to strive for mastery, nor to be many masters, and to set up, as it were, for themselves, but all to serve the full time of silence, in order to be well experienced in the word and doctrine; and when you are thoroughly taught of God yourselves, you will understand, and learn of him, how to instruct others.

But let all, in the first place, learn well the doctrine of self-denial, submitting ourselves to God in Christ Jesus. So will every one know their place and service in the house, or church, of the living God; where none that are really members of it, but will submit to the laws thereof, which are "all holiness round about," and God in the midst, judging out all stubbornness, self-will, and all that wickedness of jealousies, evil-surmisings, whisperings, and backbitings, &c. which produce discord and divisions: and all his little children, serving one another in love, and the younger receiving the counsel and advice of the elder, embracing it thankfully for God's glory, and their own benefit and comfort: so will all, from the highest to the lowest, submit one to the other in true love and godly simplicity, for edification and preservation of the whole. And then forgiving and forgetting all former distances; that in the unity of the Spirit you may be all knit together by the bond of peace; and the gates of hell shall never prevail against you, but you

shall remain a people to God's glory, and your own comfort: and so you will abide in the pure religion, unspotted from the world; manifesting plainly, that you have received a kingdom that cannot be shaken, by all that noise and clamour that is made against you.

Which kingdom, as it came not by outward observation, so it stands not in word or opinion, nor yet in meat and drink, but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; and he "that is in these things," saith the apostle, Rom. xiv. 17, 18. "serveth Christ;" such a man or woman is accepted of God, and approved of men; having this evidence fixed to this pure religion, viz. of Father, Son, and Spirit, and of all good men, as being that only pure and merciful religion before God and the Father, that the apostle James hath given, as it were a short definition or description of; James i. 27.

So that whoever professeth this pure religion, and abides and continues in the same, bringing forth in his whole life and conversation the pure and holy fruits thereof, need not be ashamed of it; for to such an one, it is not only given to believe it, but also to suffer for the same; which hath been, and is a great confirmation to many, by that sweet power and presence of God, that assisted them in all their afflictions and exercises, both from within and without, and joyfully, in that needful time of great and sharp trials, borne up their spirits to their great satisfaction and comfort, and to the eternal praise of God's most holy and blessed name for ever. Amen. JOHN CROOK.

Hertford, the 26th of the Third month, 1698.

A POSTSCRIPT.

Dear Friends, let not your outward concerns prevent your religious meetings and service on the week-days, lest the earthly spirit get up again, and bury you before your time; but meet in the faith that you shall meet with God, whether you hear words spoken outwardly or not; so by retiring into the inward and spiritual grace, you will avoid the extremes of dead formality, and false liberty, and witness that pure silence, wherein was felt the breast that inwardly nourished, and those paps that gave us suck, when we were young.

When Christ ascended, he commanded his disciples to wait for power from on high, the promise of the Holy Spirit, which, according to his promise, fell upon them when they were met together with one accord; and the apostle, 2 Thess. ii. 2, exhorts them by their gathering together in Christ. Seeming to use their meeting together, as an argument to keep down that wicked one, and them from that falling away he speaks of.

Therefore, dear friends and brethren, be diligent in your meetings together, in God's fear and service, and that will procure his blessing upon your diligence in your particular callings; therefore I beseech you, stir up and exhort one another thereunto, by the elder giving good examples to the younger sort, who are apt to content themselves with going to meetings on the first-days only; and then, too many, instead of waiting and exercising faith, to meet with the teachings of the Spirit of God in their inward parts, only exercise their outward ears in hearing what may be spoken outwardly; which in tender love and good will to the souls of all, I desire may be prevented for the future. Farewell. JOHN CROOK.

An exhortation to stand fast in the truth, according to our ancient testimony, which you have heard from the beginning.

DEAR FRIENDS, BRETHREN AND SISTERS,

I cannot forget those ancient days, in which we were refreshed together, when it was my lot to labour, both by exhortation and sufferings, amongst you: there being those yet alive, that may remember, with what success those days were attended; though many of our ancient friends are gone to their long homes; and others, as well as myself, are hastening apace after them.

That which I have to write to you, is by way of exhortation, to stand fast in the truth, according to our ancient testimony, which you have heard from the beginning: for I am sure we began well, who began in the Spirit, for the fruits of it were manifest, by our deep humiliation into the death of the selfish man; it being made of no reputation by many at the beginning, after the example of Jesus, as also our mortification to this present world, and the friendship of it: so we were crucified unto it, and it unto us, at the beginning.

And above all, let us not forget those aboundings of unfeigned love one towards another, by which it was manifest, that we were passed from the death, where the whole world lies, in hating and being hated, unto the life of Jesus, that died for mankind, and rose again for their confirmation and justification: and where it is otherwise now, it is because of the enemy sowing his tares, while the good man slept; but he that continueth to the end, shall be saved.

We have been confirmed in the truth by many remarkable ways; as, our God supporting us under all our deep sufferings, and sometimes by his eminent hand upon those which caused us to suffer, as also by the heavenly testimonies of many faithful friends at their

dying hours; but above all, by the testimony of the same spirit in our own hearts and souls, who are yet alive.

All which, with much more of like nature, that might be mentioned, may be as a cloud of witnesses to the truth of the testimony which we received at the beginning; and of the true grace of God, in which the faithful now stand, through Jesus Christ our Lord, the fulness and foundation, from whence all our refreshings, and springs of life and comfort proceed: which makes the sincere soul cry out, "Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it;" and to honour the Son, as we honour the Father, who is, over all, God blessed for ever.

But, dear friends, there are goings out of the truth, as well as goings in; as into the house the prophet speaks of, Ezek. xliii. 11. And Rev. xi. 2. John speaks of the altar and temple, and them that worship therein, how all came under the heavenly measure given from above, into the hand of the angel. He also speaks in the same place of the outward court, adjoining to the temple, in which were such, as should tread under foot the holy city; being left unto their own measure, as it were, of opinion and imagination of their own conceivings; which all ought to watch against, lest, being left to ourselves, we be found, after all, but in the outward court, that is given to the Gentiles.

Let those that are spiritual, judge what I say, and they will confirm it by their own experience, that there is flesh, as well as spirit, in us all; as the apostle saith of himself, Gal. v. 17. Therefore there is great need of a strict watch to be kept "with all keeping," as the margin hath it, lest we forget there is going out of the truth, by many unsuspected ways, as well as going in by Christ the door, both being faithfully told us at the beginning; as many that remain at this day can testify.

These things I signify in short, that all may be diligent and careful to keep the word of God's patience, as those Philadelphians did, Rev. iii. 10, 12, who by overcoming, shall be as pillars in the temple of God, and shall go no more out.

But he that will build high, must lay the foundation deep: for this I have observed, the deeper the humiliation, the deeper the reformation. As it is said of Christ, Acts viii. "That in his humiliation his judgment was taken away; he was as a lamb dumb before the shearers; he opened not his mouth; and who can declare his generation? for his life was taken from the earth:" who hath left us an example that we should follow his steps: for he was both a Saviour, and an example, 1 Pet. ii. 21. And what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

For the true and saving knowledge of Christ, is a conforming knowledge; "We shall be like him," 1 John iii. 2. "for we shall see him as he is;" "and hereby" saith the same John "we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments:" implying, that there is no true knowledge of God without holiness: and also, it is not the bare knowledge, for "hereby" saith he "we know that we know him:" which experimental knowledge puts an end to all disputes about him.

And therefore without controversy, "Great is the mystery of godliness!" and where that mystery is known truly among such, there is no controversy about it; for both that mystery itself, and that faith, by which it is known and believed, are fitter for admiration, than man's comprehension is, as the apostle speaks, 2 Thess. i. 10. "When God shall be glorified in his saints, and admired in those that believe."

Therefore all that forsake and leave spiritual Egypt, must learn to stand still, and be quiet, that they may see the salvation of God, and witness the joy of it, that they shall be of the number of those, who shall sing the song of Moses and the Lamb.

Dear friends, in my afflicted old age, I have found that saying made good unto me, That they who go down into the deeps, see the wonders of the Lord; for there is witnessed that spirit which searches to the bottom of things, and manifests the deep things of God; which the fallen man, with all his searchings, in his wisdom that is from below, cannot find out.

Therefore I beseech you, dear friends, watch unto the light and Spirit of Jesus, that you may be preserved, as born of the incorruptible seed and word of God: for all things else may be corrupted; but that which is born of God, is that elect which cannot be deceived: unto which light and spirit I commend you, in the simplicity of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, that you may be preserved unto the end. Amen. Your friend in the truth.

JOHN CROOK.

Hertford, the 6th of the Twelfth month, 1698.

Anno Ætatis 81.

THE POSTSCRIPT.

We live in a captious age, therefore I thought good to explain our ancient testimony to the light and spirit of Christ within. I never understood or believed that the testimony was exclusive to Christ, being without us: or of the validity of his death and suffering without us, as the price by which we were bought, and reconciled to God: "For we were bought with a price," saith the scripture, 1 Cor. vi. 20. "For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son,

much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." Rom. v. 10. Who sits at God's right hand in heaven, and maketh intercession for us. Heb. vii. 25. And is also by his life, to wit, the life of Jesus, made manifest in our mortal flesh, as the Scriptures testify. 2 Cor. iv. 10, 11. And what God hath joined together, none ought to put asunder.

This I take to be, in short, our ancient testimony, as to the God and man Christ Jesus; of which I hope we shall never be ashamed.

JOHN CROOK.

The design of Christianity.

THE name Christian, implies the anointing; Christ being "anointed above his fellows," Heb. i. 2. importing his fellows to be anointed also. And the beloved disciple John, 1 John ii. 27. saith, Those to whom he writ, had "received the anointing from the Holy One," &c. to make them holy, no doubt, their "heavenly Father being holy," Levit. xi. 44. Which is the great design of Christianity, as the scripture abundantly testifies; see Levit. xix. 2. and xx. 7. 1 Pet. i. 15.

Christ was also called Jesus, "For he shall save his people from their sins," Matt. i. 22. "By abolishing and destroying them," saith Leigh, on John i. 29. in his Crit. Sacra. And Christ saith himself, "For this end was I born, and for this end came I into the world," John xviii. 37. "To bear witness of the truth:" by drinking that bitter cup of sufferings, Mat. xxvi. 39, 42. for his sheep and followers, for whom he laid down his life, and shed his most precious blood, to restore man to the image of God again, that they might follow his steps, as he had left them an example, 1 Pet. ii. 21. Signifying thereby, that he was both a Saviour and a pattern; which being joined together, none ought to part, or put asunder, who "learned obedience by the things that he suffered," Heb. v. 8. "And made himself of no reputation," Phil. ii. 7. All which was not only meritorious for all that should believe in him, but also exemplary to them, that they should follow his steps, in all those afflictions and sufferings that should betide them in following him, in the regeneration, to fill up the sufferings of Christ that are behind, for his body's sake, which is the church, Col. i. 24.

Not that our sufferings, or following of him, did equalize his sufferings, or were the meritorious cause of salvation, and acceptance with God, either for ourselves, or others; but that we might be partakers of "God's holiness," Heb. xii. 10. the fulness whereof dwells in Christ; and that we might show forth of the power and virtue of that which Christ did and suffered for us, by that grace we receive of his fulness, which is "grace for grace," John i. 16. viz. Something, as it were, of every thing that is in him, in whom we are accepted, even in his beloved Son, Ephes. i. 6. So we received perfection of parts, though not of degrees, as to that fulness that dwelt in Christ.

Therefore, as holiness here, in order to our happiness hereafter, was a great end of Christ's sufferings, while on earth; so now he is in the heavens, at God's right hand, his intercession, and all that he doth, is in order to perfect his saints in holiness; waiting henceforth until his and their enemies be made his footstool, Heb. x. 12, 13, 14.

Whereby it appears, there were enemies yet to be subdued, which doubtless were those of a man's own house; as the prophet speaks of, viz. Those lusts and corruptions that still remained to be put under, in the minds and inward parts of his people, Mic. vii. 6. Matt. x. 21.

Christ preached to Nicodemus the necessity of regeneration, saying, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God," John iii. Yet Nicodemus made a good confession to Christ in words, saying, "Rabbi, we know thou art a teacher come from God; for for no man can do those miracles that thou dost, except God be with him," a kind of short creed, as it were. Christ nevertheless tells him, a man must be born again, &c. "For that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." Though Nicodemus understood this birth carnally, yet he took it to be a real birth Christ spoke of; as appears by his question, "Can a man enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born again?"

Christ's words also signify, so much, and no less, as if he had said, "As that birth, which is born of the mother, is of the nature of the mother; so that birth which is born of the Spirit, is spiritual, and of the divine nature," 2 Pet. i. 2, 3.

Now, where this birth is witnessed, the design of Christianity is answered, by keeping the commandments of God, 1 Cor. vii. 19. and that is through walking by the rule of the new creature, which avails with God, as the apostle speaks, Gal. vi. 15, 16. Whereas a bare opinion, and formal performance of the things of God, avails nothing.

Wherefore, from the want of this experimental knowledge of the new birth, proceeds formality, strife, and envy, about the things of God; for the new man, born of the Spirit of God, is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him, Col. iii. 10. Observe, it is said to be renewed in knowledge, &c. It knows and understands divine things otherwise, and after another manner, than the flesh-

ly birth doth: "For whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God," 1 John iii. 9, 10. "And in this the children of God are manifest," saith John. So that the very end of regeneration is holiness and godliness; which is to advance the great design of Christianity in the world, and thereby Christ's kingdom is exalted, and himself magnified, who is the express image, "of his Father's glory," Heb. i. 3. It is no wonder, therefore, that such as answer the design of Christianity, viz.: by living god-like in Jesus Christ, suffer persecution.

In the next place, holiness of life and conversation in Christ Jesus, is the end of the afflictions and exercises that befall God's people, Isa. xxvii. 8, 9, as trials of their faith; for tribulation works patience, and patience experience. And the apostle James exhorts, to "let patience have its perefect work, that they may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing," James i. 3, 4. "He stayeth his rough wind in the day of the east wind; by this shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged; and this is all the fruit, to take away his sin. God will render to every man according to his deeds; to them who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation, and wrath," Rom. ii. 6, 7, 8. All which, with many like sayings and exhortations in scripture, shows, holiness and righteousness to be the great design of Christianity. And the apostle, Rom. xi. saith, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost:" adding, "That he which in these things serveth Christ, is accepted of God, and approved of men:" as if this was the only true gospel service, and the great design of Christianity.

Now I appeal to all impartial and unprejudiced Christians, whether amongst all the denominations of professors of religion, they know any people, as a people in general, that more fully answers the end of Christianity, by holiness and righteousness in their lives and conversations, than the people of God called Quakers do: notwithstanding their being misrepresented to the world by some, as if they were not Christians at all; because, say some, they baptize not with water, nor use bread and wine as the Lord's supper.

To which I answer, in short, for myself and brethren, we do not disuse them out of contempt, but upon a thorough search, and serious examination—which ought to be allowed us—we do not find those outward and visible signs to be required of God at our hands; which we hope none that do what they do, out of conscience to God, will condemn us for.

Now if the drift of the scriptures, the end of God's sending his Son Jesus Christ to bless people, not only by his dying for them, as aforesaid, but by "turning every one of them from their iniquity," Acts iii. 26, and the end of his life and sufferings in the world, his resurrection, his ascension into heaven, his intercession, together with his expectation of all his enemies to be made his footstool; and the end of God's afflicting and exercising his people, be all to advance holiness and righteousness in the world, as the great design of Christianity, how miserably mistaken are those, that content themselves with the belief of certain creeds, which are many in the world, as history informs us, according to prevailing parties, &c., who commonly maintain this persecuting principle, That an error in judgment, is worse than an error in practice.

Others contenting themselves with state religions, and with that Christianity they received at the font; little minding the necessity of holiness, "without which none can see, or know the Lord." Heb. xii. 14. And the beloved disciple testifies, "Hereby we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments," 1 John ii. 3. As if he had said, There is no true and saving knowledge of God, without holiness: to which is annexed a promise, viz.; "He that doth God's will, shall know of his doctrine;" which should rectify the mistake of those that study to know doctrine, more than to practise holiness; as also those who believe they cannot, though assisted by the grace and spirit of God, perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord, notwithstanding the exhortations of scripture thereunto, which, they say, are to be understood only to stir up our endeavours, not to encourage our faith to believe perfection attainable, as aforesaid.

This belief of the necessity of imperfection, is not only dangerous, but hurtful; for, instead of inciting endeavours after holiness, it discourages all attempts thereunto. For what need a man set forth towards a city, while he believes he shall never come there.

Besides, this belief is grounded upon a great mistake, as if perfection in holiness lessened the conquest or merits of Christ, while, indeed, it confirms them, by making his people more than conquerors through him. Which may be called more, because it is a double conquest: First, by himself, without them, as having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it. Col. ii. 15. And secondly, because he conquers all his people's enemies within also; that they being delivered out of the hands of all

their enemies, "might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of their lives." Luke i. 74.

So that perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord, is so far from lessening or undervaluing the merits or conquest of Christ, that it manifests him to be "able to save to the uttermost all that come to God by him." Heb. vii. 25. Not only from the guilt, but from the filth of sin also; and to sanctify them throughout, both in body, soul, and spirit; and to make them whole every whit, as he did those he cured outwardly.

This way of holiness was the good old way; for it was called so in Jeremiah's time, chap. vi. 16, and such as walked in it, found rest for their souls: therefore it must needs be an old way, even that old way, in which Enoch walked with God, and "Abraham instructed his children," Gen. xviii. 19, "and walked in it himself." Gen. xxvi. 5.

And as it was the first way described, so it is the last mentioned in scripture, as appears Rev. xxii. 14, with a blessing annexed to it, viz., "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter through the gates into the city."

But this is a narrow way, and to be sought for amongst the paths, as Jeremy speaks, chap. vi. 16, as if the reason, that it was no more beaten, was, because it was not a common road, but to be sought for amongst the paths; as if it was a kind of Shibboleth that few could hit of, that walked in those many ways: yet, notwithstanding, it was amongst the paths, &c.

A mystery like that which Solomon wondered at, and said, "This wisdom seemed great unto him," Eccles. ix. 13. 15, that was concerning the poor man delivering the besieged city; concluding that by which he did it, was better than strength, and better than weapons of war: notwithstanding the poor wise man was despised then, as the poor in spirit are now, whom Christ calls blessed, and begins his sermon upon the mount withal; as if all other blessings depended upon poverty of spirit.

I shall conclude this discourse with the preacher at the end of Ecclesiastes, saying, "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man:" or as Doctor Gell reads it, All the man, in his Essay, p. 392, "And," saith the Doctor, "whatever else in man, contrary unto this, is either the beast or the devil."

To this may be added also the saying of Richard Baxter, in his Sheet to the Light, "The question at the great day," saith he, "will not be, How righteous Christ was? but How righteous we were?" Thus Baxter. And saith the preacher, "God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil:" with these words the preacher ends his Ecclesiastes, after he had seen all to be "vanity, and vexation of spirit, under the sun."

JOHN CROOK:

Near entering into the 82d year of my age.

Hertford, the 17th of the 12th month, 1698–9.

AN EPISTLE *to Friends belonging to Hertford meeting.*

DEAR FRIENDS,—Being the Lord's prisoner, (but I have a merciful keeper, blessed be his holy name for ever), I was moved to signify my remembrance of you as followeth: I beseech you be mindful of your reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ, walking in all well-pleasing before him, that you may be kept unrebukable in his love, for our God is a jealous God, lest a divided heart cause you to err, in giving his glory to another. But if we love him with all our heart, and with all our soul, we shall, in our reconciliation to him, be reconciled to all states and conditions that we meet withal in this present evil world; "for fury is not in me," saith the Lord, but against the briars and thorns that muster up themselves in battle against him. It is our corrupt and fleshly part that God fights against, that we might walk with him as Enoch did, that was not, for God took him; he took him out of flesh into spirit, as he doth all those that walk with God in the light, as he is in the light; he translates them, in spirit, into the kingdom of his dear Son, as Enoch was, outwardly, in heaven.

Dear friends, let us not always be dwarfs in Christianity, as it were, for Christ is a thorough Redeemer to all that the first Adam lost; as Abraham recovered all for the king of Sodom, that Chedorlaomer had carried away. Therefore mind your growth, I beseech you, from little children to young men, that you may overcome the wicked one; and unto the state of fathers—which for your time divers of you might be—that you may know him that was from the beginning, that is, Christ Jesus, yesterday and to-day, the same for ever. If you are in the spirit, walk in the spirit, that discovers the deep things of God, that we may, after our long wading, at last learn to swim in those waters, where all things live, as Ezekiel speaks, &c.

For the barren fig-tree in God's orchard is in no better case than the bramble in the wilderness; profession without God's likeness in Christ Jesus, will receive no better answer from

God, the judge of all, than "I know you not," if we be found workers of iniquity.

You have had plenty of words outwardly, but to hearken to the word inwardly, is better than all; for that is both able to comfort at present, and save for ever.

Dear friends, the visiting hand of God is in this town, and none of you know how soon mortality may enter into your dwellings, therefore I beseech you, live as you would die, and then death will not be terrible unto you; but as a messenger of glad tidings to your inward man, though displeasing to the outward.

I rest your friend and brother in the faith and patience of Jesus,

JOHN CROOK.

Hertford, the 25th of the 12th month, 1698-9.

Advice to my children and grand-children.

DEAR CHILDREN,—I must leave you in a wicked age, but commend you to the measure of the grace of God in your inward parts, which you have received by Jesus Christ; and as you love it, and mind the teachings of it, you will find it a counsellor to instruct you in the way everlasting, and preserve out of the ways of the ungodly.

I have seen much in my days, and I always observed, that the fear of the Lord God proved the best portion, and those that walked in it, were the only happy people, both in this life (while they continued faithful) and when they come to die, though they meet with many hardships in their passage. By experience I can speak it, that the ways of holiness afford more true comfort and peace to the upright soul, than the greatest pleasures this world can afford; the former reaches the heart and soul, while the delights of this world are but a show, and appearance only, vanishing like a dream; and whoever believes otherwise of them, will certainly find them to be but lying vanities; therefore the apostle, Rom. vi. 21, might boldly put the question to the converted Romans, viz., "What fruit had you then in those things whereof you are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death."

Therefore, dear children, be in love with holiness; make it your companion, and those that walk in it; you may find buddings of it, from an holy seed in your hearts; as you mind the inner man, the light will manifest the stirrings of it after God, which I felt from my tender years; although I understood them not so plainly, till I heard the truth declared.

I advise you to keep a pure conscience, both towards God and man; for if that be defiled, hypocrisy and formality will deprive you of all comfortable feeling of God's presence; and then deadness and dryness will be your miserable portion.

Be careful how you spend your precious time, for an account must be given of every idle word, though but few regard it; but foolish jesting, and vain talking, are said to grieve the Spirit of God: read Eph. iv. 29, 30. But improve your time in prayer and religious exercises, &c., and be diligent in your lawful callings, for "The desire of the slothful man killeth him." Prov. xxi. 25.

Be careful what company you frequent; for a man is commonly known by the company he keeps, as much as by any one outward thing; and of your behaviour in company; for I have found, that a wise and sober deportment, adds much to a man's reputation and credit in the world.

Watch to the light, and its discoveries of good and evil, that you may not be ignorant of satan's devices; so the net will be spread in vain in the sight of the bird; for watchfulness will make you in love with a retired estate; and the more truly and perfectly any man knows and understands himself, the better discerning will such have of other men; as in the beginning, when deep silence of all flesh was more in use, the spirit of discerning was more common, and quicker, than since it hath been neglected; therefore be sure you spend some time, at convenient seasons, in waiting upon God in silence, though it be displeasing to flesh; for I have had more comfort, and confirmation in the truth, in my inward retiring in silence, than from all words I have heard from others, though I have often been refreshed by them also.

Love the Holy Scriptures, preferring them to all other books whatsoever; and be careful to read them with an holy awe upon your spirits, lest your imaginations put constructions upon them to your hurt; but exercise faith in the promise of Christ, who hath said, "My spirit shall take of mine, and show them unto you."

Keep constantly to religious meetings amongst Friends; but look to your affections, that you respect not persons, but the power and life of truth, from whomsoever it comes; not minding the tickling of your affections, but the demonstration of the truth to your understandings and consciences; for that will abide, when flashes of affections will fade and come to nothing, after the words are ended.

Love one another truly, manifesting your love by good counsel, and being helpful to each other upon all occasions; being good examples to all you converse with, especially to your children, and those of your own families, that pride and vanity may not be countenanced by you, but rather reproved; remembering, while

they are under your government, you must give an account of the discharge of your duty to God towards them.

Lastly, be always mindful of your latter end, and live as you would die, not knowing how soon your days may be finished in this world: and while you do live in it, despise not the chastenings of the Lord, whatever they be he is pleased to visit you with. I have been afflicted from my youth up, both inwardly and outwardly, but the God whom I served, provided for me, when all my outward relations forsook me, none of them giving me any portion to begin the world withal. This I speak, to let you know, I shall leave more outwardly, even to the least of you, than was left me by all my relations, &c. I need not mention this sharp affliction (beyond expression) in my old age, because, in some measure, you know it; but I could not have been without it, as the Lord hath showed me, for I have seen his wonders in the deeps: therefore I say again, despise not afflictions, but embrace them as messengers of peace to your souls, though displeasing to the flesh.

These things I commend unto you, out of true love to your souls, knowing how the vain mind of man little regards such advice as this I leave behind me: but by this advice I show my true love to you all, desiring God's blessing upon it; to whom I commit you all, my dear children, and end my days.

Your loving father and grandfather,

JOHN CROOK.

Hertford, the 1st of the 1st month, 1698-9.

A JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS OF

RICHARD JORDAN,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,

LATE OF NEWTON, IN GLOUCESTER COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

"And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever.—DANIEL xii. 3.

IT has been much upon my mind, of late, to throw together some short memorandums of sundry occurrences which have happened to me, and also of the gracious and merciful dealings of a watchful Providence; through whose mercy and superintending care over me, from my childhood, I have experienced many preservations and deliverances, both inwardly and outwardly, during the various vicissitudes which have attended my pilgrimage through time; if haply they may afford instruction or encouragement to any Christian traveller when I am no more.

I was born at a place called Elizabeth, in the county of Norfolk, and colony of Virginia, the 19th day of the twelfth month, 1756, of honest parents, whose names were Joseph and Patience Jordan. They were both in profession with the people called Quakers, and endeavoured to train up their children in the principles which they themselves professed; but my mother dying soon after the birth of her seventh child, and I being the youngest but one of the surviving six, have but a faint remembrance of her. My father was at times much from home in the course of his business, and there being no religious meeting near us, we were left exposed, without a friend to associate with; and I think I never was at the Friends' meeting house more than twice, during our stay in that part of the country, which was until I was about twelve years of age. About this time, my eldest brother, who had been some stay to us, died; and soon after my father removed with the rest of the family to North Carolina, (a short time previous to the American revolution,) and we became members of the meeting of Friends at Richsquare, which was about six miles from our residence.

During all this time, and for several years after, nothing very remarkable respecting myself, occurred, only that I remember I was early visited by something, that impressed my mind with a sense and belief in a state of future

rewards and punishments. I had heard much talk about a heaven and a hell, but the impressions I now felt were different from those produced by this kind of talk; for I was made to feel something of their power, and from that time was sensible of great disquietude and distress of mind, when I had been guilty of using bad words or actions in my play, or at other times; and I was also sensible of calmness and peace of mind, when I had been more watchful over my conduct. I saw then that this state of mind was greatly to be desired, but alas for the poor fallen nature which Adam's children are clothed with; what proneness to evil rather than to good! Notwithstanding I was often chastised in spirit for my misconduct, insomuch that I cried and promised amendment, yet when these stripes were withheld, how did I run again into the same excess of folly and dissipation! For although my lot was now cast more amongst Friends, so as frequently to go to their meetings, yet many of the children and youth amongst them, who became our associates, were worse than many of my former companions, whose parents made no profession with Friends, so that I believe I arrived at a higher pitch of folly and dissipation in a few years among them, than I had ever done before.

That day at length came, when, blessed be God, I was made to see that I was undone. The axe was then laid, indeed, to the root of the corrupt tree, and that which did not bring forth good fruit must be hewn down and cast into the fire. This is the day of Christ; and who can abide it! But if a separation [from evil] is not now suffered, according to the doctrine of that very Christ himself, all must be cast into hell;—alas, who can bear the thought! No,—I must leave my companions in folly, and endeavour to submit to the dispensation of a separation;—but truly it was a day never to be forgotten, wherein my situation, I suppose, resembled that of Legion, who saw the Redeemer coming towards him in order to make the separation, and cried out, Jesus thou Son of God, most high, art thou come hither to torment us before the time. Ah! it seemed verily as if the pains and torments of hell had laid hold on me, even now while in the body, before the time of final judgment and sentence was come, and the decree sealed, "that time should be no longer."

Well might the prophet query, to what end is it that ye desire the day of Lord, seeing it is a day of darkness and not of light, even very dark, and no brightness in it. Ah! sinner, how canst thou abide it—yet, remember that this is only parting with the offending hand, and the offending eye, and is it not better to endure the pain of parting with these, which will only continue for a time, rather than to be cast bodily, that is with all thy sins and multiplied offences, into hell, "where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched!" How can I bear the thought; and yet, how can I abide the conflict! But is there any thing new under the sun? was not the ministration of condemnation, to the rebellious sons of Israel, a day of terrible burnings, and the blackness of darkness, and of mighty thunder and lightnings, and the sound of a trumpet; which so awakened and wrought upon their senses, that they trembled exceedingly and durst not behold? And yet they soon returned to their folly. Oh, how could they so soon forget what they had seen, as even to form to themselves new gods!

But in the day of Christ, when he visits and brings under the ministration of condemnation for sin; it penetrates the heart; it stirs the powers within, and is not so easily eradicated from the mind. For indeed, such was the conflict of my spirit for days, and weeks, and months, that when it was day I wished for night, and when it was night, I wished for day; during which time the enemy of my soul was not wanting with his temptations and evil suggestions, insomuch that at times my mind was almost constantly assaulted with evil thoughts, and I abhorred myself, until I thought, that of all the creatures which God had made, I was the most wretched and miserable. And when I had no faith to believe that my condition would be better, then the tempter endeavoured to persuade me to put an end to my miserable existence, as the only way to get relieved from my pain, sorrow, and distress. I had so far given way to this temptation, that I was contemplating in what manner I should effect it so as to be the quickest over, and give the least pain; when, adored be the ever blessed Redeemer, I was brought so near to Him, as to cast myself down at his feet, and the language of my heart was, Lord, if I perish, let me perish here; let me go no farther away from thee.

For some time this was mostly my cry, until at length I felt a little secret hope that I should yet obtain mercy; and I said in heart, Oh, Lord, if thou wilt pardon and deliver me I will serve thee. I will follow thee whithersoever thou art pleased to lead me; and will do whatsoever thou commandest me, if thou wilt be pleased to be with me and show me the way in which thou wouldest have me to go, and what thou wouldest have me to do, even although it be to tell what great things thou hast done for my soul. After a time it seemed as though my cries were heard, and the conditions accepted, and I soon began to think that I should be called to publish the glad-tidings of the gospel; the prospect of which became very awful to

me, for I thought myself too vile a creature, and in no way qualified for such an undertaking. Then I concluded I would endeavour to be as good as I could, without attempting this awful work, for I was afraid of it, lest if I should undertake it, I might again slide into some weakness, if not wickedness, and become the subject of contempt and ridicule, and so the last state be worse than the first.

Thus I reasoned away several years, sometimes in hope I should get along in this way, then again almost in despair, and in great fear of falling quite back again. I did not always resist temptation to sin, and so at times brought upon myself great trouble and distress; though I may remark with thankfulness, that I never, in any part of my life, lost my reputation amongst men, and in this respect perhaps stood as fair as most of my age and experience in the world. But, ah me, I have seen that it is possible to fulfil all those duties which relate to civil society, and are due to our neighbours, while those which we owe to our Creator are almost, if not altogether neglected. Much of my iniquity and transgressions was now of this kind, and I was often sinning and repenting, repenting and sinning again. O, merciful God! long-suffering and long-forbearing! how hast thou followed me, and often brought my covenant with thee into remembrance, and like an indulgent Father, showing me at times, in part, the blessed, hidden recompense of reward. Sometimes I had precious openings in meetings, insomuch that at length I thought I would yield, and at one time in particular, it was so clear and powerful that I laid my hand on my knee in order to rise, but being fearful, I thought I would try it a little longer, until at length the opening gradually disappeared and was quite withdrawn from me. But like the fruitless fig-tree, I was mercifully spared for several years longer, without being wholly forsaken, and cut down; sometimes unstable as water, and then again experiencing a little more stability.

At length I concluded that if I was married and settled, my situation would be more favourable to my religious prospects, as I was much exposed in the world. I was now ready to enter into covenant in this respect, and to say "If thou will be pleased to grant me this, and direct my steps herein, then I will assuredly yield to thy requirings." Oh! indulgent heaven! even my request for right direction was granted, my marriage was reputably accomplished, and I settled down with my companion, who was a young woman that sustained an amiable character in the world, and whose religious education far exceeded mine: her name was Pharaby Knox, youngest daughter of Thomas Knox, who was for many years before his death, an approved minister among Friends.

My own father possessed a number of slaves, and offered me several of them, to help me work: but my mind for several years before, had been so thoroughly impressed with a belief that it was not right to keep them as slaves, that I modestly declined accepting them, although it cost me some displeasure from him, as he had not then fully seen the iniquity of the practice. I had to lay my hands to hard labour, yet I felt a peaceful conscience in the course I had taken, and thus I got on pretty quietly for a time, especially as I had become an advocate for the oppressed black people, and many Friends were now setting them at liberty. But still, when weighed in the balance, I was found wanting; and was brought to see and fully believe, that notwithstanding God approves of every act of moral righteousness, benevolence and justice, yet he requires the heart to be devoted to Him; and while this is wanting, our hope of salvation can never be permanent; there is still something wanting that cannot be numbered; the mind is left in unsettlement and not established on that foundation which is immovable, and against which all storms and tempests beat in vain.

After I had thus struggled and wearied myself for several years, endeavouring still to get along in my own way, until I had well nigh silenced those heavenly calls to revealed duty; a travelling friend came to our meeting, and was led to minister to my state, (which no mortal knew of by information from man,) in such a manner, that I accepted it as a renewed visitation from that same gracious Father of Mercies, who had been so long striving with me. This dear servant, who had left all to follow his blessed Master, was made instrumental to strengthen in me the weak things that remained, so that I was once more enabled to renew my resolutions; and in a short time after this, I was raised upon my feet in a small meeting then held in a Friend's house, near my habitation. I expressed but a very few words, greatly to the surprise of those present, but the peace and sweetness which flowed into my soul after the meeting, were better felt than described: indeed I could not, neither did I wish to describe it, but soon got home in order to be quiet.

I think I did not speak again in meeting for some weeks, and notwithstanding my call to this work seemed so indubitably clear, yet my appearances, for several years, were but seldom, though I could perceive they were generally approved, and acceptable to Friends. But I was afraid of having more top than root, and thought if I must be a preacher, I greatly

desired to be one of the right sort; yet my progress in this work was so slow, that I was often doubtful of ever coming to much in that line. I think, as well as I can now recollect, it was about the twenty-fifth year of my age, when I first began this work; and I did not venture out on any considerable journey, within the space of ten years. I was however frequently made use of in our meetings for discipline, under appointments to sundry services in Society, and also travelled on several small journies in the work of the ministry, within that time, I believe to the general satisfaction of Friends and others where my lot was cast. Between the years 1790 and 1797, I several times attended the general Assembly of the state, on behalf of the oppressed Africans among us, in company with others appointed by our yearly meeting, in order to remonstrate against some existing laws, which had opened a door for much injustice, to be committed against the rights and liberty of that people.

I was also engaged to travel on foot to several places, where great cruelty and injustice had been exercised, in taking up and selling such negroes as had been liberated by conscientious persons; and I had some memorable opportunities among them. During the same period I also travelled considerably in the state of Virginia, and attended several of their yearly meetings to satisfaction.

Having had drawings in my mind at times for several years, to pay a religious visit to some of the northern and eastern states, I laid my prospect before our monthly and quarterly meetings, and obtained certificates expressive of their unity and concurrence with me therein; and my esteemed friend Josiah White, of Perqimans county, agreeing to be my companion in this weighty undertaking, also obtained the concurrence of the monthly meeting to which he belonged. We set out on the seventeenth of the third month, 1797, and met at our friend Ann Scott's at Western Branch, Virginia, on the eighteenth, and next day being first-day we attended their meeting, in which I sat as an example of silence to the people. We returned to Ann Scott's, tarried that night, and next day rode as far as Thomas Pretlow's, and the day following reached Barnaby Nixon's at Burleigh. Here we met our dear friends Benjamin Albertson and wife, who accompanied us next day to Burleigh meeting, which was a low time to me, and mostly silent, except a few words near the conclusion. We went that evening as far as John Hunnicutt's, and thence took our journey by way of Petersburg and Curles, and spent a day with my ancient and honourable relative Robert Pleasants.

Twenty-fifth. We proceeded by the way of Richmond, and in the evening reached Micajah Crew's, near Cedar Creek: next day being first-day we attended their meeting, where I was silent throughout: after meeting went to Clark T. Moorman's, who with his dear Rachel accompanied us next day to Caroline, where we had a meeting on the twenty-seventh, in which I had some communication, but it was a laborious time. On the following day we were accompanied by Matthew Terrill; baited at the house of a kind man in Fredericksburg, and had a religious opportunity with him and his wife to good satisfaction, and reached Robert Painter's at Stafford the same evening; had a meeting there next day, which was also an exercising time, both during the silence, and in the utterance of a short testimony.

We got to Alexandria on the thirty-first, and on first-day the second of fourth month attended two meetings there to a good degree of satisfaction: second-day went to Sandy Spring in Montgomery, and the day following had a meeting there, which was a time of deep wading, but I was favoured to get through to a good degree of comfort, blessed be the Lord! Went that evening to Samuel Snowden's, and the next day, being the fifth, had a satisfactory meeting at Indian Spring. On fifth-day the sixth, we set out for the Clifts, nearly fifty miles, through a poor, hilly and dreary country; had a small meeting with the few under our name there; and on our way back another at West River, where Friends are so reduced in number that no regular meeting is held, though formerly it was the place of their yearly meeting. Here I was baptised for the little remnant left under our name, and had to mourn, as over the city of their fathers' sepulchres, which seemed to lay without walls, gates or bars, and encouraged them to arise if possible, and endeavour to rebuild them, that they might not be thus exposed to the incursions of their potent enemies, which had almost brought desolation upon that place. They seemed much affected with the visit and with the testimony of truth at that time—I wish they may profit under it, for I believe some of them were made sensible that it was a fresh visitation to a declining people.

This part of Maryland is so generally cleared of timber, that in riding about fifty-two miles, I think we passed about one hundred and twenty-five gates, set up across the road to save fencing.

On our return to Indian Spring, it being first-day, we attended another meeting with them, and rode the same day as far as Elk Ridge, and next day had a comfortable meeting there. On the following morning we went to visit a sick friend, and after a comfortable opportunity at our lodgings, with the family, and several others who were present, we called to see Benjamin Banneker, a black man, an astronomer. He showed us a copy of an almanac which he

had just calculated for the succeeding year, also a clock which he had made several years ago, I think he told us, without any instruction. After some conversation on these subjects, I felt my mind engaged, in a weighty manner, to recommend him to turn his attention inward, and seek after the knowledge of God, the Creator of all, who is the Giver of every good and perfect gift, and hath bestowed a measure of his divine grace on all men, in order that they might glorify him in their day and generation, and when time here shall be no more, receive a crown immortal in that world which is to come; this being the great end for which he created them, which man never can arrive at by all his skill and knowledge in the secrets of nature or art; or something to this import. He seemed somewhat affected by the communication, and enquired after my name, saying he would record it.

We went that afternoon, the eleventh of the fourth month, into Baltimore, to the house of James Carey, and finding that the small pox prevailed in the city, as it had done in several places we had passed through before, we became somewhat intimidated respecting the disorder, in looking forwards; however, we attended their monthly meeting, which was on the thirteenth; and having solidly weighed the matter, we concluded to take the small pox by innoculation, and our kind friends aforesaid, having offered their house and assistance, the operation was performed on the fourteenth. We had great attention paid to us by this kind family and several of their neighbours; and I got through the disorder favourably, for which mercy I felt thankful in heart. My dear companion had it much worse than myself, for on the third day, the doctor finding that instead of the pock making its appearance, his fever had nearly left him, his pulse slow and confused, and little or no inflammation in his arm, but the part rather sunk and livid, recommended him to dine on solid food, take a glass of wine and exercise himself by walking, which was all attended to; and whether from this circumstance or the state of his blood, the pock made its appearance soon after, in great abundance. They filled very slowly, and he was sometimes not without the appearance of danger, yet through the particular care and attention of the physician and kind nurses, under the blessing of a kind Providence, he was brought safely through, for which we were humbly thankful.

These circumstances occasioned my detention in this city much longer than I had expected, being nearly six weeks; though towards the latter end of that time, my companion getting better, I attended a meeting at Ellicott's mills to satisfaction; was alsoat sundry meetings with Friends in the city, and had three public meetings for those not professing with us. I had also a religious opportunity with the masters and scholars in the academy, as well as many private opportunities, and I may say with humble thankfulness, that my little dedications here, have through divine help tended greatly to the relief of my poor depressed mind; and feeling as I apprehended, fully clear of this place for the present, I left my dear companion to the care of very kind friends and to the protection of Divine Providence, and set out on the twenty-ninth of fifth month for the Eastern shore of Maryland and Delaware. Rode that day to Gunpowder, and next day had a meeting there to satisfaction, after which I went to Fawn in the border of Pennsylvania, and on the following day attended their meeting; rode about twenty miles that evening, and next day was at the meeting at Little Falls, which, on the whole, was a time of favour. After meeting we called to see William Amos, senior, an ancient friend who had not only travelled much, but also suffered greatly on Truth's account; rode that evening to Bush, and had a meeting there next day, which tended to our solid comfort and rejoicing.

We went that evening to Joshua Husband's at Deer Creek, and the next being first-day attended the meeting at that place, which was large; many not of our Society came, and the gospel was freely preached to them, showing why Jesus Christ was pleased to manifest himself unto his immediate followers, and not unto the world, giving them to understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, while he spake unto others in parables. It was a season of divine favour, wherein thanksgiving and praise ascended to Him who liveth for ever and ever! We crossed the Susquehannah river that evening at a place called Bald Friars, where the current was very rapid and more than a mile over, and next day, fifth of sixth month, had a meeting at Little Britain, and the following day attended an appointed meeting at East Britain, which I hope was profitable to some. We then went to a meeting appointed at West Nottingham, where I was favoured to clear my mind in a close searching testimony, warning the negligent and lukewarm professors, yet had a word of comfort and encouragement to the few mourners in Zion.

On the ninth we had an appointed meeting at East Nottingham, where that eminent servant of the Lord, John Churchman, formerly belonged; this was a pretty large meeting, and I hope will prove a profitable season to many if carefully improved. Next morning, after a solid opportunity in the family of George Churchman, I proceeded on my journey and reached Appoquinimink in the evening; attended the monthly meeting at Duck Creek on the

following day, and on first-day the eleventh was at Friends' meeting at Little Creek, which was a favoured time. At four in the afternoon, I had a public meeting in the State house at Dover, which was very large and a good time; the people seemed glad of the opportunity. On the twelfth had a meeting at Canterbury, and the following day attended the monthly meeting of Motherkill, which was a time of favour. In the evening went to Camden, and on the fourteenth had a public meeting there to satisfaction: indeed there seemed to be great openness in the minds of the people generally, in these parts, and they flocked together in abundance at a very short notice when they heard there was to be a public meeting.

On the sixteenth we had a meeting at a little village called Fredericka, where no Friends reside, which was a solid, good time; here Warner Mifflin and his wife met us, and we had a meeting the same afternoon in Friends' meeting house at Milford, and on the next day one at Coolspring, which was a dull exercising time, it felt to me as though they were settling upon their lees. We lodged at a Friend's house, where we had a religious opportunity in the evening to some satisfaction, and on the day following, being first-day, we attended Coolspring meeting again, where I was favoured to clear my mind in a close searching testimony; may it be remembered to profit. Next day, in the forenoon, had a meeting in the court house at George Town, and another in the afternoon at a little village called Dagsborough, both to a good degree of satisfaction. From this place we went to the house of a respectable man, in the state of Maryland, and after a satisfactory religious opportunity in his family, we proceeded into Accomack county on the Eastern shore of Virginia, and had a solid meeting next day among a sober people at Horntown; went in the evening and lodged with a justice of the peace, and the day following, being very rainy, we rested. On the twenty-fourth crossed the Chinkoteague Bay, about seven miles, to an island of the same name, and had a comfortable meeting with a few sober people there; returning the same evening, and there being eleven of us in a small fishing boat and the weather rather blustering, the passage was not without the appearance of some danger, but we were favoured to get safely to land.

Twenty-fifth. Being first-day, we had a pretty large meeting in the morning in the dwelling-house of the late Daniel Mifflin, and another at the same place, in the afternoon, for the coloured people; both were satisfactory. The day after, we rode about eighteen miles to the house of a justice of the peace, who appeared to be fully convinced of our principles, and was very loving towards Friends; he took me in his chaise next day to Accomack court-house, where we had a public meeting; and returned to his house the same evening. The twenty-seventh, returned up to Mifflin's place, and had a comfortable opportunity with the young people who occupied the house, who, though not members of our Society, entertained us very hospitably,—this opportunity was like a morsel of living bread broken amongst us, under a humbling sense whereof we took our leave, and that day reached a little town in Maryland called Snowhill, a noted place for ship-building, where we had a meeting in the court-house, which afforded me some relief, though I believe it is a place of great dissipation.

We tarried here this night, at the house of a person, who with his wife and daughters were very kind and civil to us; next day went to Salisbury and had a meeting that evening in a large inn, which was satisfactory, though the people were generally light and gay on coming in, yet they seemed much humbled under Truth's testimony,—blessed be the Lord! Next day we proceeded to Easton and lodged; and on first-day the second of seventh month, we had a meeting in the forenoon at a place called the Fork, and another in the afternoon twelve miles further at Centre, both among the Nicholites and to satisfaction: the testimony of truth went forth freely amongst them, which they received with gladness. They are a plain people, both in their dress and manners, and much esteemed by their neighbours for their uprightness and honesty in their dealings, and I was induced to believe that many of them were not far from the kingdom of heaven. We went that night and tarried with James Harris, who is said to be the principal leader among this people, and is I believe an honest good man. He entertained us with much affectionate kindness, and at parting expressed his gladness at my company, taking his leave of us in a very friendly manner.

We had an appointed meeting with Friends of Marshy Creek, where I was painfully exercised throughout the meeting in silence; yet found relief in the conclusion, from the belief that I was in the way of my duty; then went on across Choptank river, and on the following day attended meeting at Choptank, which, in the forepart was very exercising, but towards the close, truth arose and gave the victory—blessed be the Lord! Proceeding thence, we were at several meetings, viz., Bayside, the preparative meeting at Easton, Tuckahoe, a public meeting in the court house in Easton, a meeting at Choptank Bridge, and another at the head of Chester, with Friends and others, mostly to satisfaction. The next meeting was

appointed to be held in Friends' meeting-house at Chester. As I approached this place I felt under an inexpressible cloud of exercise, insomuch that as I sat in meeting, it seemed as though the very pains of death and hell had laid hold on me. I thought I was never more sensible of the necessity of earnestly crying unto Him who alone is able to rebuke the storm and raging of the sea, and to save us from sinking; and as this was my fervent cry in this meeting, blessed be his name, he was pleased to hear in this hour of distress, and cause the sea to cease from raging, and give ability to exalt his testimony over the heads of even whoremongers and murderers, for such there were present (as I afterwards understood)—towards the latter end of the meeting it seemed as though the powers of hell were shaken, and the great name was praised and exalted over all, who is worthy forever!

On fourth-day the twelfth, were at Cecil meeting, which was also a time of deep exercise; a spirit appeared to prevail amongst them not much unlike that of the Egyptians formerly, which refused liberty to the chosen seed, until a darkness covered them which was to be felt: there was much labour bestowed in order to bring them to a sense of their condition; but alas! it seemed to have little effect for the present—the increase must be left with him alone who hath power to give it. Next day we attended an appointed meeting at the head of Sassafras, where was a number of people not professing with Friends, some of whom were from the head of Chester, nine or ten miles off, and others from the neighbouring villages, who behaved with becoming order and solemnity, while the gospel was freely and largely preached amongst them, which they appeared to receive with gladness. It was given me to believe that there is seed in these parts near to be gathered, if Friends keep their habitations in the truth; which is the prayer of my soul for them: dined at the house of a hopeful young man, and a number of other Friends being present, we were favoured with a comfortable opportunity together.

Journeying thence we got to Appoquinimink, and next day had a meeting with Friends there, which was a time of favour, wherein a remnant were given to rejoice in God's salvation: we reached White Clay Creek the same evening, and here I met my dear companion, Josiah White, after a separation of more than six weeks—we were truly rejoiced to see each other again. Next day being the seventh of the week, we rested, and on first-day in the forenoon, attended Friends' meeting at White Clay Creek; then rode to Wilmington and attended their afternoon meeting, which was large, but dull and poor to me. I sat it through in silence, I believe to the great disappointment of many, but I was thankful in being preserved from gratifying the itching ears. We rested on second-day and wrote letters to our friends, and on third-day attended an appointed meeting at Chichester, which was a large, solid, good meeting: went that evening and tarried with John Tolbert, whose dear wife was then in Europe on a religious visit; he appeared to bear her absence with becoming resignation.

Next day we had a meeting at Chester which was rather a low laborious time: Lord! more and more show unto thy people the necessity of labouring for daily bread. Rode to Darby, and on the following day attended a large meeting at this place, which was also a time of deep exercise, but truth arose and gave us the victory, blessed be the Lord therefor!

Several Friends from Philadelphia met us here, and in the afternoon, the twentieth of seventh month, we went into the city: next morning, being market day, we walked in the market, which both for quantity and quality of the provisions, far exceeded any market I had ever seen; and amongst the many thousands of people which I supposed to be there, I was much delighted in observing not only the cleanliness in every department, but the orderly conduct of the people; insomuch that I do not remember to have heard a single oath repeated, or any indecent behaviour, but all seemed to be conducted in peace and harmony, which yielded real satisfaction to my mind.

On first-day we attended Market street meeting in the morning, where I had a pretty open time in testimony, and it was a solid good meeting: in the afternoon attended the North meeting, which was to me laborious, but I was favoured to get through to a good degree of satisfaction. On second-day morning we went to the meeting of ministers and elders held in Fourth street meeting house, after which we returned to our lodgings and were visited by a number of our valuable friends. Third-day attended the monthly meeting for the Northern District where I had good service, to the comforting and tendering of many minds and much to the relief of my own—praised be the Lord! In the evening several Friends came in, and being drawn into solemn silence, the divine presence was felt to be near, and we had a heart tendering time together, like a refreshing shower from heaven on the thirsty ground, under an humbling sense whereof, praises and thanksgiving ascended up to Him who alone is worthy forever!

We attended the monthly meeting held at Pine street meeting house on fourth day, where I was opened into the mystery of the holy waters as seen by the prophet in the vision of life, pointing out the glorious work of reforma-

tion, and the spreading of the kingdom of Christ Jesus upon earth. It was an humbling time, in which the hearts of many were made renewedly thankful to the Lord for the continuance of his mercies, especially the remnant who were engaged to travail with the seed, and who waited for the consolation of Israel. We visited several Friends in a social way this afternoon, and next day went to the preparative meeting at Market street, which was also a solid and good meeting. In the evening on returning to our lodgings we found a number of Friends who had come in to see us, and after a time of pleasant conversation, being drawn into stillness, I was opened in testimony, and it proved a blessed opportunity, like the distilling of the precious dew of heaven upon our spirits; it was the Lord's doing, giving us to rejoice together in his blessed presence; praised be his name forever.

On sixth-day, we attended the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, for the middle district, held in the Fourth street meeting house: here I felt such an exercise on my spirit, that I was ready to cry out, "for Zion's sake I cannot hold my peace;" and as I gave up thereto, a door of utterance was opened upon the subject of the evil spies, who, after they had been favoured not only to see the good land, but also to eat of the fruit thereof, and to bear some of the clusters on their shoulders in the sight of the people, brought in an evil report, and made the hearts of many to melt, because of their discouragements and unbelief. This was opened and set before us in the light of the gospel, to the bowing and humbling of many minds; for which favour, thanksgiving and praises ascended up to Him, who thus mercifully continues his holy help to the remnant of his people that trust in him; Amen. Went and spent a little time with our ancient and honourable friend James Pemberton, and the meeting for business having adjourned to four o'clock in the afternoon, we sat with Friends again, and then went to see our worthy friend David Bacon.

We rested on seventh-day and wrote letters to our families, and on first-day morning attended Pine street meeting, which was large, many not of our Society being present: the Lord's power broke forth amongst us, and I was engaged in testimony and supplication until I was almost faint; the divine presence shone amongst us, to the comfort and consolation of many hearts—blessed be the name of the Lord! In the afternoon we were at Market street meeting, where I was silent, but satisfied in the belief that I was in the way of my duty.

On second-day, the thirty-first of seventh month, we attended Abington monthly meeting, held this time at Frankford, about five miles from the city, which was a favoured time. We dined with Nicholas Waln at his country residence, who with his dear wife were affectionately kind to us; several Friends from the city also came in, and we had a religious opportunity, to the solid comfort and refreshment of our spirits, after which we returned to the city. Third-day we went to the North meeting, at which there was a marriage. I was much exercised in the meeting, and had a clear opening on my mind, but could find no way to express it, and went away with my burden and had a poor evening. Next day attended Pine street week-day meeting, which was a time of close exercise, yet I was enabled to wade through to a good degree of satisfaction. We made a few social visits, and returned to our lodgings; my mind in rather a poor stripped state. Lord, grant me patience; preserve and help me, if it be thy blessed will, that so thy holy cause may not suffer by me! Fifth-day we were at the Market street meeting, where I was led to treat on the subject of Solomon's coming to sit on the throne of his father David, and bringing his father's enemies to justice; this was a solid and good meeting.

Sixth-day, fourth of eighth month. We kept pretty much to our lodgings, and wrote letters to our friends, there being no meeting in the city. On seventh-day, fifth, we attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, where I was largely opened on one of Daniel's visions, and I believe it was to general satisfaction.

First-day, sixth. We went to the North meeting in the forenoon, which was large. I was opened on these words, "that which is afar off and exceeding deep, who can find it out;" from which I was led to treat on the mystery of the true church, of which the man Christ Jesus is head: through the extension of holy help this was a blessed opportunity, which I hope will not soon be forgotten by me, and many others present. I soon retired to my lodgings after this meeting, being unwell, but felt solid peace of mind. In the afternoon, though still poorly, I attended Market street meeting, which I was favoured to sit through in peaceful silence, and returned to our lodgings with a thankful heart. In the evening, several Friends coming to see us, after a time, we were drawn into silence, and our gracious Master was pleased to favour us, as with a celestial shower, to the comfort and refreshment of our souls; under an humbling sense of which, praises and thanksgiving ascended up to Him, who alone is worthy thereof forever.

On second-day the seventh, we attended the quarterly meeting which was large; several Friends from the country being present, and on the whole it was a solid and good meeting, which I was favoured to enjoy in silence, while

several others were acceptably engaged in public communications. After meeting we went to see the wife and children of our friend Thomas Scattergood, he being at this time in Europe on a religious visit.—Third-day the eighth, in the forenoon, a youths' meeting was held, and in the afternoon one for the blacks, but I continued so unwell that I did not attend either of them. Fifth-day the tenth, getting better of my indisposition, we attended the Market street meeting this morning which was large, perhaps more so, on account of a marriage. I felt very weak in body, but being soon clothed with an exercise of spirit, I ventured to stand up and was opened on the subject of wisdom, from which I was enabled to utter many gospel truths, and the meeting concluded in solemn prayer and supplication to the Almighty Father, for the continuation of his mercies towards us his poor dependent creatures. This was a glorious meeting, wherein my soul, with many more, were refreshed and enabled to thank God and take courage in pressing forward in the heavenly journey, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of the saints' faith; to him be glory, dominion, and praise, forevermore.

Sixth-day, the eleventh. We left Philadelphia and attended a quarterly youths' meeting at Abington, which was a solid season; at the house where we dined, a considerable number of Friends came in, many of whom were young people, and we had a satisfactory religious opportunity with them, after which we went home with Peter Yarnall and wife to Byberry, where we rested next day.

First-day the thirteenth, attended a meeting at Bristol which was large, many not of our Society being present, the gospel was freely preached to this auditory and the people seemed humbled under Truth's testimony, and behaved with a becoming solemnity throughout, much to my satisfaction, although the meeting held near three hours; many were made thankful and gave glory to God. We called to see an ancient Friend in the afternoon and had a religious opportunity in the family, and then rode to William Blakey's.

Second-day, the fourteenth, attended an appointed meeting at Middletown, which was the largest appointed meeting we have been at in this country. I stood forth in the love of the gospel in this large assembly, until my nature was well nigh exhausted ere I was aware of it; but the Lord's truth was exalted over all, insomuch that I was scarcely sensible of the want of anything; blessed be his great name forever! After the meeting was over I soon withdrew to William Blakey's with a thankful heart, and in the evening had a comfortable opportunity with the family and several other Friends, some of whom were from Philadelphia. Third-day, the fifteenth, attended a meeting at the Falls, which was also very large, many not professing with us being there, who behaved well, and seemed humbled under the testimony of Truth, which was largely declared amongst them in its own authority. This was a solid good meeting, wherein thanksgiving and praise ascended to the great Shepherd of Israel, who still continues to care for his sheep.

After meeting we went home with Jonathan Kirkbride, accompanied by Peter Yarnall and wife; in the evening a number of young people coming in, we had a religious opportunity among them to some satisfaction.

Fourth-day, sixteenth. We left Pennsylvania and crossed over into New Jersey at Trenton; attended an appointed meeting there the same day, which was poor and dull in the forepart, but at length Truth arose and gave the victory, and its own testimony was exalted. After this meeting we rode to Stony Brook, and on fifth-day, seventeenth, attended a meeting there which was a very exercising one to me: I was opened on the words, "Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not whereon to lay his head;" and was favoured to get relieved. We rode about twenty-three miles that afternoon, and next day got to Rahway, where we attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, and on seventh-day the quarterly meeting for discipline.

First-day, we attended two large meetings for worship at the same place, there being a very great number of people not of our Society, to whom I was enlarged in testimony; which went forth in a close searching manner to the careless professors and to the sons of folly, yet a word of comfort and encouragement was handed to the mourners in Zion, who were made glad this day, for the exaltation of the Lord's truth over all, under a humbling sense whereof, praises and thanksgiving ascended to Him who liveth forever and ever. Besides these memorable meetings, we had sundry private opportunities in this village, in most of which our souls were humbled and melted down before the Lord, under a sense of his living presence being felt amongst us, whereby the stone was rolled away and the poor of his flock were watered by the pouring forth of divine consolation into their souls; glory be to his great name forever, who hath not forgotten to be gracious to his humble depending children, who desire to wait for him. Second-day, the twenty-first, had a public meeting at Elizabethtown, about five miles from Rahway, on our way to New York, which proved very laborious to me, with very little prospect of much good resulting from it.

We got to New York that evening and took up our lodgings with our kind friends Robert

and Elizabeth Bowne: on entering this large city I felt low and dejected in mind. O Lord, look down upon me and preserve me through every trying scene. Fourth-day, twenty-third, attended their week-day meeting, which was large; I had considerable to communicate, and felt some relief. We visited some of our friends, and returned to our lodgings, where we spent most of the remaining part of this week; for I felt so low and dejected in mind, that I could not think of much visiting; but endeavoured to abide in patience, inwardly breathing to my gracious Master, for preservation and right direction. Our friends frequently called to see us in the evenings, and some of these I hope were not unprofitably spent: one of them in particular I thought was rather a remarkable time, much of it being spent in solemn retirement, wherein several were broken into tears; it was a heart-tendering time, though there was not a word spoken amongst us. Seventh-day, still so low and shut up, that I stay mostly in my chamber.

First-day, twenty-seventh, attended the fore and afternoon meetings here; the first was a glorious time, wherein Truth reigned over all, to the humbling and bowing of many minds: the Lord's great name was magnified, and the little remnant of his dependent ones sweetly comforted: the last meeting was not quite so open as the first, but I hope was a profitable time to many. We called to see our ancient and honourable friend Joseph Delaplaine, and then returned to our lodgings: in the evening a number of Friends came to see us, and we were favoured with another heart-tendering opportunity together; blessed be the Lord therefor. Next day we went to visit an ancient Friend whose name was Henry Haddock, he appeared to be not far from his final change; we had a comfortable religious opportunity with him and his daughters.

Third-day, the twenty-ninth, we left New York, crossed the East river at Brooklyn, and attended an appointed meeting at Newtown, which was small, yet a door of utterance was opened to preach the gospel in good authority to this small gathering, most of whom were broken and tendered before the Lord, and the meeting ended in prayer and thanksgiving: at the conclusion, my poor spirit felt so relieved that I left the meeting with joy and gladness of heart; glory to Him who said, "I go away and come again." We rode about twenty miles to Westbury, and lodged at the house of Gideon Seaman, whose father is a very aged man and blind, but otherwise active, frequently goes to meeting more than a mile on foot, and seems cheerful and lively in spirit.

Fourth-day, thirtieth. Attended the week-day meeting at Westbury, where many Friends were collected who made a very plain appearance, but I sat the meeting through in silence, lamentably poor, and so went away. After this meeting we went to Fry Willis', and on fifth-day attended the meeting at Jericho to some satisfaction. Sixth-day, first of ninth month: went to an appointed meeting at Hollow Hills, which, on the whole was a time of favour: in the afternoon called to see an ancient Friend who was blind, and had a satisfactory religious opportunity in his family. Seventh-day attended a meeting at Bethpage, which was very exercising and trying in the forepart of it, but towards the close, a door of utterance was opened to labour pretty largely in a close searching manner for their help; and many for the present, seemed pretty much affected at the opening of their states and setting them before them in the authority of Truth. I left this meeting with the evidence of peace, and in the afternoon had religious service in two families, the latter of which was truly a soul-reviving season: here the heavy burden and covering of sackcloth, which my poor soul has borne much of the time we have been on this island, seemed to be rent and measurably taken off, and I had to witness something like the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness—for which my soul bowed and worshipped Him who is the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end; worthy to be worshipped and exalted over all; so be it, world without end.

We returned to Fry Willis' the same evening, and next day being first-day, the third, after a comfortable season in the family, we went to meeting at Matinicock which was large, there being a considerable number present who were not of our Society. Here my spirit was uncommonly baptised into feeling, on account of a state of infidelity and disbelief in Christ Jesus the Saviour of the world, and my mouth was opened largely on the subject, in a manner I thought strange of, amongst so many Friends; but I was afterwards informed that these principles much prevailed in that neighbourhood, and that there were a number present supposed to have imbibed those dark principles of deism. Oh! what will become of these wicked agents of satan, unless they repent and turn to God! Will he not miserably destroy these wicked husbandmen, and let his vineyard to others that will receive his Son! The meeting ended in solemn prayer, and the Lord's truth was this day exalted over all, to the humbling and confounding of the gainsayers; glory to his great name forever.

Went after meeting to Silas Downing's, and several Friends coming in after dinner, we had a heart-tendering opportunity together. Next day we had a meeting at Oyster Bay, where

are not many Friends, but a considerable number of others came in, to whom the gospel was freely and largely preached, with which they seemed well satisfied: the meeting concluded with prayer, and the people parted with great solemnity. We returned to Silas Downing's, and on third-day, the fifth, attended a meeting appointed at Cowneck, which, though not large, was very exercising. I laboured considerably amongst them, and though it appeared to have but little effect, yet I was favoured in the conclusion to feel relief; we also had a comfortable opportunity in the evening where we lodged.

Fourth-day, sixth, returned to Westbury, where we met with our countrywoman Charity Cook, on her way to Europe, and were truly rejoiced to see each other: next day we all attended Westbury meeting, which was very laborious and exercising, but ended to a good degree of satisfaction. Went that evening to Flushing, and on the following day attended the monthly meeting there, to which Friends of New York belong. This was a glorious meeting: I thought I never had been a witness to such a solemnity at any meeting for so long together; it continued throughout both the meeting for worship and discipline, which held about six hours. I was largely engaged in testimony and supplication, greatly to the relief of my poor exercised mind, and to the comfort and rejoicing of many others.

Apprehending ourselves clear of Long Island, we parted with Charity Cook and company, and other dear Friends, and set out for the main: had religious opportunities in two families on our way, and after riding about fifteen miles crossed over the Sound to New Rochelle. Seventh-day we attended an appointed meeting at West Chester, which was very poor and exercising in the forepart, but ended to the relief of my mind. First-day, the tenth, were at Mamaroneck meeting, which was large, there being a burial. I was led to treat on the nature and spirit of the gospel, which breathes peace on earth and good will to men. Truth reigned over all this day, and a glorious meeting it was to us, and to many who did not profess with us, but who seemed glad of the opportunity.

Third-day, the twelfth, we attended a meeting at New Rochelle, appointed for those not of our Society, which was pretty large: their priest and his wife were there, and all were quiet; the meeting ended to satisfaction, and I returned to our lodgings with the evidence of peace. Fourth-day we had a meeting in the courthouse at White Plains, which was also large, and the people behaved in a solid becoming manner; and although I suppose I sat silent near an hour and a half, yet they continued quiet, until at length a door of utterance was opened, and it proved to be a glorious meeting: the people were generally humbled and many were broken into tenderness and tears; it was said there were several lawyers present, who were also affected under Truth's testimony. The meeting concluded in prayer, after which I commended the solid attention of the audience and took an affectionate leave of them, many of the people wept and departed with great solemnity: may the Lord bless and sanctify this opportunity to their lasting benefit, and take all the praise unto himself, to whom alone it is forever due, but unto us, self-abasement as in the dust.

Fifth-day, the fourteenth, attended the monthly meeting at Purchase, which was large, and eminently owned by the Divine presence; the lukewarm were powerfully called unto, and aroused, and shown the danger of their situation, at which many of them seemed to be humbled for the present, while the true mourners were comforted and encouraged.

Sixth-day, fifteenth. This morning as I walked to and fro alone, I rejoiced in spirit, and all that was alive in me returned thanks to my gracious Master, who had enabled me to leave my all for his gospel's sake. May I keep the word of his patience under every turning of his divine hand upon me, until he fully perfect his will in me to the praise of his own name. Amen.

Seventh-day, sixteenth. We took our leave of Friends here in near affection, and set out for Rhode Island through Connecticut, a very rough road. On first-day we attended their little meeting at Middlesex to satisfaction, and then took our journey by the way of Mill River, Stratford, New Haven, Guildford, Killingsworth, New London, &c., and on fourth-day, the twentieth, got to a Friend's house at a place called Pawtucket Bridge, which is on the boundary between Connecticut and Rhode Island. This is the first Friend's house we have seen since we left Middlesex; the people among whom we have passed are generally civil and respectful to strangers.

Fifth-day, the twenty-first, attended a meeting at Hopkinton, which was a low time, and I left it much dejected; indeed, for several days I seemed to be as it were under the weight of a mountain. Oh Lord, withdraw not thy help from me, for without it I cannot persevere, no not even stand still, nor watch one hour; therefore, oh my God, enable me yet to lean on thee, for on the arm of thy power I desire to trust, in which alone there is safety and preservation. Sixth-day attended an appointed meeting at Westerly, which was small, but on the whole, a precious soul-animating opportunity—blessed be the name of the Lord! We were then at South Kingston upper meeting-house, Richmond and South Kingston lower meeting-house, all of

which were seasons of favour: on second-day we crossed over two wide ferries, by way of Conanicut Island, to Newport, Rhode Island, and put up with our friend Thomas Robinson.

Third-day, the twenty-sixth, we attended the monthly meeting here, which was large, and proved a laborious, exercising time to me, yet I found some relief in a faithful discharge of apprehended duty, and hope it was a profitable season to some. I also visited the women's meeting, I believe to the satisfaction of Friends. In the evening we had a time of retirement at our lodgings, with the family, as we had had the evening before, both which opportunities passed in silence, with which I was satisfied; "there is a time to keep silence, and a time to speak," may I be rightly directed in both. Fourth-day we staid mostly at our lodgings, and wrote letters to our families, and on fifth-day, twenty-eighth, attended their week day meeting, which was large, and the testimony of Truth flowed forth freely, especially towards the rising generation, of which class there was a large proportion present, many of whom were much tendered, and the meeting ended in prayer. In the afternoon we paid social visits to some Friends to satisfaction, and returned to our lodgings. Sixth-day: this morning my mind is humbled and contrited before the Lord, under a fresh sense of his continued goodness to my poor soul. Oh Lord, so continue and keep me in the way that will please thee—for without thy help I see that I can do nothing aright.

On seventh-day, the thirtieth, we had a very large public meeting in Friends' meeting-house for those not professing with us, who at their gathering sat in a solid becoming manner; but one stood up very soon in testimony in a way that unsettled the meeting for a time; but at length it seemed to become more settled, and I expected soon to stand up, but that same person rose again with a repetition of many words without life, at which the people were so disturbed that they began to leave the meeting; and although my concern for them was great, yet I durst not offer any thing until the coming of the heavenly Prophet, lest I should be a means of scattering instead of gathering them. And in the remembrance of the passage respecting Saul's conduct and the effect of it, in a case analogous to this, I was settled down in the quiet and passed the meeting in silence, and left it rejoicing in my own preservation.

First-day, first of the tenth month, we attended the fore and afternoon meetings in course, which were both seasons of favour, wherein truth reigned to the humble rejoicing of many minds. Second-day, not feeling clear in my mind, I proposed a meeting this morning for the ministers and elders only, which was agreed to and we met about eleven o'clock: this meeting being rather uncommon and a great task for me, we went to it, trembling and in great fear, but my gracious Master who, I did believe, laid this service upon me, mercifully helped me to labour tenderly with them in his love, insomuch that many were broken and melted down under the influence of the holy power that attended us in this opportunity. After the meeting some of the Friends ventured to tell me that there was a cause for my exercise, and marvelled at the manner in which I was led amongst them;—it was the Lord's doings and marvellous in the eyes of his children. My soul bowed and acknowledged the kingdom and the power and the glory to be His, to whom alone all the praise is due forevermore. Amen.

Third-day, the third, we left Newport and were at an appointed meeting at Portsmouth, which was a solid favoured season. Having a Friend of Newport for our pilot, we crossed over to Tiverton that evening, and next day had a meeting there, which was small and poor, but ability was mercifully afforded to labour pretty largely amongst them, to the relief of my own mind, and I hope to the profit of some. We had a religious opportunity in the Friends' family where we dined, and rode the same evening about eighteen miles to New Bedford. On fifth-day, we attended their week-day meeting at this place, which I hope on the whole was to some profit, though very exercising to me. Sixth-day, was a very low and trying time. Lord, keep and preserve me in the right way!

Seventh-day, the seventh, about three o'clock this morning we went on board a sloop and set sail for the island of Nantucket, where we landed about four the same afternoon. We continued on this island about three weeks, constantly attending meetings with Friends on their meeting days, had several public meetings for those not professing with us, and also visited many families; and although we found it a low time with Friends generally, so that much inward exercise and deep wading was my lot, during most of the time, yet I was often opened and enlarged amongst them in gospel authority, to the tendering of many hearts both in public and private opportunities. At length that deep inward travail of spirit and covering of sackcloth, which had been so much my clothing since we landed, seemed to be taken away; so that on the twenty-eighth, we took leave of Friends early in the morning, set sail for the continent and being favoured with a fine passage, we landed safely at New Bedford the same afternoon, and next day being the first of the week we attended both the meetings here to satisfaction; and on second and third-days we

visited several families of Friends, in some of which we were favoured with precious opportunities to our comfort and rejoicing.

Fourth-day, eleventh month, first, we had a blessed meeting at Acushnet, about four miles from New Bedford, with the few Friends there, William Rotch, senior, and his wife, and several other Friends from this town being with us. Fifth-day, attended the week-day meeting at New Bedford to solid satisfaction, and on sixth-day had an appointed meeting at New Town, and another next day at Aponyganset, both pretty large, and favoured, the last eminently so, wherein the great name was exalted and praised; many present were humbled and bowed under a sense thereof, and at the conclusion of the meeting, withdrew with great solemnity.

First-day, the fifth, attended both the meetings at New Bedford again, which were blessed opportunities, through the arising and overspreading of divine power and love. Second-day, sixth, had a public meeting for the town's people which was also a solid, good meeting; we had likewise several favoured opportunities in families. Third-day, the seventh, had an appointed meeting at Long Plain, in which I was led to treat pretty largely on the Babylonish captivity, where mention is made of the affecting situation of the people when they sat beside the waters and wept in remembrance of Zion, with their harps hanging on the willows, not able to sing the Lord's song in a strange land. This was a solemn time, wherein there was much weeping and brokenness in the meeting, and some Friends seemed almost astonished at the testimony I had to bear, and informed me afterwards that a member, and one reputed a minister, belonging to that meeting, had imbibed principles contrary to the well known doctrine held by Friends from the beginning, and had drawn away a number after him to the great confusion and dividing of the meeting, and to the distress of Friends.

Fourth-day, the eighth, we were at a poor small meeting at Centre, the next day at Acushnet preparative meeting, and the day following at a meeting at Little Compton, the last two to pretty good satisfaction. We rode about five miles to Jeremiah Austin's, and on seventh-day had a public meeting at this place to pretty good satisfaction; after this we took our solemn leave of Friends there, and got to Tiverton that night; and on first-day, the twelfth, rode about eight miles in the morning, and attended a meeting at Swanzey, which I sat through in silence; then riding about eighteen miles further, we got to Moses Brown's at Providence, where we spent most of next day in writing letters, &c. On third-day we were at their Meeting for Sufferings, and on fourth-day at a meeting at Smithfield, about six miles from Providence, in which I had some close searching labour, and left it with a quiet mind and returned to Moses Brown's. Fifth-day, sixteenth, attended the week-day meeting at Providence, which was a blessed heart-tendering opportunity. Next morning we took leave of our friends and set out for Hartford, where we arrived just in time to get to their little meeting on first-day morning; we also attended that held in the afternoon, both which were favoured seasons.

Second-day we rested, and on third-day appointed a meeting in the city of Hartford, which was attended by but few of the towns-people. Fourth-day, twenty-second, attended the mid-week meeting at Hartford, which was a solid, good time, several not professing with us being present.

Apprehending ourselves clear of this place, we proceeded towards Oblong, and prosecuted our journey through much difficulty, occasioned by the frost and snow, and were at no meeting until first-day, when we attended Friends' meeting at a place called the Branch, near Oblong, in the state of New York, which was a pretty solid opportunity. Rode that afternoon to Oblong, and next day had a meeting there, which was a season of much close exercise: it seemed to me as though most of the people there had neither ears to hear, nor hearts to believe, or to receive the heavenly dew; and my mind was so impressed with a state of obduration and hard-heartedness, that at length I cried out in prayer and supplication, and then felt relief. With a heart melted into tenderness I left them, and rode that afternoon to Daniel Haviland's, where we lodged. On third-day attended a meeting at the Valley; fourth-day at Peach-pond, and on fifth-day a preparative meeting at Bedford; the first two were exercising and laborious, yet to some relief, but the last was a highly favoured opportunity, wherein our spirits seemed generally melted into tenderness before the Lord—glory to his name forever! After this precious meeting we rode about fifteen miles on our way towards New York, though the weather was extremely cold, and arrived there next day, being sixth-day, the first of twelfth month.

On first-day, the third, we attended the fore and afternoon meetings in the city, which were crowned with the overshadowing of Divine power, to the humbling and melting down of the souls of many, especially among the young people, of whom there was a large number present: it was a day which I trust will not soon be forgotten by many of us, especially the afternoon meeting, at the conclusion of which, prayer and praises ascended unto Him, whose is the kingdom, the power and glory, forever, amen.

After this last mentioned meeting, I felt much spent and almost faint, and having previously taken some cold which was now renewed, I was considerably unwell, but blessed be the Lord, I had sweet peace of mind. I continued poorly until fourth-day, the sixth, when I attended the monthly meeting in the city, in which I was silent and felt relieved: on fifth-day we left New York and got to Rahway that evening, and on seventh-day reached Burlington, and lodged at John Hoskins'.

First-day, tenth. We attended the meeting of Friends here, in which I was also silent, and next day, notwithstanding I was very low in my mind, and had been so most of the time since we left New York, I concluded to proceed to Philadelphia, but when we got to the Delaware river opposite the city, there was so much ice in it, that we could not get our horses over, so we were under the necessity of leaving them, and with much difficulty worked our way through the ice, and got into the city about three o'clock in the afternoon, where we were again kindly received by our friends.

Third-day, twelfth. Attended the week-day meeting at the North meeting-house, which was large, and I felt very poor and stripped at sitting down, and sat a considerable time in much weakness and fear, especially as I was amongst so many worthy fathers and mothers as were then present; but the Lord, who can raise the poor as from the dunghill, and set them among the princes, was pleased to raise up my poor soul this day, and enlarge my heart in the love of the gospel, to my humble admiration, and to the satisfaction of Friends. Dear Samuel Emlen said, he had been made to rejoice in the Lord, that day, for the offers of his salvation: it was indeed the Lord's doing, who is our strength in weakness, our riches in poverty, and our present help in the needful time—blessed be his holy name forever.

Fourth-day, we attended Pine street meeting, which was a solid, good time: fifth-day, we were at Market street meeting, which was pretty large, and here I was again raised up in the authority of Truth, to stand as a monument of adorable mercy, to the humble rejoicing of many. In the afternoon, being accompanied by Samuel Emlen, James Pemberton, and some others, we went to the prison to visit a criminal who was under sentence of death for murder, and the time appointed for execution was near at hand. The opportunity was truly humbling to my mind: I was opened on the awful subject of the two malefactors who were crucified by the side of our Saviour, and of their dispositions as appeared from their speeches on the cross, and this poor man was earnestly recommended to the example of the last. Next day we attended the meeting for Sufferings; and the day following a committee of Congress, with some Friends appointed by the yearly meeting, to present a memorial respecting the abolition of slavery; in the evening we had a religious opportunity with some young people at a Friend's house.

First-day, seventeenth. In the morning we attended the Market street meeting, which was a time of favour, and in the afternoon a meeting with the prisoners in the state prison, there being at that time about two hundred of them: they sat very orderly and attentive, and that same poor man whom we had previously visited was also brought into the meeting, he having obtained from the governor a respite for one week: it was a time to be remembered with thankfulness; the prisoners seemed generally humbled, and several of them broken into tears; the meeting concluded in prayer, and the solemnity which prevailed was to my humbling admiration. In the evening we were at the large meeting at Market street, which on the evening of this day is attended by Friends from the other districts, and also by a number not professing with us: it was a very large, crowded meeting, and proved to be a time of favour, divine good being near us, and it concluded with great solemnity.

Second-day, eighteenth. Attended the second-day morning meeting of ministers and elders, and in the evening went to a meeting of young women who had formed themselves into a society for the benevolent purpose of relieving the poor, sick and aged of their own sex in this city. After they had gone through with the business of the evening, a solemn pause took place, and this little meeting was eminently owned with the overshadowing of Divine good, greatly to the comfort and encouragement of the young people in their present arduous undertaking: the opportunity concluded with solemn prayer and supplication, and we went on our way rejoicing.

Third-day, attended the preparative meeting at the North meeting-house, and on fourth-day that at Pine street, in both which I was silent, while others were engaged in public labour. Fifth-day was at meeting at Market street to satisfaction, and in the evening visited a black school: sixth and seventh-days were spent mostly in social visits to satisfaction. First-day the twenty-fourth, attended three meetings in this city, in all of which I was silent, as also next day in the morning meeting of ministers and elders, and my desire is that I may be preserved in a holy watchfulness and resignation, either to do or to suffer, according to the will and direction of my gracious Master, so that he will but be pleased to show me what to do, and what to leave undone.

Third-day, twenty-sixth. Attended the month-

ly meeting for the Northern District, which was large, a number of solid Friends from different parts of the country being there, it was a blessed time to me and many more. I was again raised from a very low estate and set as among the princes of the people, it was of the Lord and not of man, therefore I rejoice with trembling; the meeting concluded in solemn supplication in a powerful manner by Jacob Lindley, and broke with great solemnity, and the harmony was like the pouring forth of precious oil.

Fourth-day, twenty-seventh. Attended the monthly meeting at Pine street, which was not so large, and more laborious than the preceding one. I was engaged to go and sit awhile in the women's apartment, where I was pretty largely opened in testimony to my great satisfaction. Fifth-day, the twenty-eighth, attended the preparative meeting at Market street, which was a solid time; and on sixth-day the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, held at the Fourth street meeting-house, which was also a favoured season. Seventh-day, the thirtieth, being unwell I staid mostly at our lodgings, and on first-day we attended the North meeting in the morning, Pine street in the afternoon, and a large meeting in the evening at Market street, in all of which I was pretty largely opened in testimony, especially the last: dear Peter Yarnall concluded this meeting in supplication, and the end was crowned with great solemnity.

Second-day, first of first month, 1798, we attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders, where I was opened on the subject of gospel ministry; it was a heart tendering season, and tended greatly to the relief of my mind. This was the last meeting we were at in the city, and we returned to our lodgings with thankful hearts, blessed be the Lord therefor. On third-day morning, several Friends came to see us, and we had a precious parting opportunity, and then took our solemn leave in near affection, and went to Concord that day: next day attended the monthly meeting there, and rode to Wilmington the same evening, and on fifth-day attended the preparative meeting there. I felt very poor, low and almost dejected, and so went to this meeting, but blessed be the name of the Lord, through the renewing of his goodness, it was a season of comfort and rejoicing. The following day we went towards Baltimore, though there was so much snow and ice that we found considerable difficulty in crossing the Susquehanna; but we got safely over on the ice, where it was more than a mile wide.

First-day, the seventh, we attended a small meeting at Bush to good satisfaction, and on second-day reached Baltimore. In our way we met with some Indian chiefs who seemed glad to see us, there being a particularly good understanding between Friends and the natives: we understood they were going to Congress with some complaint of grievance. There was something in their countenances which appeared serious, but their interpreter being at this time behind, I could not speak to them, though they all stopped and held out their hands to me in token of friendship. Truly under the awful clothing of my spirit at that time, I was ready to cry out, O America, America; how wilt thou atone for the injuries thou hast done to this people and to those of the nations of Africa? Hath not the universal Father of mankind testified, "with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." O thou land of my nativity, how wilt thou be able to stand, when He who hears from heaven the cries and grievances of the unjustly afflicted and oppressed, shall arise to plead their cause. Oh, for thee I tremble, when I see clouds, thick clouds arising over thee and gathering blackness.

Third and fourth-days, I went not much out from my lodgings, being poorly, and also low in my mind, though I was not quite idle, but was employed part of the time in writing letters, &c. Fifth-day, eleventh, attended the monthly meeting here without much relief, and not seeing my way out of the city, nor yet to appoint any public meeting: on first-day we attended the two meetings of Friends, in both of which I was pretty largely opened in testimony in a close searching manner, especially in the afternoon, when dear Mary Mifflin being present, concluded the meeting with solemn prayer. After this I seemed to feel in a good degree relieved with respect to my own mind, and concluded we might leave Baltimore; accordingly on second-day, the fifteenth, we took our leave of Friends, and went on our way as far as Ellicott's mills, and the weather being very rainy and the waters high, we did not get away until fourth-day, when we attended their week-day meeting at Elkridge to solid satisfaction. Fifth-day, we attended the preparative meeting at Indian Spring, and next day a monthly meeting at the same place, to which the Friends of Elkridge and Sandy Spring belong: these were both favoured opportunities, many not professing with us attending in the morning of each day, that is to say, during the part of each meeting spent in worship; to these the gospel was freely preached and they withdrew in a solid manner.

On seventh-day, the nineteenth, we got to Alexandria, and the day following attended two meetings there, both laborious and exercising to me, yet I hope profitable to some. I left them rather low in my mind, and next day got to Occoquan, and had a public meeting there the day after, which was also laborious and not to much relief, the people's hearts seeming to be

hard. Fourth-day and fifth-day, we got to Caroline, and our friend David Brooks of North Carolina, having arrived there just before us, in the course of a religious visit, had appointed a meeting to be held at Caroline meeting house next day, which we attended; it was nearly silent. We went that evening to Pleasant Terrill's, and it came on so very rainy and snowy that we staid there all night and next day, and on first-day set off for Cedar Creek, but the snow and water so abounded on the earth that we did not reach it in time for meeting; so we stopped at a Friend's house, and on the morrow went to Genito, where we had an appointed meeting the day following, to satisfaction. Fourth-day, the thirty-first, we got to Richmond and had an appointed meeting there also satisfactorily; then went to Curles and tarried with Robert Pleasants. Sixth-day, second of second month, attended the preparative meeting at White Oak Swamp, and on seventh and first-days, were at the monthly and general meetings at the same place, and also a meeting of ministers and elders, in the afternoon of first-day; all of which were seasons of favour, though the testimony went forth in a close searching manner, especially in the general meeting; may it have the desired effect, but this we must leave to the Lord.

Our next meetings were at Curles, Petersburgh, Gravelly Run, and so to the quarterly meeting at Black Water, most of which were exercising, laborious seasons. Here my companion and I parted, after being together about eleven months; he returning home by way of Western Branch, I went to my brother Benjamin's in Southampton, staid with him a day or two, and attended their week-day meeting to satisfaction. On fifth-day, the fifteenth, I reached home, and found my dear wife and little family well, and things as to the outward, better than I expected, considering my long absence, for which I was thankful in heart to Him who hath graciously promised, that neither grace nor glory, nor any good thing, shall be withheld from those who faithfully serve him. May I henceforth be enabled to serve Him more fully and unreservedly, yea, worship and adore Him with all my heart, even to the end, that so no other beloved may have the preference in my heart, which ought to be his temple. Amen.

In this journey I was from home about eleven months, and travelled upwards of three thousand miles. Sixth-day, sixteenth, being the next day after my arrival at home, fell the greatest snow that I remember to have seen in North Carolina.

Third-day, twentieth of third month. Mostly disagreeable weather since my return home, and the state of my mind much resembling it, so that I have scarcely seen one fair day, neither have I opened my mouth in one of our meetings since my return, but my spirit has been almost continually covered with inward exercise and mourning, for what cause I have not been favoured fully to see; therefore, oh, my God, be thou pleased to draw near to my poor soul in this time of trial, and sustain me, that so I may not cast away my confidence in thee; for I desire yet to trust in the secret arm of thy power for preservation and support from day to day.

First-day, eighth of fourth month. This day I was opened in testimony for the first time in our meeting since my return home; but "although I speak my grief is not assuaged;" for though my opening was with a good degree of clearness, yet my sorrows have returned upon me. Lord, increase my faith, and also my patience, that I faint not under these proving conflicts, that so I may be enabled to hold out to the end!

Sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, cold, blasting winds, and consuming frosts, cut off the fruits, and caused much of the tender vegetation to wither; thus, it is evident that the Father of mercies is repeatedly informing our senses, and our understandings, that we are entirely dependent on his goodness and mercy, for every temporal as well as spiritual blessing.

Nineteenth and twentieth of fifth month; had a pretty open time in testimony both at our monthly and general meetings, which had been the case a few times previous: I also attended our quarterly meeting in this month, which was through divine favour, a solid, good meeting; and was at a burial the next day after the quarterly meeting, several miles on my way home, which was a solid time, and I returned home with a good degree of peace and satisfaction of mind.

First of eighth month. I have continued mostly about home since our quarterly meeting, and now Gervas Johnson, a Friend from Ireland, being here on a religious visit, I concluded to accompany him to a few meetings, which I did, both in the lower part of this state, and a few within the borders of Virginia, which on the whole was to pretty good satisfaction. I returned home with a fever on me, which I had not been clear of for several days; it increased to a severe attack of the bilious kind, which proved tedious, and confined me at home until about the time of our yearly meeting in the tenth month, which I attended, though very weakly; yet I was glad I was there, for although some of the first sittings were truly suffering seasons, on the whole, it was a solid, good yearly meeting, for which my soul bowed and worshipped before Him, who has thus graciously continued his care and loving kindness

to us poor creatures, who are unworthy of such dignified favours. May it prove a powerful incitement to us to love him more, and to walk worthy of the vocation whereunto he hath been pleased to call us.

Soon after this yearly meeting, I attended our state legislature, in company with some other Friends appointed by the yearly meeting, to present a remonstrance and petition on behalf of the oppressed Africans; after which I continued about home, almost continually covered with gloom, temptations, inward exercise and tribulation, until I almost loathed myself and all around me, and this both in meetings and out of meetings, so that my faith has well nigh failed me. Oh Lord, reach forth thine hand and preserve me, while I am endeavouring to come unto thee on this sea of trouble, that my poor soul sink not in the depths thereof, that I may yet live to priase thee for the multitude of thy mercies! Amen.

Third month, sixteenth, 1799. At our monthly meeting, I have now, after passing through many deep baptisms, and sore conflicts of mind, resigned myself up to the prospect of visiting some parts of Europe, and this day laid my concern before the meeting. Several solid Friends from other monthly meetings happened to be present, which I esteemed a favour: it was a memorable baptising season with Friends, many in the meeting being melted into tenderness and tears. After this I felt my mind brought into a remarkable calmness and serenity, even beyond expression, and my burden much lightened.

In the fifth month, I attended the quarterly meeting at Western Branch in Virginia, as also their yearly meeting held this year on the north side of James' River, and returned home with peace of mind; praises and thanksgiving to Him who thus leadeth about and instructeth in the way of peace. I staid mostly about home until the eighth month, when I attended the monthly meeting of Jack Swamp, and being under an appointment in our yearly meeting with some other Friends, to visit our select members in their families, I attended to that appointment with another Friend or two, in the counties of Northampton, Chowan and Perquimmons, also attended our quarterly meeting at Wells'; and having obtained a certificate from our monthly meeting, expressive of their unity and concurrence with me, in my concern to visit Europe, I laid the same before the quarterly meeting, and obtained their endorsement to the same purport, with much unanimity and near sympathy, insomuch that it was an heart-tendering season, and tended much to my encouragement.

In the latter end of the tenth month, I attended our yearly meeting, held this year at New Garden, where I also revived my concern to visit Europe in the meeting of ministers and elders, and laid my certificates from the monthly and quarterly meetings before them, which obtained the attention and sympathy of the meeting in an affecting manner, so that after a time of solid deliberation, I was set at liberty with much brokenness and tears of near fellow feeling, for which my soul was bowed, and we worshipped together. Having obtained a certificate from this meeting, and attended the several sittings of the yearly meeting to satisfaction, I returned home, where I staid pretty much, except the attendance of our own meetings, until the eleventh month, when I was at our quarterly meeting at Piney Woods, and in the twelfth month attended the monthly meeting of Jack Swamp.

First month, twenty-sixth, 1800. Having felt an engagement to visit some people not professing with us, in the upper part of this county and at Halifax, especially among the higher classes and those in authority, and having liberty of our meeting so to do, accompanied by a member thereof, we visited General Allen Jones, in the upper part of this county, and had a public meeting near his house, which was large; the people behaved soberly, and seemed glad of the opportunity; the General and his wife were very kind and attentive to us, and his son-in-law, William R. Davie, being one of the ambassadors sent over at this time by our government, in order to negotiate a treaty with France, and the General knowing of my intention of going to Europe, gave me letters to the ambassador, in case I should stand in need of his assistance, it being a time of war between England and France. I accepted his kindness, which I believe was providential, for a treaty was happily negotiated between France and the United States, and these letters proved of singular service to me afterwards.

We also went to Halifax, and lodged with one of the judges of the Supreme Court, who had married one of the General's daughters, and we found great openness and kind attention with them: we had a public meeting in the town, to which came a number of people of note, and among them the judge and his wife; many seemed to be humbled, and a number broken into tears. After this highly favoured meeting, we dined with the judge, after which we parted with them, and I returned home with the answer of solid peace.

Soon after this, John Hall from England, who, with his companion, was on a religious visit southward, came to our house, and tarried to rest a few days, and be at our monthly meeting: this was time very agreeably, and I trust not unprofitably spent; it indeed proved very strengthening and encouraging to my dear wife,

who was so soon to part with me for so long a journey.

Having been favoured, as I apprehended, to see the right time for my setting out, it was fixed to be on the twentieth of second month, and the solemn time arrived only about two days after we parted with these dear friends: it was a memorable day; a number of my friends and neighbours came to see me, and take their leave, and after a religious opportunity together, I took my solemn leave of them, and set out on my journey, being accompanied by my dear wife, and several of our friends, as far as the Western Branch, in Virginia, which is about sixty miles. Here we attended their monthly meeting on the twenty-second, which was a time of favour, though the testimony went forth in a close, searching manner; we also attended their meeting on first-day; and then I went to visit some of my relations, and staid to their meeting on fourth-day, my dear wife being still with me, and also some other Friends, who came with us from home on a visit to their relations in these parts.

The weather being very rainy and snowy, we continued about the Branch until seventh-day, first of third month, when we went to Robert Jordan's at Suffolk, and the same evening to Summerton; attended their meeting next day, and on third-day, the fourth, after a solid opportunity with a number of Friends who came to see us, I took a solemn and affectionate leave of my dear wife, and of other Friends who were present, and got on to Black Water that evening, where we attended their week-day meeting next day; and the day following, not feeling easy without appointing a meeting at the same place, we attended it, and then feeling clear we went on to Burleigh. Crossed James' River, and were at Curles meeting next day, and on second-day, tenth, got to Richmond, and visited a few families there; then took meetings at Cedar Creek, South Land, Goose Creek, and so on to the quarterly meeting at Fairfax, where we met our friend Daniel Haviland, from New York state, who had been on a religious visit to the southward. This was a very laborious, exercising meeting to me, but I was favoured to leave it in a good degree relieved, and I hope clear of the place. Our next meetings were Bush Creek, Pipe Creek, Monallen, Huntingdon, Warrington, Newberry, and so to Yorktown in Pennsylvania, where we attended two meetings on first-day; staid their preparative meeting on fourth-day, and rode about ten miles that evening. Crossed the Susquehanna at Wright's ferry, and had a little meeting in Columbia; from thence we took meetings at Lancaster, Lampeter, Sadsbury, East Caln, a monthly meeting at Uwchlan, and another at Goshen, and on first-day, the thirteenth of fourth month, we attended a meeting at Springfield, and reached Philadelphia the same evening.

Although I have generally made but short notes in this journey hitherto, yet I may now remark, that notwithstanding some highly favoured seasons have been witnessed in the course thereof, many others have been attended with much exercise, deep suffering and inward travail of spirit, and sometimes almost discouragement, so that I have been ready to compare myself to Noah's dove that found no rest to the sole of her foot.

Second-day, fourteenth: attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders, which was rather a low time; third-day, was at the week-day meeting at the North meeting-house which was a highly favoured season: I also attended several other meetings this week, in which I was silent, exept at a youths' meeting on sixth-day evening.

The Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c., began on seventh-day, which I thought was the largest of the kind I ever attended, but it was rather a low time, may it tend to deepen us, and may the Lord draw near to us in all the further sittings of this annual assembly to the comfort of our souls, and to the exaltation of his great name. The public meetings for worship on first-day at Market street and North meeting-houses, were very large; the meeting for discipline began on second-day, the twenty-first, and continued by adjournments until sixth-day evening: it was very large and many weighty and interesting subjects were deliberated on, and although some of the sittings were not so lively as could have been desired, yet it was on the whole a time of favour, and concluded with great solemnity. I was glad that I was there, as it was a time of deep instruction to me, though I did not open my mouth in any of the sittings, until the last day, and then but a very few sentences. I was considerably opened in one or two of the sittings of the meeting of ministers and elders, I believe to the general satisfaction of Friends, and much to the relief of my own mind. First-day, the twenty-seventh, attended a meeting at Darby, seven miles from the city, after which I returned to the city, and being much fatigued and somewhat unwell, I concluded to rest a few days in order to recruit; accordingly went into the country with Nicholas Waln, to take a little fresh air; afterwards returned to the city and attended meetings in course.

Sixth-day, eighth of fifth month. Having been pretty constantly employed in attending meetings as they came in course, and the Quarterly meeting in the city being also now over, and no way opening for me to take my passage

from this port, I went with Samuel Smith to Bucks county about twenty-two miles: we visited several families of Friends in that county to satisfaction, attended a meeting at Byberry on first-day morning, and returned to the city the same evening. Seventh-day, seventeenth: went in company with several Friends, to pay a visit to the President of the United States, and had a religious opportunity with him and his wife, which was a time of favour, and they expressed their satisfaction therewith, and thanked us for the visit.

First-day, the eighteenth: attended Market street meeting in the morning, and in the afternoon had a meeting in the state-prison with the convicts; three of them were under sentence of death for treason and insurrection, who were also brought into the meeting; the testimony and doctrines of Truth went forth freely amongst them, and a number were reached and some affected under the power thereof: the three poor criminals aforementioned appeared very sober and attentive; the meeting concluded much to our satisfaction.

Second-day, attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders, which was a blessed opportunity, and the same afternoon I took my leave of friends here, and set out for New York, being accompanied by my valued friend John Parrish, who was going on to attend the Yearly meeting there. We went pretty directly on, taking only the monthly meeting at Rahway in our way, and got to New York on sixth-day, the twenty-third: Samuel Smith of Philadelphia having obtained certificates in order to visit Ireland and some other parts on the other side of the Atlantic, we concluded to take our passage from this port, if way opened for it; and in order thereto, some Friends here had been applied to, to endeavour to find a suitable ship for our purpose, which they had done and agreed for conditionally; with which we were well satisfied and confirmed it, after we had been on board; though she was to sail so soon that we were doubtful whether it would afford us an opportunity of attending the yearly meeting.

On seventh-day, the twenty-fourth, the meeting of ministers and elders began, and on second-day, the meeting for business, which continued by adjournments until second-day, the second of sixth month, which on the whole, I think was the most solid yearly meeting I ever attended, which was cause of humble thankfulness to many. We were favoured to attend these precious opportunities, until the last day of the yearly meeting; just as it was sitting down we were ordered on board. We directly went into both apartments, men's and women's, and took our leave of our dear friends publicly, which was a very affecting moment, a number withdrew and came after us, in order to see us embark; it was the ship Warren of New Bedford, of about three hundred tons burthen, Jonathan Parker, master. When we got to the wharf she was under way and had to pursue her several miles by boat, but at length we got safely on board and bid adieu to our dear friends; but the wind soon shifting to the eastward, and the tide also making against us, we came to anchor near Sandy Hook within sight of New York, where we laid that night. In the evening, just as we were preparing to go to bed, two young Friends came from the city, and brought the agreeable news of the yearly meeting's making a peaceful conclusion that afternoon, which we were glad to hear, our minds being much with them; and this gave us another opportunity of letting our friends know how we were, and of sending some of them fresh tokens of regard.

Third-day, third, early in the morning they weighed anchor and put the ship under way; we have a fine breeze, the ship sails well, and we are fast bidding adieu to our American shores, I feel thankful in heart for the continuation of a quiet, peaceful mind. We have the company of our friend Gervas Johnson, and three other cabin passengers; held meetings in the cabin every first-day to satisfaction, and on the whole, had a fine passage of thirty days, when we landed safely in Liverpool, glad and thankful in heart for our preservation and the privilege of setting our feet once more on firm ground. We were met at the dock by our kind friend Robert Benson, who took us to his house, where we were affectionately entertained by him and his dear wife, who is a sweet spirited woman.

And now I can hardly help remarking a little on my feelings in first landing in this country, so much boasted of for freedom, insomuch that if a man of any nation, or colour whatever, land on its shores, he breathes free air; but alas! the number of ships we had met going hence to Africa for slaves, and others of the same description which we now saw laying here, employed in that abominable and inhuman traffic, was so great, that when my foot first trod on English ground, the thick darkness and distress that covered my mind were beyond description. I was afterwards told that the English have about two hundred ships employed in that trade, chiefly from this port; from this trade many draw their great riches and live in pride and luxury, making their boast of living in a free country, while thousands of their fellow-creatures are groaning under the iron hand of oppression through their means, and all this, it seems, is sanctioned by this free government, and even in its own territories abroad. Alas! will God's justice sleep for ever? Surely nay,

but the measure of their iniquity must be filled, and then his judgments will be poured out upon them, and on all the nations that have long wrought abominations before him!

The next day after we landed being fifth-day, the third of seventh month, we attended Friends' week-day meeting in this town, which was a blessed time, wherein the wrestling seed of Jacob was raised into dominion, and my soul was enlarged in his love and power, both in testimony and supplication, and many souls with mine, bowed and worshipped him who is Lord over all blessed for evermore.

Sixth-day, Samuel Smith and myself being both unwell, staid at our lodgings; seventh-day being a little recruited, we visited some of our friends, and on first-day in the morning, I was so unwell that I did not go to the meeting; in the afternoon feeling better, I attended, and although Truth did not arise so much into dominion as when I was first there, yet on the whole it was a time of favour, and I believed of renewed visitation to some.

Second-day, seventh, we set out on our journey towards Scotland, going by the way of Ormskirk and Preston, and so to Lancaster, about fifty-four miles from Liverpool. Third-day, we attended a monthly meeting in the afternoon at this place, and their select quarterly meeting for Lancashire the same evening, both favoured opportunities. Next day we attended the quarterly meeting for business at the same place, which was a day not soon to be forgotten; here were several Friends from London and other parts, and we were sweetly comforted together in the Lord and one in another, and many souls bowed and worshipped him, who is worthy forever and ever. Fifth-day, tenth, we attended their week-day meeting here, which was also a crowned meeting, a number of Friends from a distance being present. Having landed in this country in a very low tried situation, I have great cause of humble thankfulness and gratitude to my gracious Lord and Master, who hath not forsaken or left me in this strange land, but has been pleased to draw near in mercy and magnify his own cause, which he sent me over the mighty deep to espouse, giving me a place also in the minds of sympathising Friends; blessed be his holy name forever.

We had a comfortable meeting at Yelland with Friends and a few others on sixth-day, and got to Kendal the same afternoon, where we staid until first-day and attended two meetings of Friends, which were on the whole opportunities of favour, especially that in the morning; but not feeling quite clear to leave this place yet, we visited a few families of Friends and staid their meeting on third-day, which was to our satisfaction. Our next meetings were Terril, Penrith, where we had also a public meeting, Moreland, Carlisle, Cornwood, a monthly meeting and a public meeting at Alstone, Allondale, Darwin, and so to New Castle upon Tyne: some of these last mentioned meetings were dull and laborious, wherein Truth did not arise into much dominion, but others were open and much to our satisfaction. These northern parts of England are very bare of wood, the country very broken and romantic, and in some places barren, but well cultivated where it is fit for tillage. I was not a little surprised to see so much land in England lying untilled; for notwithstanding the vast population of this little island, it is said that nearly one-fourth part of the lands in the kingdom are uncultivated, yet in times of peace they have plenty and to spare.

On entering New Castle my mind was covered with rather uncommon oppression and discouragement: we had the company of Mary Stacey of London, who was a daughter of that eminent minister of the gospel Rachel Wilson, and her companion Sarah Lynes from Ireland, who had been mostly with us since we left Lancaster. Twenty-seventh, attended the fore and afternoon meetings of Friends here. I laboured a little in the morning, but the cloud soon returned upon me, and so I remained both in public and private, with very little intervening light; so that I kept myself as much retired from company as I well could; Lord, look down in mercy upon me. Meeting with our dear friend John Wigham at this place, on his way home from the yearly meeting, he concluded to pilot us to Edinburgh.

Third-day, twenty-ninth, set off for Edinburgh by the way of Morpeth, Weldon, Whittingham, Wolverhaughhead, Cornhill, Greenlow, Blackshield, and so to Edinburgh, about one hundred and six miles from New Castle. We arrived at this place on sixth-day, the first of eighth month, and on seventh-day, rested and wrote. The country from New Castle is more level than we had travelled through before, better timbered, and to us appeared better as to its quality, except that near Edinburgh, where there are a great many coal-pits, and the country has a more dreary appearance. However, my business is not to remark much on the soil and produce of the countries through which I pass, but more particularly on the religious, civil, and moral character of the people.

First-day, third, we attended two meetings of Friends here, in both of which we were enlarged in the love of the gospel, greatly to our own comfort, and to the comfort and satisfaction of Friends. On third-day, we took post-chaise and went to Glasgow, and attended a meeting there: although there are not many under our name in this place at present, yet the

principles of Friends seem to be gaining ground, and we understand that a number frequently come and sit down with Friends, in their silent meetings; indeed, my heart felt enlarged towards the people as we walked the streets.

We returned to Edinburgh and attended their two meetings on first-day again, which were solid, good meetings, especially the last. Second-day, we went on to the north by way of Kimross, and on third-day had a meeting in a pretty large town called Perth, where are only two members of our Society at present residing, but a number of sober people attended, and it was a heart-tendering time; blessed be the Lord who was with us, and gave us to rejoice in the renewed offers of his salvation. There was one called a clergyman at the meeting, who behaved in a solid manner, and at the conclusion came and took his leave of us, wishing us well, and praying that every blessing might attend us.

Fourth-day, thirteenth, went to Dundee, and had a meeting there in the afternoon, and on fifth-day proceeded by the way of Arbroth, Montross, Bervy, and so to Stone Haven, where we lodged. Just by this last place is Ury, the seat of Robert Barclay, the apologist; the present proprietor, the great-grand-son of the apologist, now resides there, but makes no profession with Friends. Seventh-day, sixteenth, we rode to Aberdeen, and on first-day attended two meetings there, at both of which we had a number of the town's people with us, amongst whom were some soldiers, who behaved well, and seemed to be humbled under Truth's testimony, one of them especially was broken into tears; these were both pretty solid, good meetings. Next day we rode to a place called Balhalgardy, and on fourth-day got to Old Meldrum, and attended the week-day meeting of Friends there, and feeling our minds drawn towards the town's people, we appointed a meeting for them in the evening, to which many of them came, and behaved in an orderly manner, while many gospel truths were freely declared to them, and I hope some were profited thereby.

Fifth-day, twenty-first. We attended a monthly meeting at Kinmuck, which was a highly favoured season; dear Elizabeth Wigham, wife of John, obtained a certificate to visit Ireland: thus the messengers are running to and fro, may true knowledge be increased. My companion, Samuel Smith, having a desire to return to Old Meldrum on first-day, I accompanied him, and we attended two meetings there again, to which, especially the last, came many of the town's people, to whom my companion had considerable communication, but I was silent in both meetings. Second-day, twenty-fifth, in the morning had a meeting at Kinmuck, where I was still shut up; in the afternoon was held the select half year's meeting at the same place, which through the renewed extendings of holy help, was a season of comfort and refreshment to my poor soul; blessed be the Lord. Next day was held the half year's meeting for business, which, on the whole, was a time of refreshment and comfort to many minds. We went in the afternoon to visit a sick Friend, had a precious opportunity in the family, and returned to Kinmuck.

Fourth-day, twenty-seventh, we set our faces towards Edinburgh again, and got as far as Stone Haven to lodge, and next morning went to see Robert Barclay at Ury: he had three sisters with him, one of whom had lately married; her husband and a young clergyman who had been tutor to some of the children, were also present. They received us very kindly, we breakfasted with them, and after walking awhile in the garden, which is beautifully situated on a lively running stream of water, and cultivated in great perfection, we returned to the house, which is said to be the same that the apologist lived in. It is a large stone building, in which still remains the study in which the Apology was written, which is now a library. After we had viewed various parts of that ancient good man's relics, we proposed a religious opportunity with these young people, who had neither father nor mother living, which they acceded to; it was much to the relief of my mind, and I hope will be remembered to profit, by most, if not all of them. Robert and his brother-in-law walked with us near a mile, and seemed loath to part with us, taking their leave in a very affectionate manner. Oh, may the lives and testimonies of those eminent instruments and faithful servants of God, in their day, like "the blood of righteous Abel, though dead, yet continue so to speak" to after generations, and to their own posterity in particular, that they may be stirred up to follow them as they followed Christ.

Being thus clear, we passed on to Montross, where we had a religious opportunity with an ancient woman Friend and her daughter, who are the only persons under our name residing there. Next day we got to Dundee, and lodged at a Friend's house; he was not at home, and his wife not being a member of our Society, was very averse to her husband's joining Friends, yet she would not let us stay at an inn, but came and had us away to their house, saying, that though she was not one with us in outward profession, she loved them that loved the truth, and believed us to be such. She seemed getting more reconciled to her husband's change; we thought her an honest-hearted woman, willing to be instructed, so recommending her to the Lord, we departed.

On seventh-day, the thirtieth, we got to Perth, and next day attended Friends' little meeting in the morning, and in the afternoon had a public meeting in a large building called Guildhall, but there came such an abundance of people, that the hall could not hold them by perhaps, many hundreds, so that they were crowded in the street, and in the court round about the hall. All seemed so unsettled and confused, that my mind was very much tried, but being exercised for their everlasting good, I pretty soon stood up; they became still and solid, and a door was opened to preach the gospel pretty largely to this great concourse, I believe to general satisfaction: the meeting concluded with fervent prayer, and the people withdrew with great solemnity. I believe it was a memorable time to some of them; may the Lord help them—and I hope he will—but it must be in his own time, and not in theirs.

I may now remark, that in passing along through Scotland, it has not felt so dark and distressing to my mind, as in many other places; it has seemed to me that there are many precious souls, who are secretly enquiring the way to the Zion of rest; but oh for those pastors and teachers, who keep them as it were in the outward court, and instruct them to look for this rest in something without them, even in their ceremonies and ordinances. But how can it be otherwise, when they themselves have come no further, but are still framing ordinances out of the scriptures, without the spirit, and without the life. Oh, what running to and fro, to find this rest; what divisions in their churches, so called; yea, divisions and subdivisions, and none seem to be yet settled. How my soul felt for them! and I was not a little confirmed in my mind, that a door would be opened, yea, was already opened, for the true messengers of the gospel to labour profitably in that country, if they do but travail deep enough in the spirit and in the life, which it is the earnest solicitude of my soul may be the case there, and wherever it may please the Lord to send them.

We got to Edinburgh on third-day, and attended their week-day meeting on fifth-day, which was a time of favour; in the afternoon visited some Friends in their families, to satisfaction: sixth-day I was unwell, having taken considerable cold, but got out with my companion to two families, at the last of which I was taken ill, and did not get away until seventh-day evening, when I went back to our lodgings, where I still continued so unwell that I was not able to attend either of the meetings on first-day, though my companion attended both.

Fourth-day. After being favoured with a precious, heart-tendering opportunity, in the family where we lodged, and with a number of other Friends who came to take leave of us, we parted from them in much near affection, and set out for Carlisle by the way of Selkirk and Hawick. At this place we went to see a friendly man, who appeared to be convinced of our principles, and had a religious opportunity with him and his wife, to satisfaction. We had no meeting until we reached Carlisle, where we arrived on seventh-day, and on first-day morning attended a meeting with Friends there, to which came many of the town's people, and in the afternoon we had a pretty large meeting at Scotby, three miles from Carlisle, both of which were solid opportunities. We visited several families of Friends at this place, and next day returned to Carlisle, and from thence took the following meetings: viz., Moorehouse, Wigton, Beckfoot, Allonby, and a monthly and select meeting at Maryport, most of which were times of deep and laborious exercise.

From Maryport we went to Broughton, and lodged at the house of our friend John Hall, who at this time was on a religious visit in America: we were pleased to find his dear wife and children enjoying good health and cheerful resignation in his absence. On first-day we attended their two meetings, and in the evening had a very precious opportunity with this family, and several other Friends who came in. After this we took meetings at the following places: viz., Graysouthen, Pardshaw Hall, a quarterly meeting at Cockermouth, and a public meeting at the same place, and from thence we went to White Haven; these last meetings were mostly to satisfaction. We attended the meetings at White Haven on first-day: I was silent in the morning, and feeling my mind drawn towards the town's people, we had a public meeting in the afternoon, which was very large, and the doctrines of the gospel were pretty largely opened to them, and they seemed to pay great attention; the meeting concluded to satisfaction, and we went on our way rejoicing.

Next day, visited a few families; the day following, went to Cockermouth, and from thence to Kendal, and attended the quarterly meeting, which was a very exercising time to me. After this meeting was over, I felt considerably unwell, and laid by for a day or two, but got so as to attend meetings on first-day again, in both of which I was silent. Next day, being the sixth of tenth month, we went to Lancaster, and the day following to Preston, where we attended their little week-day meeting on fourth-day, which was a very searching time among the few, but some of them were humbled and contrited before the Lord, having their states opened and set before them in the authority of Truth. We lodged with some young people whose parents were deceased;

they appeared hopeful, and we had a precious opportunity with them.

Fifth-day, nineteenth. Went to Bolton, and had a meeting there next day, to our comfort and rejoicing: went to Manchester in the afternoon, and on first-day, twelfth, attended their two meetings, which were large, but a deep, exercising, suffering time it was to me. Both of us had something to say near the conclusion of the last meeting, which was rather particular, but there seemed to us but little room to receive it; and thus it is, if we who make so high a profession in religion above others, unhappily settle down in the form, without the life, we become more benumbed, dead, and hard to reach than any other people. We left them with heavy hearts, and in the evening a considerable number of Friends coming in to see us, particularly of the younger class, we were favoured with a good opportunity together, which afforded some relief to our exercised minds.

We went from thence to Warrington, where that eminent minister of the gospel, Samuel Fothergill, in his time resided; and on third-day, the fourteenth, we attended that meeting, which, at our first sitting down, I hoped would prove a watering season; but alas, the scene soon changed, and I was let down into such a state of suffering and distress, that it seemed as though I was brought to the gates of death, and hell seemed ready to triumph; yet, blessed be the Lord, as I endeavoured to trust in him, and patiently wait for his help, I was raised up again in his power, to declare the everlasting Truth in a close, searching manner. Oh, surely, the time is approaching, when the sinners even in Zion will be made afraid, and fearfulness will surprise the hypocrites; may they be aroused and stirred up, now, while the day of mercy is still offered. But alas, many in some places seem settled down at ease, contented with the name, without the thing itself; and at the same time are so insensible of their situation, that they can almost bid defiance to the testimony of Truth, because they do not apprehend that it can belong to them. Notwithstanding our close, searching labour in this meeting, the word of consolation was imparted to a few tender-spirited souls, particularly of the younger class, who appeared to be under a concern, on account of the low state of things amongst them; may the Lord help them.

Fourth-day, fifteenth, got to Liverpool; on fifth-day attended their week-day meeting, on sixth-day a burial, and on first-day were at their meetings in course; most of which were exercising seasons, yet on the whole they were gotten through with a good degree of relief to our poor tried minds, so that we left them pretty easy and quiet, for which we were thankful. We had a solid opportunity in the evening with the family where we lodged, and the day closed peacefully.

Second-day, the twentieth. Samuel Smith having expressed a prospect of going towards London, and my way seeming pretty clear for Ireland, it became a close trial to us both, having been favoured to travel together most of the time since we landed, in the fellowship of the gospel, but as each of us endeavoured to keep close to our own prospects, we became resigned to our separation, believing it to be for the work's sake, and not in our own wills; therefore, after calling a number of our Friends together, in order to let them know the ground of our separation, I concluded to embark for Ireland by the first opportunity; but the wind being at this time unfavourable, I staid here until fifth-day, and attended their week-day meeting again, when there was another burial, and the opportunity was pretty open and satisfactory.

Sixth-day, twenty-fourth. The wind being still unfavourable for sailing out of this port, a young man Friend from this place agreeing to accompany me to Dublin, we took a boat and sailed up the river Mersey, about ten or twelve miles to a canal, where we got into a canal boat and proceeded to Chester, the county town of Cheshire, and put up at an inn with very civil people. The passengers in the boat were generally very respectful to us, though none of them were professors with us; several who lived in Wales, a considerable distance from this place, came next morning to take leave of us. There are so few under our name in this place, that Friends are not much known: it is a large walled town, and commands a prospect of a most delightful and well cultivated country around it, and is noted for the ancient structure of the buildings, and its large fairs.

First-day, twenty-sixth. Attended the little meeting of Friends in the forenoon, to which came a few not professing with us; and in the afternoon we had a public meeting, which a number of the upper class attended, among whom was an officer in the army. The people behaved with becoming solidity, and we had a blessed meeting, wherein the Lord's living power reigned over all, and his great name was praised to the humble rejoicing of many hearts. After this blessed meeting we retired to our inn, a number of Friends came and supped with us, and having invited the people there, which was my principal object, they were very ready to come and sit down with us, and a precious religious opportunity we had together, which I was induced to believe was a fresh visitation to some of them, particularly the inn-keeper and his wife, who were a couple of goodly young people; they expressed their regret at our leaving them so soon, but we being engaged, took

our seats in the mail coach about one o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Holyhead about six in the evening, the distance being upwards of ninety miles, through a very rough and mountainous country.

The inn being full when we arrived, we were under the necessity of getting private lodgings, which we did not obtain without considerable imposition. Being weary we slept well, and next morning, the twenty-eighth, arose early and got on board the packet, but it was rainy and boisterous; we soon got under sail, and had scarcely cleared the Head, when the wind set in against us, so that we were beating about for two days and nights before we reached Dublin, though it had been run, we were told, in eight hours. This proved not only a rough and tedious, but also disagreeable passage, there being so many passengers on board before us that we got no bed, and the passengers were all sea-sick, except myself, and I think, one more; but all these trying circumstances, together with that of having the company of some dark, wicked spirits on board, were made tolerable to me, through the blessed prevalency of a quiet and easy mind, so that my soul praised the Lord for the preservation through all these difficulties and dangers.

On fifth-day about eight o'clock in the morning, we landed in Dublin, and were conducted to the house of a young Friend, who received us kindly and gave us some refreshment, and at our request took us to the house of his father, Joseph Williams. Being now set down, without a companion, in this great metropolis, where there are by computation upwards of four hundred thousand souls, and not one inhabitant whose face I have ever seen before to my knowledge, the cause I came to espouse, feels precious: O Lord, preserve me. Sixth-day being the time of holding one of their week-day meetings in the city, I attended it, though pretty much cast down in my mind, in consequence of my situation; but it proved a time of favour beyond my expectation. I had not much to say in testimony, yet was favoured with some precious impressions, and this language was sweetly uppermost in my mind, "the kingdom stands not in word, but in power;" and I trust this meeting concluded under a humbling sense of the renewing of this power in many minds. I soon returned to my lodgings, notwithstanding many kind invitations, but I want to feel my way clear, before I go much abroad; therefore, O, my God, be thou pleased to be near me by thy blessed power, and keep me on that foundation, against which all storms and tempests beat in vain, and upon which alone, thy people can truly rejoice in thy salvation. Amen.

I staid in and about Dublin nearly three weeks, constantly attending meetings as they came in course, which was three times a week, but had no opening to appoint any public meeting. I visited a poor school, consisting of about two hundred children, and had a religious opportunity with them to satisfaction, which also appeared to be well received by their teachers. I also visited several Friends in their families, attended the burial of a Friend, and was at one of their monthly meetings; and feeling my mind clear of Dublin for the present, I may say with heartfelt thankfulness and gratitude to my God, I leave Friends here in love, there appearing among them a general openness to receive me and the testimony given me to bear, notwithstanding some unhappy divisions had gotten in among them, to the great grief of the right minded.

Having prepared myself to travel on horseback, I set out from Dublin the nineteenth of the eleventh month, and took my journey into the north of the nation. The first meeting I came to was Rathfriland, about fifty-seven Irish miles from Dublin, where I had a public meeting, many of the town's people came in, and it was to pretty good satisfaction. The next meetings I took, were Lurgan, Hillsborough, Milecross, Belfast, Ballinderry, Lisburn, and back to the quarterly meeting at Lurgan, for the province of Ulster, which was held on the eighth of the twelfth month. I had considerable satisfaction in most of these last mentioned meetings, especially in a large public meeting at Lisburn, to which came many officers and soldiers. I think I never saw so many people of this description at a meeting before: they behaved in a solid and becoming manner, and the people generally seemed satisfied; several of the officers stopped at the conclusion of the meeting to take me by the hand, which they did in a respectful manner, and I believed many of them were sensible of the favours of that evening.

After the quarterly meeting was over, I took meetings at Moyallen, Antrim, Grange, Colerain, Charlemount, Richhill, Coothill, Edenderry, Rathangan, and so to the quarterly meeting at Carlow for the province of Leinster, which was held the twenty-ninth of twelfth month: in most of these meetings, the testimony went forth with clearness and good authority, much to the relief of my mind. O, it is of the Lord's mercy and goodness to his poor ambassadors, yea and the power of his love, both secretly and openly manifested in and through them, that they are thus supported and carried through perils by sea and perils by land, yea, and perils among false brethren: blessed be his name forever, which is a strong tower in the day of trouble for all his faithful, dependent children. O may I find access to it in every dispensation, that so I may be enabled

to hold out through every future storm and tempest, peril and danger, of whatsoever kind he may be pleased to order or permit, even unto the end. Amen.

The next meetings I attended, were Kilconner, and back to Carlow, and had a public meeting there, and then to Ballitore, Athy and Mountmellick. First-day, eleventh of first month, 1801, I attended the fore and afternoon meetings of Friends at Mountmellick for the first time; they were large, there being two private boarding-schools of Friends in this town, also many of the inhabitants are Friends. On my first sitting down among so many good looking Friends, I hoped the tide of gospel life and power would have arisen amongst us, to our comfort and rejoicing; but, alas! when we look outward, how often are our pleasant prospects blasted, and we disappointed in them. This was truly a laborious exercising meeting, with very little relief; and in the afternoon,—O, this afternoon, when shall I forget it? verily it seemed for a considerable time, as if death and hell triumphed, and the pains thereof had got hold of me; pains which I believed were not much unlike the miseries those souls endure which are forever separated from the presence of God; so that I often cried out in my spirit, Lord have mercy on me! what shall I do? I expressed very little in testimony and sat down, and at length being clothed with the spirit of supplication, in as awful a degree as I almost ever experienced it, I was engaged to call publicly on God omnipotent, that he would be pleased to break the chains of death, the bands and fetters of hell, in the hearts of the people, and remember in mercy the poor souls that were laying under the altar, crying in the bitterness of their spirits to Him for help. This was the substance of the language with which I was awfully engaged to address the almighty Father in this congregation; and blessed be his ever adorable name, He was pleased to draw near, and by the arising of his own power, caused the powers of darkness to tremble; under an humbling sense whereof, my soul felt relief as I arose from my knees. For two nights before this, I got very little rest, walking in my room when all were asleep, crying to the Lord for help; but praised be his goodness, this night I had good rest, yet being nearly tried, I see the need I have of crying daily to Him, for the support of his blessed arm under every dispensation, that so indeed, "neither heights nor depths, principalities nor powers, things present nor yet to come, may ever be able to separate me from his love, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." Amen.

I staid here until fourth-day, and attended meeting with them again, Elizabeth Wigham and her companion also attended, and Truth was again exalted over all, to our humble rejoicing, and the great name was praised, who alone is worthy forevermore. In the afternoon I set out in order to be at the quarterly meeting at Clonmel, about fifty-two Irish miles from this place; we attended one small meeting in the way at Ballynakil, and then went to the aforesaid quarterly meeting, held for the province of Munster. This meeting was large, and I thought on the whole, the most solid quarterly meeting I have attended in this nation. The meeting for business was held on second-day, and a large parting meeting on third-day, which was a time long to be remembered by me, and I humbly trust by many more present: my cup ran over and I wept tears of joy, rejoicing in God our Saviour, and the souls of many bowed and worshipped Him who lives forever and ever. I visited several families of Friends after this memorable meeting, and next day set out for Mountmellick again, where we arrived the day following, though it was very cold and snowy, but through all I am preserved in good health. Staid over their two meetings on first-day, and visited the young women's boarding-school to satisfaction, and this week went to Ballymurry, in the county of Connaught, about forty-two Irish miles from Mountmellick, taking a meeting at Moat in my way; had a meeting with Friends and a few others at Ballymurry, and returned to Moat, and attended their two meetings on first-day, and visited a family or two in the evening. On second-day, rode to Tullamore, and had a meeting with a few Friends there; then returned again to Mountmellick, and attended their week-day meeting, which was large, and something was experienced like the precious evidence of victory over that spirit, which so oppressed and bore down my soul when I was first at this place. Here are a few exercised sincere souls, with whom I was nearly united in their low and tried situation. The Lord, who knoweth them that are his, gave us the victory, and we were made to rejoice together in his salvation; blessed be his name forever. O, saith my soul, may these hold fast their confidence in Him, and not give way in the day of battle and sore conflict, which must be their portion.

I visited the provincial school for Friends' children, and had a religious opportunity with them to satisfaction, and then leaving Mountmellick, I took meetings at Mountrath, Knock, Roscrea, Birr, and so to Limerick, most of which were favoured opportunities, except the last, which was a very hard, laborious time, without much relief. It seemed to me as though the world had well nigh gotten the victory at this place: what exercising meetings, what times of suffering among a people so captivated, do those experience who are endeavour-

ing to choose the Lord for their portion, and to have their minds centered on things above; may I always be enabled to prefer Jerusalem to my chiefest joy in this world, and those things which endure forever, to those which must soon pass away, and perish with the using.

From Limerick I went to Cork, about fifty-two miles, and having taken a cold on my lungs, I kept house pretty much for several days, though I attended meetings with Friends, as they came in course, and once visited a little meeting at a place called Bandor, about fourteen miles off, and returned to Cork. And now I have freedom to mention, that my mind has been deeply baptised whilst in this large city, not only in religious exercise and labour, but also in the prospect of the suffering state of the poor. I had seen and felt it generally through the nation, but here it was more obvious. One night, just after I went to bed, the town was alarmed with an apprehension that a mob was collecting; and several parties of soldiers were called out and sent in different directions, in order if possible to prevent it. But all efforts of that kind proved in vain, for next morning it took place, and an awful scene it was to me. Being in my chamber, and hearing a great noise, I looked out at the window, and behold the street was darkened with multitudes of poor meagre looking creatures, with the marks of want and distress imprinted on their countenances, and as a token of their starving condition, they had a small loaf of wheat bread fixed on a staff, and just above it a piece of poor looking barley bread, dressed in black cloth, which hung down a little below it. This was surrounded by a company of poor, miserable looking women and children, who marched towards the Exchange and went to the mayor of the town. The general of the army then stationed in Cork, observing their motions, rushed on before them, and like a wise moderate man, advised the mayor to go out to meet them and speak kindly to them, and promise them some relief, and advise them to go quietly home; which he did, and it had the desired effect. But relief not coming that day; O what will not hunger drive men to! the next morning the same awful scene passed again before my eyes, only with a more formidable and desperate appearance—the general then drew out his troops, and stopped their march, while he ventured to ride in among them, and endeavoured to reason with them, and succeeded in dispersing them without mischief. Measures being then immediately devised for their relief, they were afterwards quiet during my stay there: the number of inhabitants in this city is said to be about one hundred and twenty thousand, and more than a fourth part of them were at this time in a state of want.

From this place I went to Youghall and attended two meetings; thence to Garryroan, where I met Samuel Smith, who had lately arrived in this nation from England. After a very exercising meeting we went to Clonmel, where we attended several meetings together, and also visited a number of families, all to pretty good satisfaction; indeed, some of these opportunities were eminently owned with the divine presence and power, insomuch that the gospel tide seemed to overflow its banks, and cause almost a general watering; blessed be the name of the Lord, who hath richly rewarded me for my second visit to this place: may it also tend to the benefit of the visited, but this I must leave in the hands of Him, who alone can give the increase, and return Him thanks for the evidence of peace in the labour. Amen.

We went next to Anner Mills, and spent a day with Sarah Grubb and her school children, where a considerable number of Friends came in the afternoon to see us, and we were favoured with a precious heart-tendering opportunity together. Next day Samuel Smith and I parted again, he going towards Carlow, and I to Waterford; attended three meetings at this place, and visited some Friends to satisfaction. From Waterford I took meetings at Ross, Forest, Cooladine, Enniscorthy, Ballentore, and so by Carlow, to the quarterly meeting at Mountmellick, where I again met Samuel Smith, and we attended the quarterly meeting together, which, on the whole, was a solid, instructive time: we also attended their week-day meeting and another at Mountrath about eight miles off, which was a blessed watering opportunity to a number; we returned to Mountmellick with joyful hearts.

On second-day, seventh of fourth month, I set out in company with several other Friends to attend the quarterly meeting at Cork, about ninety Irish miles from this place, and Samuel Smith went towards the north. I had an agreeable journey, attended the quarterly meeting, which was a time of instruction, though very exercising for the most part, and returned directly back to Mountmellick, with a peaceful mind: tarried there one night, and next day went to Rathangan, where I again met Samuel Smith, who had been detained there about a week with indisposition: we were glad to see each other again in a strange land. On first-day, I attended both their meetings here, and next day, Samuel being a little recruited, we took the canal-boat and went by water to Dublin. Third-day, attended one of their meetings in the city, and on fourth-day I went to Wicklow, about twenty-three miles, had a meeting with Friends and a few others, and returned to Dublin, in order to attend the yearly meeting,

which began with a meeting of ministers and elders on seventh-day, twenty-fifth of fourth-month, and on second-day the meeting for business opened, which held by adjournments, until third-day, the fourth of fifth-month: and notwithstanding it appears to be a low time with the Society in many places in this nation, insomuch that there is at present a great forsaking in the land, and even a time of treading down and trampling under foot many of the precious testimonies and privileges which our forefathers dearly purchased, and left us in the quiet possession of; yet, blessed be the Hope of Israel, He was pleased to draw near in several of the sittings of this yearly meeting, and to evince by the exaltation of his truth and the power thereof, over all opposition, that he hath not forsaken nor forgotten to be gracious to the remnant of his people; yea, the remnant of this people, whom he gathered out from the lo-heres, and the lo-theres, and brought to sit down under his own immediate teaching. Blessed for ever be his great name, may his Israel now say.

Feeling my mind now released from any further travelling or prospect of religious labour in this nation, I signified the same to Friends near the conclusion of this yearly meeting, and they accordingly gave me a certificate of unity with me in my religious labours amongst them. On fourth-day, the fifth of fifth-month, I took a solemn farewell of Ireland, and with Samuel Smith, his companion, and Mary Sterry from England, and several Friends from this nation going over to the yearly meeting at London, went on board a small vessel called a cutter, and arrived at Holyhead the next day in the evening.

[His visit to Friends in Ireland, was somewhat extraordinary in its character and productive of memorable consequences. A short time previous to his going into that nation, a number of persons, members of the Society, deluded by false pretensions to spirituality, and greater degrees of light on religious subjects than the rest of their brethren, began to promulgate many wild and sceptical notions relative to the doctrines of the Christian religion.

The avidity with which undisciplined and superficial minds grasp that which is clad in the garb of novelty, and the propensity to amuse themselves with speculation, rather than submit to the restraints of the religion of Jesus Christ, render the propagation of error less surprising than it would otherwise be. Against the dangerous errors embraced by many under the name of Friends, in that Island, Richard Jordan bore a solemn and powerful testimony—he laboured with undaunted zeal, to expose their falsity, warned both old and young against adopting them, and under the influence of a prophetic spirit foretold the sorrowful consequences which they would inevitably produce, if persisted in. And he lived to see these predictions verified. The hand of Divine Providence seemed to be turned against the advocates of these notions in a remarkable manner. Some who had lived in ease and affluence experienced a sad reverse in their situation; many not only lost their religious reputation, but even suffered in their moral character, and became an astonishment to their former acquaintances. Others, awakened by timely warning, abandoned their errors, and through the mercy of a gracious Redeemer came to experience repentance and forgiveness: they embraced the Christian religion in faith and sincerity, and were again restored to the bosom of the Church.

When the same pernicious principles invaded the peaceful borders of the Society in America, and began to spread discord and unbelief among its members, Richard Jordan as a faithful and experienced watchman, was one of the first to raise his warning voice, and exert himself under the influence of Divine love, to counteract their baneful effects.—*Memoirs of R. J.*]

Early the following morning we hired a coach and chaise, and set out for London, going by the way of Salop, Colebrookdale and Birmingham, at all which we attended meetings; and arrived in London on the fifteenth. I am now here, in this great city of London, comparing my situation to an empty purse, and as dependent as the sparrows that have neither storehouse nor barn. Lord, thou feedest them; I also endeavour to look unto thee for support; and I pray thee look down upon me, preserve and support me, if it be thy blessed will, that so I may be kept from dishonouring thy holy cause, wounding any of thy children, or making work for sorrow and repentance to my own soul; that thus, through thy grace, O Lord; I may be enabled to honour thee in thought, word and deed, who art worthy forevermore.

I took my lodgings with our friend Josiah Messer, who, with his wife and children were affectionately kind to me. On first-day, seventeenth, attended two meetings at Westminster, in both which I was silent; also in two sittings of the yearly meeting of ministers and elders on second-day at Grace Church Street. On third-day morning, the meeting of ministers and elders sat again, and in the afternoon a large meeting, for considering the state of Ackworth school.

The yearly meeting for discipline began on fourth-day, the twentieth, at Devonshire house, at the opening of which I had a little to communicate, and a precious covering spread over the assembly. This meeting was very large, and continued by adjournments until the second of the sixth month, in the course of which,

several important and interesting subjects were deliberated on, and we were favoured with many fresh evidences, that notwithstanding all the weaknesses and deficiencies prevalent amongst many of the members; as a society we are still owned by that ancient Goodness which first gathered us to be a people, and many were given renewedly to rejoice in his saving help, and to adopt the language, "What shall we render unto thee for all thy benefits!"

The next day after this large and solemn assembly concluded, the meeting of ministers and elders sat again, where it appeared that all the other American Friends, four in number, now in this nation on religious visits, were clearing out in order to return to their respective homes, some of them having been here several years; so that I am likely to be left as it were alone, in this strange land. A prospect which I had before leaving home, of visiting some parts of the continent of Europe, now revived, and I expressed it in this meeting, with which it feelingly concurred, so that I know not yet how long I have to sojourn here, a poor lonely pilgrim. Be pleased, O Lord, to keep near and guide me in the right way.

I continued in and about London until the middle of the seventh month—attended many meetings, some of which were very laborious and exercising, and others eminently favoured and owned by the divine power and presence, to the humble rejoicing of many. And now feeling my mind clear of London for the present, and having procured my passports for leaving this country, it being a time of war with France, and having the company of two young men Friends, going over to Germany on business, I left London the fifteenth of seventh month, and took post-chaise for Yarmouth, about one hundred and twenty miles, where we arrived next day, and put up with a Friend whose name is William Sewell, where we were kindly accommodated until the packet in which we were to embark, sailed for Hamburgh. Priscilla Gurney and her companion, whom I had seen in London, being now engaged in a visit to the families of Friends in this place, and the packet not sailing until third-day the twenty-first, I joined them in the visit on sixth and part of seventh-day, and attended two meetings on first-day, one of which was a public one; all to good satisfaction. On second-day sat with them in a few more families, and very early on third-day morning we were ordered on board, but all the passengers did not get collected until nearly seven o'clock, there being a large number, made up of different nations and tongues, among whom was the Prussian ambassador to the English court; he and his wife were very agreeable persons, accommodating themselves to the passengers with much affability and respect.

Besides these, there were Jews, Italian, German, French, English, and myself being an American, made the sixth nation: we soon got under sail and had a fine passage of about fifty-seven hours to Cuxhaven in Germany, one hundred leagues from Yarmouth; all the passengers were very civil and respectful. At Cuxhaven we got pretty good accommodations at an inn, and next day several of us who were bound to Hamburgh; hired a small vessel and had an agreeable sail up the river Elbe, about seventy miles to Hamburgh; but as they did not permit any to pass through, or come within, the gates of the city of Hamburgh, after nine o'clock at night, we were not in time for admission, and therefore lodged in a little town called Altona, about a mile below, where we were well accommodated at an English inn, and on the following day hired a couple of men to carry our baggage, and went into Hamburgh, where we put up also at an English inn. The Elbe, divides Holstein, belonging to the king of Denmark on the north, and Hanover, belonging to the king of England, on the south.

Finding no opening for religious service in Hamburgh, I went to Altona, and spent a little time with Vander Smithson, a religious man, who appeared to be convinced of our religious principles, and whose son, Gilbert V. Smithson, I had seen in Scotland about a year before. I then returned to Hamburgh, and on fifth-day, the thirtieth, we took our journey towards Pyrmont, travelling all night through a dreary country, thinly inhabited, where no comfortable accommodation could be had for a long distance. Having taken some provisions with us, we travelled on until about twelve o'clock next day, when we arrived at Zell, about sixty-eight English miles, and at ten that night reached Hanover, a very fine inland town, and famous for the king's gardens. The next place we halted at was a little town called Sprent, seated in a fertile valley, covered with luxuriant crops of grain, and the high hills surrounding it clothed with beautiful groves of trees, which afforded a delightful prospect; the deep green verdure of the forests circling large fields of corn, now whitening for harvest, and the labourers just entering into them. O, that I could have seen as much respecting the spiritual condition of the people among whom I have been travelling in these parts of Germany; but, alas! until I came to this place, on which nature has so bountifully bestowed her gifts, I have seen very little that seemed to attract my particular notice, except the barrenness of the soil, and the licentious, extortionate disposition of the people, which has been evinced with very few exceptions, so far as we have had any thing to do

with them. At this place we had to wait for a change of horses, being under the necessity of submitting to the common way of travelling in this country, which is, for the traveller to procure a carriage of some sort, and then hire horses from stage to stage, the length of each being about three German miles. The hire of these horses must be paid before we leave the post-house, at the rate of half a rix dollar per mile for each horse, and then in getting to the next stage, submit to the impositions of a dull, slow, and sometimes insolent postilion, that cannot be urged beyond his common gait for love or money, and yet has a right to demand what they call snap money, which is about six or seven pence per mile, to furnish them with beer and a bit of coarse bread for their horses, which is their common custom. Such is the slow motion of some of them, that at one time, I think the boy with a good looking pair of horses, drove us only about one of these miles in two hours. I can hardly forbear remarking on their extortion at the inns, where they generally charged for each person, two marks for dinner, and two for supper, without any kind of drink; two marks for each single bed, sometimes with extra charge for candlelight; and for breakfast of tea or coffee, one and a half marks, the marks are about one shilling and six pence sterling each, and the rix dollar four shillings.

Seventh-day, first of eighth month. We reached Pyrmont about ten o'clock in the evening, and were kindly received by Frederick Seebohm, with whom we lodged that night.

First-day, second, attended the two meetings of Friends at Pyrmont, to which came a considerable number of persons not of our Society, it being a place much resorted to by people from many parts of the world, on account of the mineral waters, which are esteemed the best in Europe. I had never before spoken through an interpreter in a meeting, but being pretty soon opened in the love of the gospel towards these people, I stood up, and a well concerned Friend of this place interpreted for me. We were favoured with a blessed opportunity through the fresh extendings of holy goodness; indeed such was the spreading and prevailing of divine power and mercy, that my interpreter could not refrain from tears as he rendered what I spoke into German, there being very few present who understood English. Many people also attended in the afternoon, and the gospel was again freely preached to them; a number appeared to be humbled under the precious influences thereof, so that both these meetings concluded in a solemn manner, and I humbly trust that the souls of many bowed with my own, and worshipped and praised the Lord for the renewed manifestation of his love and mercy.

Next day I took my lodgings with my kind interpreter, at a place called Peacedale, about one English mile from Pyrmont: it is beautifully situated on the side of a rich fertile valley, and surrounded with high hills, which are covered with delightful groves of trees. Several other Friends also live here; their houses form a kind of village, and they have a manufactory of cutlery, in which a number of the poor Friends are employed, also a spinning factory for the poor women Friends. The prices of labour in this, as well as several other parts of Europe, are so low, that many of these industrious people are very poor and hard set to get a living, so that I often felt deeply for them.

About four o'clock on second-day afternoon, their monthly meeting was held at this place, for Friends of Pyrmont and Minden, this last being a small meeting within the territories of Prussia. After a considerable time of silence, when the clerk was just proceeding to business, I stood up with these words; "in those days, when there was no open vision, the word of the Lord was precious;" and through the renewing of his ancient goodness, which is ever new to those who are made partakers of it, this was a time which I hope will not soon be forgotten by many of us then present; my cup run over, and I wept tears of gratitude and joy before Him, who had enabled me to leave my all in this world, for his blessed Gospel's sake, and the good of souls, free from any prospect of outward interest and gain: the countenances of many at this blessed season of favour, as well as their hearts, were softened and bedewed with tears, acknowledging it to be the Lord's doing, and I think one or more of them, in words, at or near the conclusion of the meeting. After this, I returned to my lodgings with the incomes of sweet peace, and I now did not regret the many conflicts and difficulties which had attended my coming to see these dear people. O, may my soul be filled with thankfulness for the abundant fulnesss of comfort it now enjoys, for in addition to the inexpressible favour just hinted at, the next day I received letters from home, giving agreeable information of the health, peace and harmony of my dear wife and little family, and also of the prosperity of my outward affairs; blessed be the Lord.

Fourth-day, fifth; a good time at the week-day meeting; next day wrote sundry letters to my friends in America. Sixth-day, the young man who came with me from London left me, and returned homeward; thus I am once more left as it were alone in a strange land, but I will endeavour to lean on the blessed Arm which hath hitherto supported, preserved, and carried me through; Lord enable me so to trust.

First-day, ninth, attended the fore and afternoon meetings at Pyrmont; many not of our

religious Society were there; some of whom were very light and airy. I had considerable communication amongst them in the morning, and my interpreter in the afternoon, and both were, on the whole, pretty solid opportunities. Fourth-day, twelfth, I was at the week-day meeting again, which was also a pretty solid time. Seventh-day, accompanied by Lewis Seebohm, I went to visit the little meeting of Friends at Minden in Prussia, it being about forty-two English miles from Pyrmont. We got there the same evening, and put up with Frederick Smith, an honest Friend of that place, who with his daughters, received us very kindly and affectionately.

First-day. We attended the two meetings of Friends, which were both highly favoured seasons, especially that in the morning; it was much crowded by people not professing with Friends, and a door was opened to preach the gospel among them with clearness and good authority: the people were very solid and attentive, and appeared to be well satisfied, and the meeting concluded in solem prayer and supplication. This was the first time I was ever engaged in this awful service through an interpreter; he kneeled down beside me, and seemed nearly united with me in spirit, as he translated my words, with which the people seemed also to unite. Many of them came forward at the conclusion of the meeting, and took me by the hand, in a very solid, affectionate manner; indeed, I felt a stream of gospel love in my heart towards the people as I walked the streets, the countenances of many seemed to me to bespeak the sadness of their hearts, and a desire to be relieved from the yoke of spiritual bondage; my soul secretly prayed, May the Lord Almighty help them! A dear, seeking woman, having heard of my intention of being at Minden at this time, came fifteen miles in the morning on foot, to be at the meeting, but being detained in crossing a river, did not reach Minden in time for the first meeting: she attended that in the afternoon, which was also a blessed time, through the renewing of holy help. She came and supped with us in the evening, and on being asked, if she was not weary with her walk, replied, "Nay;" seeming rejoiced that she had been at the meeting. Many of these dear people would stand, and look me in the face with tears in their eyes, regretting that they were not able to speak to me, telling my interpreter that the language of their hearts towards me was love, and truly, mine often over-flowed with love to them.

Second-day, seventeenth, I requested a meeting for Friends only, which was held at the house where we lodged, a little out of the town: the aforementioned woman, and another sober person or two, also attended it. At this meeting I was permitted, to dip my foot afresh, as it were, into oil, as rejoicingly so perhaps, as I ever experienced; and O, saith my soul, what shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits, which we cannot merit, and especially such eminent condescendings of his love and goodness as he was pleased to vouchsafe to us this day, under a humbling sense of which, our souls seemed melted down together as wax before the sun, so that there were few, if any dry cheeks in the meeting; may the Lord sanctify this favour to our lasting benefit, and take all the honour to himself, unto whom it is due, now and forever; amen.

Third-day. Early in the morning we left Minden and returned to Pyrmont, and next day attended the week-day meeting there, which was a comfortable time in silence, and I had to believe that many were made to feel that which is preferable to words; may they grow and prosper therein.

First-day, twenty-third. I attended the two meetings here for the last time: in the morning I was pretty largely opened in testimony, and it was a precious time: in the afternoon I was silent, but my interpreter had some communication, which appeared to afford satisfaction, and to command stillness in the meeting, which had been somewhat interrupted by a man in liquor, but ended quietly.

Not feeling quite easy to leave Pyrmont without seeing Friends together by themselves, I proposed such a meeting this evening, and in order to effect it they met at Peacedale, and a few others under convincement also attended. The forepart of this meeting was rather hard and laborious, requiring great deliberation in delivering what I had to say, looking well for the stepping stones, which seemed to lay in such an intricate situation, that it brought discouragement over me, and I began to look for a stopping place; when blessed be the Lord, his power broke in upon us, and was so eminently manifested, that it proved like a plentiful shower upon the thirsty ground, and we were generally broken and melted down before the Lord, and his great name was praised, who alone is worthy, now and forevermore.

After this memorable meeting, I felt, as I apprehended, fully released, and next day, being the twenty-fourth, Lewis Seebohm having agreed to accompany me as interpreter, I took my solemn leave of Friends, and set out for Amsterdam in Holland, about two hundred and forty miles distant. We travelled about six German miles to Bielfeldt, where we got a pretty comfortable lodging.

Twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth. We travelled most of these two days among Roman Catholics, and along the way side there were abundance of crosses and images, particularly

at the parting of roads: at the most noted places was the pretended image of our Saviour, which appeared to be made of a kind of alabaster, and was nailed to the cross in the attitude of expiring; on some of them was also represented the crown of thorns. At other places were images of Mary and the child Jesus, placed on stone pillars, and also likenesses of several of the saints. O, how my soul secretly mourned over the great superstition manifested among them in these and other respects; yet notwithstanding their ignorance, they received and entertained us kindly for our money, and seemed to look respectfully on us, though probably by them accounted heretics. Many of them had goodly countenances, and I did believe were sighing under their burdens; may the Lord look down in mercy on these and hasten the day of their deliverance.

Twenty-seventh. We entered Holland, and making a little halt at the first town we passed through, I felt my mind so strongly drawn in gospel love towards the inhabitants, that I could not help thinking of a meeting among them, and mentioned it to my interpreter, but no way seeming to open then, to bring it about, I heavily passed on, and most of this day felt rather uncomfortable. May the Lord do more for them than such an opportunity could have effected.

Sixth-day, twenty-eighth. We got to Utrecht, a neat, well built town on the Rhine, where we lodged, and on seventh-day we had a very agreeable ride of about twenty-four English miles, into Amsterdam, the road lying along a great canal, on the banks of which for a considerable part of the distance, were beautiful country houses set off with delightful walks, groves of trees, beautiful arbours, and the most extravagant temples of pleasure I had ever seen in any country; these were surrounded with extensive level fields of grass, like a plain, over which were dispersed herds of fine cattle feeding. In viewing these delightful improvements, which were like a pleasant garden, I concluded within myself, that if these people were but gathered in spirit to the alone source of all true and permanent happiness, and to an humble dependence thereon, this place would approach the nearest to a paradise below, of any situation I had ever seen. But alas, a disposition quite different from this seemed to me to prevail in this country, that is to say, soul eat, drink, and enjoy the good of all thy labour, for thou hast goods laid up for many years.

Having heard of a few religious people in Amsterdam who had forsaken the national worship, and for some time had met together, and sat in silence, pretty much in the way of Friends, we sought them out this afternoon, and proposed sitting with them on the morrow, of which they seemed glad.

First-day, thirtieth. We went near half a mile from our inn to meet these people, and sat down with them. I soon felt, as I apprehended, that although their outward appearance was not much like Friends, their beginning was under a right dispensation, and their disposition like that of children who were willing to be instructed. The truths of the gospel ran forth like precious oil amongst them, and a blessed watering time we had, both in the morning and again in the afternoon; may the Lord send them help out of Zion, saith my soul.

Second-day. According to the custom of this place, we gave in our names, places of abode and business, and waited on the Burgher's office with our passports; they refused at first to admit us into the office with our hats on, though my interpreter informed them that we were of the people called Quakers, and it was a religious scruple we had, and not from contempt or disrespect to any, that we refused that honour to men; one of them said, in a scoffing manner, that the spirit had not told him so. We were turned into a long entry, until they had taken counsel of their committee, as they said; and after we had waited without, a considerable time, which we were favoured to do patiently, we were called in, and respectfully received with our hats on. They then executed our business and discharged us in a friendly manner, without any fees, and we went on our way rejoicing that we had been enabled to bear this little testimony on behalf of Truth and Friends. We then went and spent a little time with some of those friendly people aforementioned, and they seemed to rejoice in our faithful testimony before the magistrates, so that we hoped it would tend to their encouragement under similar trials.

Fourth-day, second of ninth month. We attended another meeting with the aforementioned friendly people to satisfaction. There are now no members of our religious Society in Amsterdam, though formerly there was a considerable number: the remains of a fine meeting-house are still there, which with a considerable privilege attached to it, belong to the Society, and are under the care of Friends in England. We went to see the house, and I having been requested by the meeting for Sufferings in London, to attend to some business respecting the estate belonging to Friends as aforesaid, they not having opportunity to do it, during the late troubles in Europe, we undertook to examine into it for them, and settle it as well as we could, which occupied part of two days, it having laid a considerable time neglected; so that our attention appeared to be very seasonable, and gave

Friends in England good satisfaction, and we were glad that it was in our power to assist them herein. This week I also waited on our American consul, in order to procure a passport to travel in France; he treated me with much kindness and civility, gave me a good passport, and would not take any fee for it, though entitled to it in virtue of his office. I also called at the French consul's office the same day, where I likewise met with civility and attention, and got my passport endorsed under the seal of the French Republic. We went to see several religiously disposed people in the city, not those we first met with; staid over first-day, and attended two more meetings with those first mentioned serious people, several others also coming in, these were both favoured opportunities and the evening closed peacefully, blessed be the Lord.

Fourth-day, Lewis Seebohm having after some difficulty obtained passports to travel in France, this morning we left Amsterdam and took our journey towards Antwerp in French Flanders. We went about twenty-four miles this day in a treckschute, along a large canal to a town called Gouda, where we lodged, and next day took the mail for Antwerp. We travelled until about nine o'clock at night, when my interpreter was taken so ill that we were obliged to stop at an inn until morning, when finding himself better we proceeded and reached Antwerp about ten o'clock. After taking some refreshment we went to the town-house, and presented our passports for examination; they received us with much civility, and put off the examination for a few hours on account of the press of business, fixing an hour for us to come again.

We went accordingly about the time appointed, and got our passports endorsed under the seal of the French Republic, and delivered to us very respectfully, so much so, that I told the principal secretary, if I lived to return to my country again, I should take pleasure in speaking well of French civility and kindness; he seemed somewhat affected, and said it was but their duty to do so, and took his leave of us in a very friendly manner. Thus, way has been made for us hitherto, even in the minds of those in authority. Our endorsements recommended us to the Prefect's office in Paris, and we journeyed on through a fine, well cultivated country, and lodged in a neat and well built town called Ghent.

First-day, twelfth, travelled in a very heavy carriage called the Diligence, carrying many passengers, I think at one time we had fifteen, and the roads so broken up in some places that we were obliged to get out and walk. One of these carriages broke down just behind us in the evening, but we were favoured to get to our intended lodging place, a fine town called Lille, where we were put into a room the most extravagantly furnished of any that I ever lodged in, and being very weary I soon got to sleep. On second-day we could get no stage, and were therefore obliged to remain at Lille; but on third-day we proceeded, though the roads in some places were so bad and the carriage heavy, that at one place the horses stopped, and we all got out to walk, but my interpreter having observed that walking fatigued me, persuaded me that I had better get in again, and I at length consented, though I did not feel easy with it, which seems as though the mind sometimes receives a presentiment of approaching distress. I believe I had not been in the carriage five minutes before the horses ran off the causeway, and overset it down a precipice perhaps twelve or fourteen feet. The fall was very great, and the postillion seeing the danger jumped from his seat, before the carriage went down, leaving all to me who was shut up alone, and had no chance of escape. Ah! surely it is of the Lord's mercy that I am left to give this account. The passengers who saw the carriage go down thought I was killed, and ran back as quickly as they could. I opened the door, and begged some one to help me out, when they found not even a bone broken, only my right hand was strained, and my leg and shoulder on the same side much bruised. The French passengers were all very kind in assisting me, especially a lawyer of Paris, who had travelled with us from Gouda, and when I became so ill that I could not go on in the stage, staid with us until we arrived in his native city of Paris, which was on the eighteenth, his name was Alexander Moyanat. He continued his kindness as long as we staid in Paris, coming frequently nearly a mile to see us, and several times invited us to dine with him. Had I not been in so much pain from my hurt, I think I should have enjoyed the fine prospects in this beautiful country; and I may safely say from general observation, that it rather exceeds any country I have ever before travelled in.

At Paris we met with Abraham Barker, a Friend from New Bedford in North America, and no way opening for any religious meeting at this place, when first-day came, we sat down together in our hired room in silence, and a sweet time it was to me. It may not perhaps be amiss to mention how we were treated at the municipality, when we attended to present our passports. We were stopped by the guards, who had strict orders, it seems, not to suffer any man to pass, unless he had what is called a cockade in his hat, but on our desiring our guide to step forward and inform the officers, that we were of the people called Quakers, and that our not observing those signs of the times was not in contempt of authority, or disrespect

to any in office, but from a religous scruple in our own minds, it being the same with us in our own country, they readily accepted our reasons, and one of the officers came and took us by the guards and so up into the chamber, where we were suffered to remain quietly with our hats on until our passports were examined by two officers, and again endorsed under the seal of the Republic, permitting us to go to Calvisson in Languedoc. Thus it often appears to me that we make our way better in the minds of the people, when we keep strictly to our religious profession, in all countries and amongst all sorts of persons.

I not being well able to travel, we staid here for several days, and though no way seemed to open for a religious meeting, we spread several books which we had taken with us for that purpose, and found considerable openness in the minds of the people to receive them; they treated us with much civility and respect. We also went to Versailles about twelve miles from Paris, where we met with some friendly people who seemed glad to see us; we only staid here one day, and returned to Paris. Twenty-third was what the French call their Decade, or the anniversary of their revolution, which seemed to be kept with great joy, and such a concourse of people as were collected on the occasion, I never before saw. The Friend aforementioned and myself took a walk in what are called the Elysian fields, and were not a little surprised to observe the order that prevailed throughout this vast concourse. I think we did not observe one drunken man, or the least sign of wrangling and scarcely one loud sentence spoken among them, neither do I know that we met with so much as a sneer from one of them, or any kind of insult, notwithstanding our appearance must have been singular to them.

I walked out a few other times during our stay in Paris for the benefit of fresh air, but being poorly and sometimes low in mind, and not having the advantage of the language to converse with the people, I staid much in my chamber, reading in my bible, which I had taken along with me, to my great satisfaction.

Sixth-day, second of tenth month. We left Paris and had a pretty agreeable journey through a fine, well cultivated country to Lyons, upwards of three hundred miles, where we staid only one day. Being desirous of getting on to Congenies, where we understood there were a considerable number of professors with us; we concluded to take boat and go down the Rhone, a very rapid river, as being more agreeable than going by land; the southern parts of France being much more hilly than those we had passed over. On fifth-day we got our carriage on board a boat, set out early from Lyons, and had a pretty fine run that day, but it came on so rainy that the Rhone became dangerous for our little boat. Next day in the afternoon we got out our carriage and went on again by land, which proved a merciful deliverance, as we afterwards understood; for the day after we left the Rhone a boat was lost with a considerable number of people on board, who were all drowned.

First-day, eleventh. Through considerable fatigue and difficulty, we arrived at Congenies, where we were kindly received by Lewis Majolier and his wife, with whom we put up. Third-day, had an appointed meeting at this place with those under our name, and although we found them in a very weak state, and not much appearance of the Friend about them, yet it proved through the renewal of holy help, one of the most watering seasons I ever experienced in a meeting. We found it necessary to use great deliberation in our communications, in order to be at all understood, so general a weeping prevailed at hearing the sound of the gospel in plain, simple truths delivered among them.

Next day we went to Nismes about ten miles distant, and visited one or two under our name there, and the day following we went to a place called St. Giles about fifteen miles from Nismes, close on the sea, and said to be noted formerly for containing many protestants, who suffered much, especially in the reign of Lewis XIV. for their religious principles, which occasioned a great dispersion of the inhabitants from that place, and it has never recovered, being now only a small town, but the remains of a large city. There are, however, at this time, a number who make some profession of our principles, with whom we had a meeting, of which they seemed glad, though it was not so open as the aforementioned one at Congenies. We only staid one day, and then returned to Congenies.

On first-day morning, attended meeting again at this place, which was considerably larger than the first, and was also a time of favour. After this meeting, feeling my mind much exercised for the right advancement of Friends here, I proposed a meeting to be held at some suitable time, which was acceded to, and held this afternoon. My mind was opened and enlarged, in laying their weak and disordered state before them, and the consequences of having no rule, or order of discipline, to unite them in supporting and holding up the testimonies of Friends. Many seemed fully sensible of it, and confessed in much brokenness that their deviations had been such, that they had been only usurpers of the name of Friends. This was truly an affecting opportunity, and after much time had been spent, in which many with weeping lamented their situation, it was proposed to hold a meet-

ing next day, to try if they could get into some order, which was agreed to, and in the evening several articles were drawn up, in order to lay before them.

Second-day, a meeting for business was accordingly held, when the aforementioned articles were laid before them. They consisted of sundry heads of testimonies from the book of Extracts of London Yearly Meeting, accommodated as much as might be to their local and weak situation; and it was proposed that all such among them, as were willing and desirous of supporting these rules and testimonies, should subscribe them and become united in the work. This proved also a time of general weeping and brokenness, and I could not forbear weeping with them. I think about thirty of them stood up, and declared their willingness and desire, to support and maintain these rules of discipline as proposed, and subscribed thereto. Others confessed with tears that they felt too weak to engage at present, and desired to know whether a door would be left open for them hereafter, in case they should be better able to come in at a future day. After a considerable time had been thus spent, and they had appointed some of their number as overseers, &c., the meeting concluded, and I believe many minds with ours, were greatly relieved: may the Lord prosper the work in their hands to his own glory—for I did believe in our passing along in this country, that there was a precious seed in many places, that would at some future day be gathered. May the Father of mercies bow down his gracious ear to the groanings thereof, and hasten the day of its deliverance.

Fourth-day, twenty-first. Apprehending myself clear of any further labour among these people, Lewis Seebohm and I parted; he concluded to stay a few days longer about Congenies, and then take his journey homewards through Switzerland, and I proceeded towards Bordeaux, in order to look for a passage to some port in England. This proved to be a very trying journey, it being between two and three hundred miles, and I had only the company of a young man who had lately been an officer in the French army, and did not understand a word of English; but as he was so kind as to offer himself, and it being the best shift I could then make for a pilot, I accepted his kind offer, and very attentive and assisting he was to me, so far as we could understand each other, which was chiefly by the help of a dictionary. This was my tried situation for about eight days, for meeting with some accident by the way, by getting one of the axletrees of our carriage broken, and also having some very stormy weather, we did not reach Bordeaux until the twenty-eighth.

I happened to get lodgings with pretty orderly people near the Quay, where I met with some who could speak English: I enquired for a passage to England, but none seemed immediately to offer, and as it was now growing late in the fall season, when a passage through the Bay of Biscay is reckoned dangerous, I was under the necessity of taking one as soon as it offered, or else to travel through the country six or seven hundred miles, to Calais or Dunkirk, and this without an interpreter, the young man aforementioned having left me and returned home. Such was again my trying situation; alone, far separated from all my dear friends and connections, and in a great straight to know rightly what to do for the best: Lord look down upon me in mercy; preserve and support me under these dispensations, and be pleased to show me the way that I should go, for thou knowest me altogether, and my desire to trust in thy eternal Providence! O, withdraw not thy soul-animating presence, altogether from me, but preserve me in these proving seasons, and keep me, O my God, in every hour of temptation and trial, that so I may not wound and become a reproach to thy holy cause, where my lot is cast, nor make sorrow and repentance for my own soul; but that through thy holy aid, O my God, I may yet be enabled to sing thy praises on the banks of deliverance, for unto Thee only is praise due, now and forevermore!

Sixth-day, thirtieth, I wrote letters to my dear wife and others in America. It was nearly two weeks from this time before I could engage a passage to answer my purpose, but at length one offered by a Danish brig bound for the island of Gurnsey, and I concluded to embrace this opportunity, and cast myself entirely on that all-supporting arm of Omnipotence which sustains the earth, and rules the raging sea.

I may now remark, that although much of the time I have been waiting here has seemed almost like imprisonment, and at times as if forsaken both of friends and the world, yet as I have endeavoured to renew my trust and confidence in the eternal Arm, blessed be his ever adorable name, through the renewing of his infinite love and mercy to my soul, my lonely room, especially during the latter part of my stay here, has been made to me as a pleasant museum, wherein I have been favoured with precious openings into some of the wonderful works both of nature and of grace, to my own humble rejoicing in the eternal Providence, and I was made a renewed believer therein. O, my God, how unsearchable is thy wisdom, how boundless and unfathomable are the riches of thy goodness and mercy; thy ways are hid as in the great deep, and past finding out; who shall refuse to adore thee, who art the ever-

lasting Father and God over all! Shall not all nations bow before thee, who hast made both the seas and the dry land, and hast appointed unto them the bounds of their habitations, for the Lord of Hosts remains to be thy name! I have been made to see and believe the fall of Adam, and how all his offspring have been and are affected by it; and the means appointed for their redemption, and how it is to be effected, I have seen and do most assuredly believe in. O, well might the poor man mentioned in the gospel, cry out, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief." O, who can disbelieve in Christ Jesus, the Saviour of the world! in his manhood, sufferings and death therein! also in his divinity and eternal power; the Redeemer and Saviour, in whom, as testified by the apostle, dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. Tremble, O ye Deists, before *Him*, unto whom all judgment is committed, that all men might honour him, even as the Father is honoured. This is the Stone which was set at naught and rejected by you wise builders, but truly it is elect of God and precious; and by Him all your buildings will be tried, whether you will or not; although you may, in your wisdom, carry your fabric to a prodigious height, like Nimrod, yet in the day of his power when he shall come to inspect your work, it shall fare no better than Nimrod's did. O, tremble, lest confusion and everlasting disappointment be your portion!—But O, my God, be thou pleased to strengthen and enable me from time to time, to hold fast even unto the end, what thou hast now been pleased to renew in my soul, and given me to believe most firmly. Amen.

Sixth-day, thirteenth of eleventh month, I went on board the brig Mercurius, Ole Nelson captain, and all the crew Danes; but such was his delay, that although he was to have sailed a week or ten days before this time, yet it was a full week after I got on board before they weighed anchor, which I very much regretted, it being fine weather.

Sixth-day, twentieth. Weighed anchor and fell down a little below the shipping, which we did not effect without some apparent danger, there being abundance of shipping in port and the current very rapid. Next day we fell down a few leagues further, and got a pilot on board in order to put to sea, when the wind turned against us, and the weather became so rainy, that although we kept the pilot on board a full week, we only made about twenty leagues from Bordeaux, the wind continuing ahead until first-day, the thirteenth of twelfth month; sometimes it blew so hard, that several ships drifted, and others were driven from their anchors; one sloop sunk, which we saw drifting near us with her topmast only above water, but we could not learn whether the men were saved or lost: this sight was very awful to me.

The wind coming fair for us, we weighed anchor and put to sea, and had a fine run for about twenty-four hours. There were two other passengers on board, one a Scotchman, the other an Irishman, both lately from the English navy, and we all began to hope now for a speedy passage: but, alas! for causes unknown to us, how are all our pleasant prospects sometimes blasted; for in the afternoon of the fourteenth, the wind shifted and came right against us, and presently blew so strong that we were obliged to heave to, with only our foresail spread, and let her drive wheresoever the wind and waves would carry us. This seemed to be only the beginning of our sorrows, for from this time we had contrary winds almost constantly, and at times such violent storms and high seas, that we were mightily tossed, and so beaten by the heavy seas, that we were in danger of being shattered to pieces by the violence of the waves; at other times swallowed up in the belly of the mighty deep, as though we were going down, never to rise again; first driven near upon the French coast, which was very rocky and dangerous, and then upon the English. We several times saw the English land, but so mightily had we been driven about, that our mariners hardly knew where we were, and our brig became so leaky, that it was with much difficulty and hard labour, that our poor seamen could free her of water by the pumps.

At length, our captain was determined, if possible, to get into the first port we could make, and therefore on the twenty-eighth, we stood in for the land, early in the morning, and about eleven o'clock we came so near in with the land, that they thought they knew it to be Portland. We were beginning to rejoice again in the prospect of soon getting into safe harbour, when perhaps about two o'clock in the afternoon, they concluded they were deceived, and could not find any port before dark, and we might be in danger of driving upon the land in the night, therefore with fallen countenances were standing out to sea again, when providentially a pilot espied us, and gave us a sign, which we returned, and gladly received him on board, and that evening he brought us into Dartmouth bay, where we were obliged to anchor for want of wind and tide: however, they rose between three and four o'clock in the morning, and weighed anchor again, and after considerable exertion we got safe into the port of Dartmouth, about twelve at noon, when I was favoured once more to set my foot on firm ground, which I had not done before in more than forty days.

I was directly conducted to the house of

Walter Prideaux, a very kind Friend, and I think the only one under our name living in Dartmouth. I met with a very kind reception at his house, although I was an entire stranger, and had no credentials about me, having left my baggage on ship board. I was truly glad and thankful in heart, for the merciful deliverance vouchsafed to me from being entombed in the mighty deep, though, blessed be God, in whom I was enabled to put my trust, when the countenances of the mariners wore a dismal aspect, and all hope of being saved was nearly gone, I never quite lost my confidence; no, not for a moment, even in the greatest extremity of danger. At one time in particular, when I verily thought we were going down to the bottom, never more to rise, being so deeply covered with the rolling surge that the mighty roaring thereof ceased to sound in our ears, and there was a profound silence in the ship; even then did my mind feel so calm and quiet, that I could not doubt of being clasped in the arms of everlasting love; and I yielded to his blessed will, saying in secret, Lord, if it be thy blessed will that this shall be my grave, I yield, if I may but go down clasped in the arms of thine everlasting love, or if thou art pleased to bring me safe to land again, I will surely sing thy praise, I will tell of thy goodness in the congregation of thy people, I will speak of thy wondrous works.

[During the period of his tarriance on the continent of Europe, the existence of a state of warfare, presented many obstacles to travelling with safety, and exposed foreigners to much suspicion and many difficulties. But his steady adherence to the religious principles which he professed, his circumspect deportment, and his uniform reliance upon the direction of heavenly wisdom, made his way comparatively easy and procured him the respect and esteem of all classes of people. The voyage across the Bay of Biscay is often performed in less than a week, but owing to a violent storm which they encountered, and a succession of boisterous weather, they were forty-five days on the passage. The crew of the vessel in which he embarked were principally Danes, and during the first few days of the voyage, seemed to vie with each other in wickedness and profanity, neglecting the proper care of the ship, and spending their time in drunkenness or gambling. They treated Richard Jordan with great contumely and contempt, scoffed at his religious life and serious demeanour, and even abused his person. His situation was indeed a pitiable one: he was wholly at their mercy, and from their negligence and unconcern about the vessel, it seemed probable they would have a tedious passage. They had not been long at sea, when the sky was overcast with clouds, the atmosphere became dark and hazy, and a tempest arose, during which the fury of contending elements seemed let loose upon them. The waves were wrought up to an appalling height, and the vessel heaved and tossed to such a degree, as to induce them to fear she would be buried in the opening sea.

Their situation soon became apparently hopeless, and the officers gave their wicked crew the dreaded warning to "*prepare for a watery grave.*" Oh then, what a change was seen in their conduct. Terrified at the prospect of the awful fate which awaited them, smitten with remorse for their past wickedness and contempt of God, they gave way to despair, and became almost incapable of managing the ship. The helm was ordered to be lashed, and giving up all hope of safety, they let her drive at the mercy of the winds and waves. Amidst this general consternation, when all around him bespoke distress and terror, Richard Jordan sat peacefully in the cabin, waiting in humble confidence upon the Lord. His mind was calm and collected, securely anchored on that Rock of Ages which no storms can move, no tempests overturn.

As shipwreck seemed, in all human probability, to be inevitable, he took from a trunk his certificates and a few other valuable documents, and fastened them around him, that in the event of his body being afterwards found, it might be known and the papers forwarded to his friends. But although he made these arrangements, he did not, during the whole scene, entirely lose his confidence. The captain, awakened from his sensuality and wickedness, and tremblingly alive to the doom which seemed to be impending, betook himself to the cabin, and seconded by his anxious crew, besought Richard Jordon to implore for them the mercy and protection of that Being, whose power they had so lately contemned, nay, whose very existence they had impiously denied. He informed them in a few words, that the spirit of availing prayer was not at his command: but after waiting for a considerable time in solemn silence, he was permitted to approach the throne of grace in reverent vocal supplication.

This religious service seemed to be in some degree blessed to them; they were humbled into contrition, and became more composed; their conduct towards him was now reversed; every one seemed desirous to do him some kindness, and so sensible were they that the Divine presence was near to preserve and support him, that all were anxious to get as close to him as possible. Their exertions in managing the vessel were renewed, but owing to the continuance of boisterous and foggy weather, they had lost their reckoning, and provisions running short, they were put on allowance; and although the violence of the storm soon after

abated, yet the probability of reaching land before their stores were exhausted became very doubtful. The vessel was so much injured that she began to take in water very fast, and the pumps had to be constantly worked to keep her free. Discouraging as the prospect before them appeared, such was the confidence and faith with which Richard Jordan's mind was replenished, that he told the captain it was his belief they should yet be brought safely into port, without the loss of a life. In a few days after this, when almost the last portions of bread and water were served out, they descried land, and soon after entered the harbour of Dartmouth. His gratitude for this happy deliverance from imminent danger, and his release from long confinement in a vessel, which a variety of circumstances rendered extremely unpleasant, may readily be conceived. He appointed a public meeting for Divine worship in the town, to which the captain and some of the crew came, and it proved a memorable and humbling opportunity to many present.—*Memoir of R. J.*]

Hearing there was to be a quarterly meeting held next day at Kingsbridge, about twelve miles from this place, I felt very desirous of being at it, and therefore took horse, though perhaps after sunset, being accompanied by George Prideaux, a kind young man, and nephew to the above mentioned Friend. We got to Kingsbridge about eight o'clock, though it was very dark and rainy, and the country very mountainous, and being clear of wood, I thought in the evening the hills somewhat resembled the mighty waves in the Bay of Biscay. The young man took me to his father's house, where I was also very kindly received and agreeably accommodated. Next day I attended the quarterly meeting, which though small, was a blessed time, and I trust will not soon be forgotten by many of us then present, but long had in remembrance as a fresh memorial of the Lord's love and mercy to our souls.

Fifth-day, thirty-first, was their week-day meeting at this place, which I attended, it was also a precious opportunity, blessed be the Lord, who causeth all things to work together for good to them that love and fear him.

Sixth-day, first of first month, 1802. Finding myself much reduced and exhausted in my nature, I have concluded to accept the kind invitation of these dear Friends, where I lodge, to stay with them awhile, and endeavour to recruit, before I proceed further on my journey, though I have attended meetings here constantly as they come in course, both on first and week-days.

Fourth-day, thirteenth, I went to a monthly meeting at Modbury, where I sat the meeting through in peaceful silence, and returned again to Kingsbridge in the evening. First-day, twenty-fourth, this morning at meeting I was awfully engaged, and my heart enlarged in solemn prayer and supplication for all my home Friends and their meetings in general, that the blessing of preservation might be vouchsafed; as also for all those engaged in like manner with myself to leave their all for the gospel's sake, and that the great and glorious work thereof might be carried on to the praise of the great name.

Second-day, twenty-fifth, went to Dartmouth, and next evening had a large public meeting there, made up of a mixed multitude, who behaved well while many gospel truths were delivered to them, with which they appeared to be well satisfied, and the meeting concluded in a solemn manner, after it had held about three hours; a number of the people, as I understood afterwards, were desirous of another meeting. I also went to see the ship in which I had witnessed so marvellous a deliverance, and found her in dock, and many workmen were employed in repairing her, for so much was she wrecked that I was informed, she narrowly escaped being condemned as not sea-worthy, the captain and crew seemed much rejoiced to see me again.

Fifth-day, fourth of second month, went to Modbury again, and staid until second-day morning, in which time I attended three meetings, all times of favour, returned to Kingsbridge, and attended a monthly meeting on fourth-day, for the Friends of Plymouth, Modbury, Kingsbridge and Dartmouth, which was also a time of favour. Fifth-day, eleventh, in the evening had a large public meeting with the town's people, which was attended with great solemnity, many gospel truths were delivered to them, which seemed to be received with joy and gladness, and I did believe there were many seeking minds amongst them. I now began to look towards leaving Kingsbridge, a place which I trust will not soon be forgotten by me, but long be remembered with gratitude for the many favours which I was made partaker of while there. I had proposed setting off on the morrow, but being a little unwell and not feeling quite clear in my mind, I staid until first-day, and had another precious opportunity with Friends in the morning, and feeling my mind again drawn towards the townspeople, I requested Friends to inform them that the doors would be opened in the afternoon, for all that were disposed to come, which was done, and they came together in such abundance, that the house could not contain them, and blessed be the Lord, this was through the manifestation of his goodness and power a crowned opportunity, which I humbly trust will not soon be forgotten. Many of these

dear people, who could not get seats, I believe stood quietly near three hours, such was the solemnity that prevailed in this large meeting: may the Lord have all the praise, to whom alone it is due, now and forevermore. Amen.

Second-day, fifteenth, after an affectionate and solemn farewell with the dear children of this agreeable family, where I have been abundantly cared for in the time of need, and having the company of their dear father and mother, George and Anna Prideaux, I left Kingsbridge, and rode to Plymouth, where I put up with James Fox, and on fourth-day attended a meeting of Friends at this place, in which I was silent. First-day, twenty-first, I attended two meetings at the same place, in which I was again raised up in the authority of Truth, to preach the gospel to a pretty large audience, and felt considerably relieved. Fourth-day, attended the week-day meeting, which was a solemn time, wherein the testimony went forth in a close searching manner.

First-day, first of third month, in the morning enlarged in testimony; in the afternoon silent: staid their week-day meeting again, and was considerably enlarged in testimony, but still I do not feel clear to leave Plymouth; Lord preserve me in the right way and give me to understand thy dispensations towards me, and be pleased to grant me renewals of strength and patience, from time to time, to abide them all.

First-day, eighth. Again attended the fore and afternoon meetings, but was shut up throughout both, in deep inward exercise. Their monthly meeting was held here this week, which I also attended, and blessed be the Lord, the alone Helper of his people, he was pleased to give the remnant of the deeply suffering souls, to drink of living water, to their humble rejoicing in his salvation. Seventh-day, feeling clear of this place, and having the company of George Prideaux, I set out for Cornwall, and took the following meetings; viz. Germains, Looe, Liskeard, Aristoll, and Mavegessey; in the two last I was opened in a good degree of clearness and gospel authority, I humbly trust to the edification of many as well as the peace of my own mind. And O, may I be enabled to keep that testimony, "he openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth." Ah! when he shutteth, who dare attempt to open; and O, may I be preserved from being numbered among those that "compass themselves about with sparks of their own kindling," whose portion is to "lie down in sorrow."

Sixth-day, reached Falmouth, and on first-day attended both the meetings of Friends at this place; in the afternoon had a favoured time in testimony, this being only the third meeting out of seven since we left Plymouth, in which I have been able to open my mouth in public. Fourth-day, I sat the week-day meeting through in deep silent exercise; after meeting went to see a woman Friend who was very ill, and perhaps near her end in this world. I had a comfortable opportunity by her bedside, which was also a precious season to some others present: after this, visited another family or two, and returned to my lodgings.

Fifth-day, went to Perran-wharf, and attended a small meeting of Friends there, which was a blessed time; in the evening returned to Falmouth—and feeling considerably unwell, I continued mostly at my lodgings until first-day, when I attended the meeting here again in the morning, and went to Perran-wharf in the afternoon, and attended theirs, both to pretty good satisfaction. Spent a little time with Friends here, returned to Falmouth, and was at their monthly meeting on fourth-day, thirty-first, and set out the same afternoon for the Land's End, taking the following meetings, viz: Hilstone, a public meeting at the same place, Marazion, and so to Redruth, and attended both their meetings on first-day.

Next day returned to Falmouth, and fourth-day, the seventh of fourth month, attended the quarterly meeting there, which was a deeply exercising time, both in silence and in public labour; but in the conclusion I felt considerable relief, though I did not yet seem quite clear in leaving the place, and therefore I endeavoured patiently to wait the Lord's time, being very desirous of seeing my way out of places, as well as into them. After this meeting I visited several Friends, and attended their two meetings again on first-day, which were times of deep inward exercise, though I was opened a little in the afternoon. O Lord, when shall I be released from this almost constant weight and burden, by which my poor soul is so much borne down and afflicted in this place. Not feeling yet liberated, I was afraid to move under the cloud, and therefore endeavoured to wait in the patience a little longer, if happily I might be favoured to find a peaceful retreat. So I staid another meeting with them on fourth-day, fourteenth, where I was enlarged in a particularly close searching testimony to some states, which perhaps are not often reached by instruments, the meeting concluded in solemn prayer and supplication; many minds seemed to be humbled—and blessed be the Lord, at the conclusion of this meeting I felt quite relieved and unburdened in my spirit; praised be his glorious name forever.

We took our solemn leave of Friends here, and went to Perran-wharf to dinner, and there being a large iron-foundry, &c. here, we had a meeting with the people in the evening, which

was a highly favoured opportunity. Next day went on our way back to Plymouth and reached it the day following, viz: sixth-day, the sixteenth.

First-day, attended the fore and afternoon meetings, which were times of deep wading and close exercise without much relief: here also I seemed to be kept in a state of imprisonment, (as I had been at Falmouth) until the twenty-ninth, in which time I had one public meeting, and attended sundry meetings with Friends, and much of the time I was so covered and borne down under inward exercise and suffering, that I ate but little pleasant bread; but blessed be the Lord, as I endeavoured patiently to wait his time, he was pleased to grant a clear and satisfactory release, so that at the conclusion of a meeting the day before I set out, the joyful intimation was given, "thou hast encompassed this mountain long enough." I received it with heartfelt gratitude and joy, and left the place quite relieved. Next day got to Exeter and staid over their two meetings on first-day, which were on the whole solid instructive opportunities.

Third-day, fourth of fifth month, I got to Chard, and had a precious meeting with a few Friends there the same evening; next day reached Compton, and the day following attended a week-day meeting there, which was made up chiefly of Thomas Thompson's scholars; this was also a solid opportunity. I got to Marnhull the same evening, where I met with dear Deborah Darby, and we were truly gladdened in seeing each other, as also her old companion Rebecca Byrd, who now resides here with her husband. First-day, we attended two meetings, in both of which I was silent. Third-day, eleventh, attended a monthly meeting at Sherburne in which I was also silent, but dear Deborah Darby was set at liberty in an affecting manner, much to the relief of my mind. Fourth-day, twelfth, attended the week-day meeting at Marnhull, where I was opened in a short testimony to the relief of my own mind; and on fifth-day, accompanied by William Rawes, junior, and his wife, I set out for London, distant about one hundred and twenty-miles. I had a very agreeable journey with these two valuable Friends, who were very kind caretakers, arriving in London next afternoon, where I was again kindly received by my old friends Josiah Messer and wife, of Holborn.

First-day, sixteenth. Attended two meetings at Westminster; second-day, two sittings of the yearly meeting of ministers and elders, and another sitting of the same on third-day morning, at Grace Church street, most of which were solid, good opportunities, and Friends seemed glad to see me returned from so trying and perilous a journey as that on the continent of Europe.

Fourth-day, nineteenth. The yearly meeting for business opened, which was a solid opportunity, as were the sittings next day. Sixth-day, all the meeting-houses of Friends in the city were opened for worship; I attended that at Grace Church street, which was a good time. The yearly meeting proceeded with its business until first-day, when the meeting houses were again opened for worship, both in the fore and afternoon. Second and third days, the yearly meeting continued its sittings, and on fourth-day meetings for worship were held. I attended at Southwark meeting-house, which was an exercising time to me, but I was favoured to relieve my mind, so that I left it peacefully; in the afternoon the yearly meeting resumed its business. Fifth-day, soon after the meeting gathered, I proposed a visit to our women Friends in their apartment, which was readily acceded to; it proved a precious opportunity, and the day closed peacefully; blessed be the Lord.

Sixth-day morning, the twenty-eighth. The yearly meeting for business concluded in a solid manner, and in the afternoon the meeting of ministers and elders met, which was a time of renewed favour, such as I trust will long be had in grateful remembrance; in this concluding opportunity I was permitted to be as it were numbered among the princes; blessed be the Lord, who causeth all things to work together for good to them that love and fear him—sanctifying their toils and exercises, at times, to their own peace and rejoicing.

First-day, the thirtieth. I attended Devonshire-house meeting, wherein I was enlarged in testimony on the fall of man, also on the subject of his redemption and restoration to the favour of God through Jesus Christ: this was a solemn time, the meeting was large, and many not professing with us were present, but one stood up in the meeting (who was in profession with us,) and expressed something like lessening the validity and weight of this doctrine. I had felt that spirit at work in many places, and in some it had openly made its appearance. I was also engaged in prayer and supplication in this meeting, and near the conclusion was concerned to stand forth and testify, that I had travelled in most parts of North America, and also in most places in Europe where Friends were scattered, and that we were uniformly as a religious body, of the same principles, and held forth the same doctrines, as I had done in that meeting, or words to this import. The meeting seemed clothed with a profound solemnity, and so concluded, and I went my way rejoicing, believing that many were made to

rejoice with me, in the Hope of Israel; blessed be the Lord who gave the victory this day. In the afternoon I attended the meeting at Grace Church street, where I met with my friend Joseph Cloud, from North America.

Second-day, thirty-first. The dear family with whom I sojourn removed out of the city to Hampstead, and took me with them, which I find a pleasant retreat from the noise of London. Returned to the city on fifth-day, and attended the week-day meeting at Westminster. Sixth and seventh-day, staid mostly about Hampstead, and wrote letters to America.

First-day, sixth. I attended the two meetings of Friends at Tottenham, which were solid opportunities through the fresh extendings of holy help. Fourth-day attended the monthly meeting of Grace Church street, and next day the meeting at Westminster. First-day, was at the meetings of Westminster again, in which I was silent, as I had been in the week-day meeting preceding. Second-day, fourteenth, attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders, where I communicated to Friends my apprehension of having pretty nearly fulfilled my prospects in coming to Europe, and my expectation of soon being at liberty to return to my own country; this was a blessed opportunity, and several Friends were appointed to prepare a certificate for me.

Third-day, fifteenth, was at a monthly meeting at Southwark, and next day attended the meeting at Grace Church street, in which I was raised up and enlarged in Gospel authority, and matter flowed freely like precious oil, to the humbling and contriting of many souls before the Lord; it was a blessed watering time, and concluded in solemn supplication by our dear friend Sarah Lynes. Fifth-day, I was at Westminster monthly meeting, which was a time of favour. First-day attended both the meetings at Westminster again, in which I had considerable communication, but did not feel so comfortable after these meetings as I had done in some of the aforementioned ones, but perhaps it is better for me. Lord, preserve me both in heights and in depths, so that nothing may be able to separate me from thy love, nor shake my confidence in thee.

Fourth-day, twenty-third. Attended an adjournment of the monthly meeting at Grace Church street; fifth-day went to Radcliff, and on sixth-day was at a school meeting at Islington, in all of which I was silent except the last, which was a pretty open time, and I believe was to general satisfaction.

First-day, twenty-seventh. Went to the meetings at Peel, which were both solid, good opportunities. Second-day, I attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, and on third and fourth days, a large quarterly meeting for business, in the first sitting of which, while men and women were together, I was enlarged in testimony, with clearness and good authority, to my own humble admiration; the opportunity concluded with solemn prayer and thanksgiving to the blessed Father of mercies, who had been pleased to cover us this day as with the canopy of his love, under a renewed sense whereof many souls with my own, were given to rejoice in his salvation, and I humbly trust that this day will long be gratefully remembered by many of us.

Fifth-day, first of seventh month. I attended Westminster meeting, where was a marriage, which drew a number of people not professing with us, among whom were several French noblemen, one of them a member of the National Assembly at Paris; this I think was one of the most solid opportunities that I ever experienced on such an occasion: this great man from France was introduced to me after meeting, and seemed sensibly affected with the favours of the day, the service of which fell chiefly on Mary Dudley and myself.

First-day, fourth. I attended a large meeting at Devonshire house in the forenoon, where was a burial; I had considerable communication, which I hope was of some use, but the solemnity of the meeting was much interrupted by an unseasonable and unsanctified appearance, yet it ended better than I expected: in the afternoon I attended Grace Church street meeting, which was silent. Third-day, sixth, attended a monthly meeting at Devonshire house, which, through the renewed extending of holy help, was a memorable time. Fifth-day, was at a week-day meeting at Radcliff, which was also a time of favour.

First-day, in the morning, attended Westminster meeting; in the evening a large public meeting appointed by Mary Dudley at Devonshire house, and on second-day was at the morning meeting of ministers and elders, where I obtained a certificate addressed to my friends at home, purporting unity with me in my travels in Europe. I spent the remaining part of this week among Friends in social visits, except attending a monthly meeting at Westminster; and on first-day morning I attended the meeting at Grace Church street, where I had a solemn farewell opportunity. In the afternoon I attended Westminster meeting, where I suppose the expectations of many were raised, seeing this was to be my last opportunity with them, and it being the meeting within the limits of which I had resided during my stay in London, but they were disappointed, for I was silent, except near the conclusion I told them, that in looking over the many exercises and baptizing seasons which I had passed through among them, I felt quite clear and relieved; and with

very little addition took my solemn leave of them, and bid them a long farewell; this seemed to occasion considerable solemnity, and opened a door for dear Mary Dudley, who had a favoured opportunity.

I returned to Hampstead that evening, and next day attended a school meeting at Islington, to satisfaction. Third and fourth days rather unwell, and staid mostly at my lodgings. On fifth-day, having the company of two young Friends of London, I took leave of my Friends at Hampstead, and got to Colebrookdale on seventh-day; staid over first-day, and attended their two meetings, which were highly favoured opportunities, wherein truth was eminently exalted over all, and many souls with mine, were comforted and refreshed and praised the Lord. We were also favoured with a precious opportunity in the evening, at the house of Richard Reynolds, with his family, and a number of young Friends who came in, and the evening closed peacefully.

On third-day reached Warrington in time to attend their meeting the same morning, which was a blessed watering opportunity, especially with some of the younger class; we also had a good opportunity with some young people who came to see us at the house where we dined, and the same evening we got peacefully into Liverpool, where we were again kindly received at the house of our dear friend Robert Benson. Fifth-day I attended their week-day meeting, and after a time of close exercise, Truth broke forth to our comfort and rejoicing; blessed be the Lord. Here I also received agreeable accounts from my dear wife, which was cause of thankfulness and gratitude.

First-day, first of eighth month. I attended two meetings here, which were baptising seasons, and the day closed peacefully. I have been very much tried in my mind for two or three days past, having been on board of several fine ships in order to see for a passage to America, but all has seemed to close up respecting it at present, so that I could not see my way to engage a passage in any of them. Lord, look down upon me in mercy, and preserve me in patience, until thou art pleased to open the way for me according to thy own blessed counsel. Fourth-day, Josiah Messer, his wife and two daughters, from London, called here and spent two or three days very agreeably with me, they being on a journey to the north, to visit their relations. Fifth-day, attended the week-day meeting, where I could see no way for me, but to abide in my tent, in inward exercise. I staid in and about Liverpool until first-day, and attended their two meetings again, when, blessed be the Lord, I was enabled, in a good degree to cast off my burden, with which I have been so much borne down, and pressed in spirit for several days, in this place, and my mind now felt more calm and quiet.

Third-day, tenth. The half year's meeting in Wales, which is to be held this month, having engaged my attention for several days, after some very close thinking on the subject, I have believed it safer for me to resign myself to the prospect of attending it; and accordingly I set out this afternoon; crossed the river Mersey from Liverpool, and took our journey by the way of Chester, where we arrived the same evening. Their meeting being next day we attended it, and it was a time of favour, tending to the encouragement of the little few who reside here, as well as to the comfort of our own minds.

We lodged another night in Chester, and on fifth-day got to Shrewsbury, being upwards of forty miles. Sixth-day, had an appointed meeting with Friends of this place, which was a blessed watering time, and that evening had a very agreeable ride to Colebrookdale. First-day, fifteenth, we attended a meeting at a place called the New Dale in the morning, four miles distant; returned to their meeting here in the afternoon, which was large, owing to the coming in of many not professing with us. I expected during a great part of this meeting that I should have sat it through in silence, as I had done that in the morning, but at length, when I began to be apprehensive that it was nearly time for the meeting to conclude, I stood up with a few words, and, as I expressed them, life seemed to increase, until, blessed be the Lord, it was exalted to our humble admiration, and many of us were renewedly enabled to bow, and worship, and praise Him, who lives for ever and ever, and we went on our way rejoicing; thus the day again closed peacefully. Third-day, attended a week-day meeting at the old Dale, and in the evening a meeting of ministers and elders at the same place, and next day a monthly meeting at the New Dale, all of which were, I humbly trust, profitable and instructive opportunities to me and many more.

Fifth-day, nineteenth, we left Colebrookdale and reached Leominster, where we put up with William Young, a very ancient and valuable Friend, who received us very kindly; we staid in and about this town until first-day, and attended their meetings to good satisfaction. Second-day, we rode to the Hay in South Wales, where the half yearly meeting is to be held; here we met with dear Deborah Darby again, who had not been home since the yearly meeting in London.

Third-day, the twenty-fourth; at eight o'clock in the morning, the select meeting was held; at eleven, a public meeting, and at four in the afternoon, the meeting for discipline

opened, which continued by adjournments until next afternoon, and in the evening a large public meeting was held. Sundry Friends from London, and many from other parts of England attended this half year's meeting, and on the whole, the several opportunities in the course thereof, were times of favour, and we left the place with thankful hearts.

Fifth-day, twenty-sixth, Deborah Darby having appointed a public meeting to be held this morning about fourteen miles from this place, on our way to Leominster, and another in the evening at Leominster, I attended them both, and they proved to be seasons of favour; the day closed peacefully. Sixth-day, Deborah Darby and we parted, she went towards Worcester, and we back towards Shrewsbury. We lodged at an inn at Church Stratton, and next morning got to Shrewsbury, having the company of several Friends; we staid over first-day and attended their meeting in the forenoon, and in the afternoon had a pretty large public meeting, both of which were solid, good opportunities, and tended much to the relief of my mind. Second-day morning we took an affectionate leave of these Friends, and set out for Chester, where we arrived in the evening; next day had a public meeting there, which was a solid good time; and in the evening had a precious opportunity at our lodgings with some newly convinced persons. Next day being the first of ninth month, we got well to Liverpool, where I met with my dear friend William Jackson from America, who had just before arrived, with Mary Jefferis, after a passage of thirty-eight days from New York; our meeting was truly rejoicing.

Fifth-day, the second, we all attended the week-day meeting here, which was to us a day of high favour; blessed be the Lord our God who comforteth those that are cast down, he was pleased to comfort our souls in this meeting. Sixth and seventh days, William Jackson and I spent most of these two days together, and attended the two meetings of Friends next day, which were large, especially that in the afternoon, many not professing with us coming in; both these meetings tended much to the relief of my mind. In the last I had something like a solemn farewell to many whose faces I was to see no more, and next day I felt freedom to engage my passage in a ship called the India, Captain Hathaway, bound for Philadelphia; this day dear William Jackson and I parted, he going on his journey towards Cheshire, I staid in town and went about preparing for my voyage.

Fourth-day, accompanied by Isaac Hadwin and wife, took passage in a canal boat to Writtington, about twenty-one miles from Liverpool, to see dear Robert Benson and his family, and arrived there that evening; next day attended their week-day meeting, which was a blessed relieving opportunity; spent the remainder of the day with this valuable family, and in the evening before we retired to bed, divine good being renewed, we were favoured with another blessed opportunity to the comfort and consolation of our souls, and the great name was magnified and praised, who alone is worthy forever.

Next morning early we took our solemn leave of these dear Friends, and returned to Liverpool, and first-day, twelfth, I attended both the meetings here: in the afternoon I was raised up, and enabled to bear a testimony on the subject of the first and second commandments, in an affecting manner, and the meeting concluded with solemn prayer. I left it under a fresh sense of divine favour, and went to my lodgings, and this evening a number of Friends coming in, we had another heart-tendering opportunity.

Second-day, thirteenth, I went to the custom-house and gave in my name, nativity, occupation, what country I was last from, where bound, the ship's name in which I was to sail, and the persons to whom I was known here. I then obtained a permit to leave the country and go home.—Well, if my blessed and heavenly Master doth but go along with me, and carry me safely and peacefully there, I believe all the difficulties, dangers and hardships which have attended me in this journey, will weigh lighter than vanity in comparison with his superintending care, love and mercy to my soul; eternally blessed be his name.

Third-day, attended the burial of a Friend, on which occasion a large meeting was held at the meeting-house, which was a solid time, and I believe one of renewed visitation and warning to many. Fifth-day being meeting-day in course, and I not having had any warning to go on ship board, I ventured to attend the meeting, which proved to be a blessed opportunity, the day closed peacefully and I seem only waiting the ship's time. Seventh-day, eighteenth, the eight passengers who are to go in the cabin, and sundry others in the steerage were ordered on board, and now I took my last leave of the dear Friends where I lodged, and a number of others who came to see me on the occasion, and got on board between ten and eleven in the morning: the ship was very soon under way, and having a fine breeze, we presently got out of the mouth of the river Mersey; the breeze gradually increasing, and our ship being a fast sailer, we soon left all behind that came out with us, though there were many fine ships, some of which came out before us, but the wind dying away in the evening we were almost becalmed, and continued so most

of the night; all the passengers continue pretty free from sea-sickness.

Next day in the afternoon a fine breeze sprang up, and our sailing increased to seven knots and a half per hour, and we seem now to be fast bidding adieu to Europe. I leave it with a peaceful mind, and many of its inhabitants will be long remembered in gospel affection by me, if I am continued in this state of being. I feel that I have much to be thankful for to the great Author of my being, who by his all-supporting arm of Omnipotence, hath carried me through many heights and depths, and covered my head in the day of battle, and hath often enabled me to set up my Ebenezer, and say, "hitherto the Lord hath helped me." He hath been with me in perils by land, perils by sea, and perils among false brethren, and hath delivered me from the power of them all; yea, when the proud waves roared tremendously and essayed to swallow me up, then was his voice experienced to be mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea. I was favoured with a good passage, good accommodations, a kind captain, and all the crew civil and respectful towards me.

We landed in Philadelphia on fifth-day, the twenty-eighth of tenth month, being just forty days from Liverpool: I accepted the invitation of our kind captain, and dined with him this afternoon; he resides here when at home. The yellow fever prevailing in the city at this time, and many Friends as well as others having deserted it, I went to Abington this evening and returned to the city next day, and attended the select quarterly meeting, which was small by reason of the prevailing fever, but it was a solid opportunity. I returned to Abington in the evening, and on first-day attended meeting there, which was also a good time.

Second-day, first of eleventh month. Having taken cold, and it increasing, I became considerably unwell, and staid mostly about house until fourth-day, when I attended the select quarterly meeting at Abington, and next day a large quarterly meeting for discipline; these were both solid instructive opportunities. Seventh-day, sixth, went to the city and finding that the fever had subsided, I resumed my old quarters.

First-day, the seventh, I attended the North meeting in the morning, and in the afternoon that at Market street, both of which were on the whole highly favoured seasons: second-day attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders; third-day, meeting at the North meeting-house, fourth-day, meeting at Pine street, and fifth-day the meeting at Market street again, in most of which I got considerable relief indeed; I hoped the late calamity would prove a blessing to many survivors; may it not be too lightly looked over by any, but be a means of arousing all from a false rest, or too anxious a pursuit after perishable enjoyments, as these awful visitations plainly tell us that we have no continuing city here, and this is not the place of our rest. Sixth-day, twelfth, I set out for New York, being desirous to visit Friends there before I returned homeward; got to Burlington, staid over first-day, and attended meeting there to satisfaction. On fourth-day seventeenth, got to New York, where I met with a hearty welcome from many of my dear Friends, who seemed to rejoice with me on my safe arrival in my native country.

First-day, attended the fore and afternoon meetings of Friends, and in the evening a large public meeting appointed by Martha Routh, in the last two I was pretty largely opened in testimony much to the relief of my own mind, and I believe to the general satisfaction of Friends; indeed I think I never felt more openness in this city than at this time, both among Friends and others. We staid this week and attended their preparative and first-day meetings again to good satisfaction; and on fourth-day, first of twelfth month was at the monthly meeting here, also to our solid satisfaction: next day in the evening a large public meeting appointed by a Friend from Purchase in this state, in which I was opened and enlarged on several subjects with clearness and gospel authority, to the humble rejoicing of my own soul, and I believe of many more. At the conclusion of this humbling season, I took my leave of the people and bid them farewell, and a very solemn and affecting farewell it appeared to be to many dear souls then present.

Sixth-day, third, we left New York and got to Rahway, and attended their two meetings on first-day, in which through the renewed extendings of holy help, Truth was exalted over all after much painful exercise; glory to the Lord forever. On third-day, seventh, attended a monthly meeting at Crosswicks, and the same afternoon got to Burlington, where we staid over the week-day meeting, and visited several of our Friends both in town and country. Seventh-day, we got to Philadelphia and found the city in good health, and our Friends there glad to see and receive us again.

First-day, twelfth, in the morning I attended the North meeting, in the afternoon that at Pine street, and in the evening a large meeting at Market street, in all of which I was silent, except a few words in the latter

part of the evening meeting. Second-day, I attended the select morning meeting at Fourth street house, which was a good time. Next day, I attended the North meeting, which was very large, and a bowed humbling season it was, to me and many more, blessed be the Lord. Fourth, fifth and sixth days, attended the meetings at Pine street, Market street, and also the Meeting for Sufferings, in all which I was silent. First-day, nineteenth, attended North meeting in the morning, Pine street in the afternoon, and a large meeting at Market street in the evening, in all of which I was silent, except a few words in the meeting at Pine street near the close, and I have been thankful in believing that I was preserved in these large meetings in the way of my duty, and helped to keep the word of the Lord's patience, though I know not the cause why I have been so much shut up since last in this city, but an earnest solicitude hath attended my mind, that the true, inward, spiritual worship may be more and more sought after by me, and all the professors thereof. First-day evening, twenty-sixth, I have been at seven meetings since the above account, in all of which I was silent.

Seventh-day, first of first month, 1803, I have attended five more meetings since last entry, all silent, except one, and yet I cannot see my way out of the city: Lord preserve me, and enable me to hold fast my confidence in thee, strengthen me I pray thee to abide every dispensation which thou mayest see meet to order, or permit me to be proved with, though it be even to follow thee through much tribulation and sorrow, or into prison or even unto death—enable me O Lord to say in deed and in truth, thy will be done and not mine.

First-day, second. I attended three meetings this day, in two of which I had some public service, especially in the large evening meeting at Market street, which was truly an humbling time. I attended five other meetings this week, mostly silent, except in a meeting for the school children, where there was supposed to be upwards of a thousand collected; to these dear children I had considerable communication. First-day, ninth, I attended three large meetings again, also meetings on second, third, fourth, and fifth days, mostly silent, but cannot yet see my way any where out of the city. Lord look down upon me in mercy, and keep me near and watchfully attentive to the dispensations of thy divine Providence.

First-day, sixteenth. I attended Pine street meeting in the morning, which was very large, and I was considerably opened in testimony, and found some relief. I was at the Market street meeting in the afternoon, and again in the evening, which last I thought was one of the most solid meetings of the kind I ever attended; so much so, that for the present it seemed as though there was not a soul but what was sensible of the favours of this evening, in which prayers and praises ascended up to Him who lives forever and ever, and who is alone worthy thereof, through time and eternity.

Second-day, a favoured time at the morning meeting of ministers and elders: third-day, attended the North week-day meeting, which was large: two Indian chiefs were at it, and sat remarkably still and solid, while I was engaged in opening several instructive passages respecting the many revolutions which the seed of Abraham passed through, before they entered into the land which God promised unto them as an inheritance. This afternoon was their select preparative meeting, which I attended, and this opportunity, I humbly trust, will not soon be forgotten by some of us then present, but be held in grateful remembrance before Him who was pleased to loose, as it were, a seal, and let us into some of the mysteries of his kingdom, so that my cup run over—I wept tears of humble gratitude, under a sense of our unworthiness of these his unmerited mercies; may we profit thereby.

Fourth-day the nineteenth. Attended Pine street meeting, in which I was pretty largely engaged in testimony on some deeply interesting subjects, with clearness and good authority; in the afternoon I attended their select preparative meeting, which was also a time of favour. Fifth-day, twentieth, attended Market street week-day meeting, which was large; I was opened in testimony in gospel authority, and this was also a bowed, humbling opportunity; several Friends from the other meetings were also present. Sixth-day, attended the Meeting for Sufferings, which was a time of favour.

First-day, in the morning I attended Pine street meeting, which was a highly favoured season, much to the relief of my poor exercised mind; in the afternoon attended the North meeting, which was a good time, and in the evening the large meeting at Market street, which I sat through in silence, and was well satisfied that I did so. Second-day, twenty-fourth, attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders, which was a time of favour. Third-day, was at the monthly meeting for the Northern district, which I sat in silence, and being very unwell I did not stay until they got through the business, but went to my lodgings, where I continued poorly for several days, and very low in my mind. Lord, when shall I escape from this city?—O look

down upon me in mercy, and be pleased, if it be thy blessed will, to show me what thou wouldst have me to do, and also give me strength to perform what thou art pleased to require. O Lord, preserve me in thy holy counsel, keep me in the hour of trial and temptation, grant me patience to endure all things for thy name's sake: thou knowest me altogether, and the way that I take, and that I cannot see aright unless thou art pleased to open mine eyes; neither can I walk in the right way, except thou art pleased to lead me by thy light, and to guide me by the right hand of thy power—O my God!

I did not go out to any meeting after the above-mentioned, until first-day, thirtieth, in the morning, when I sat the North meeting through in silence. Second-day, sat the morning meeting of ministers and elders in silence, but my mind was covered with a peaceful calm; blessed be the Lord. Second-day, seventh, I attended the quarterly meeting, which was held at the North meeting house, and was a very large and highly favoured meeting. I was opened and enlarged in the authority of Truth, and again enabled to preach the everlasting gospel from these words; "What am I, O Lord, that thou hast spoken unto thy servant concerning my house for a great while to come;" and blessed be his ever adorable name, through whose condescending goodness in the opening and shedding abroad of divine light and life, this was a day which I humbly trust will long be had in grateful remembrance by many of us then present, as a fresh memorial of the Lord's love and mercy to our souls; blessed be his holy name forever. Third-day attended a large meeting for the blacks at Market street, wherein I was engaged in prayer and supplication on behalf of this oppressed race of mankind, in as awful a manner as I almost ever experienced, and the meeting closed with great solemnity.

Fourth-day. Attended a large quarterly meeting at Abington, in which humble thankfulness and gratitude arose to our gracious Master, who caused his own blessed Truth this day to be exalted over all opposition in the minds of the people, and the meeting concluded under a humbling sense thereof; we went on our way rejoicing, and returned to the city.

Sixth-day, eleventh. I had a religious meeting with the convicts in the state prison to good satisfaction; and now, blessed be the Lord, I seem relieved and quite easy to take my leave of the city, and look towards home. Seventh-day, twelfth, after a solid opportunity with the dear Friends where I have lodged so long, I took my solemn leave of the city, and being accompanied by my kind young friend John Morton, junior, got to Darby that afternoon; next day attended the meeting there, which proved a good time to me, and I believe to many more. Second-day we went to Concord, and on third-day attended their quarterly meeting, which was an exercising time to me, yet Truth seemed to get the victory, and I felt pretty quiet and comfortable after meeting.

Fourth-day attended their week-day meeting at the same place, which was small, but a blessed heavenly season it proved to be, much to the comfort and refreshment of our minds. The same afternoon went to Brandywine, and next day attended the week-day meeting at Wilmington, which was a time of close exercise with me, both private and public, but I was favoured to leave the meeting with a peaceful mind, and was therefore content. Went to London Grove, and seventh-day, nineteenth, attended a select quarterly meeting there; first-day was at their meeting for worship, and on second-day, a large quarterly meeting for discipline at the same place, in all of which I was silent, except the meeting on first-day, and then I got but little relief. Third-day attended a large youths' meeting, in which I was silent throughout, I believe to the great disappointment of many, but I could see no way for me to step forward to espouse the holy cause, and therefore I endeavoured patiently to abide in my tent. This evening went and tarried with Jacob Lindley, and next morning several young people being present, we had a precious heart-tendering opportunity, and next day set out for Baltimore, but the roads being excessively heavy, we did not reach there until sixth-day, the twenty-fifth, when we were favoured to arrive without any material accident.

First-day, twenty-seventh, were at the two meetings of Friends here, which were large, being attended by a number not professing with us, but I could see no way for me publicly to espouse the holy cause in either of these meetings, and therefore I sat them through in silence. On fifth-day, third of third month, attended their week-day and preparative meeting, which was also large, and I was raised up in gospel authority to declare the everlasting Truth, and the meeting concluded in solemn prayer, after which I felt my poor exercised mind relieved from a great weight of oppression, which has been my almost constant companion for some time, and very much shut up both in and out of meetings.

First-day, sixth. Attended both the meetings here again, which were large, and I had pretty extensive public labour and exercise in both of them: I think it may be said, they were humbling, baptising seasons, and the day closed peacefully; blessed be the Lord, to whom be

all the praise, for he alone is worthy, both now and evermore. Third-day, eighth, went out to Ellicott's mills, and attended a meeting there next day, with a number of Friends and others, which was also a blessed time; after this we returned peacefully to Baltimore. Fifth-day attended their monthly meeting, in which I had considerable public service, and it was on the whole a pretty solid time.

First-day, thirteenth. Attended both the meetings again; in the first I was pretty largely opened in testimony, but quite shut up in the afternoon, and not yet seeing my way clear to leave the city, we staid their week-day meeting again, when blessed be the Lord, I was enabled to clear my deeply exercised and oppressed mind, and felt quite at liberty to leave the city the same day, which we did, and got to Indian Spring that evening, about twenty-three miles, and attended a monthly meeting there next day, which was a solid time. First-day, twentieth, were at a meeting of Friends at Alexandria, which was very dull and exercising for a considerable time, but at length Truth and life gradually arose, until it became so exalted, that many minds were bowed and humbled, and enabled to return thanksgiving and praise to Him, who lives forever and ever.

Second-day, twenty-first. We left Alexandria, and had no meeting in our way until we got to Burleigh, on the south side of the James' River, where we attended a meeting with Friends on first-day, the twenty-seventh, and the same afternoon got to Black Water, and next day to Suffolk. Third-day, twenty-ninth, a Friend from our country having appointed a meeting at Summerton, we attended it, and it was a solid, good time. On fourth-day, thirtieth, I reached my habitation, and found my dear wife and family all well, and glad to see and receive me again; and I rejoiced to see them, and to find that they had been preserved and abundantly cared for by a kind Providence, during my absence.

I was from home on this journey three years, one month, and ten days, in which time I travelled by land and water, about fifteen thousand miles. Thus, O Lord my God, in whom I have endeavoured to repose my trust, thou hast carried me through many heights and depths, perils and dangers; yea, perils by sea, perils by land, and perils by false brethren; and through all these didst preserve me. When thy billows went over my head, and my heart was ready to melt within me, even then didst thou make bare thine arm for my deliverance, and sustained me by thy matchless goodness, and made me to see thy wonders in the great deep; then thou wast there, and guided me by the right hand of thy power, that I should not be swallowed up by the proud waves, when they roared about my head, and threatened destruction. Thus thy countless mercies, O Lord, have been round about me in all the way, and thou hast brought me safely back again to my dear connexions at home; for all these thy mercies, O Lord, I desire to bless and praise thy name, which is great and adorable forever. And now, O Lord, I am not worthy of all these thy mercies; yet since thou hast been pleased of thy unmerited bounty to grant them hitherto, and hast given me to speak well of thy name in the congregations of thy people, even to some of the nations afar off, be pleased to remember and not forsake me, in my future steppings along through the remaining part of my pilgrimage here.

Preserve me, O my God, and deliver me from all my enemies, both within and without, for thou knowest them all, and seest their snares, even before they are laid; give me to see and strength to shun them all, both on the right hand and on the left, even unto the end, that so I may be enabled to bring honour and praise unto thy great name through all the remaining part of my days here, and unite with those who, in unceasing anthems, sing thy everlasting praise beyond the grave. Amen.

My kind young friend, John Morton, junior, who came home with me, only staid one day before he returned homewards, being desirous if possible to reach home before their yearly meeting. I was loath to part with him so soon, for I loved him dearly, and I hope his kindness and attention to me will meet its reward. First-day, third of fourth month, I attended our own meeting for the first time since my return; and had some communication in a public way; as also once or twice within a few weeks afterwards, but my way in this respect soon became quite closed up, so that I almost became a wonder to my friends and to the people. How hard it is for wise people to become fools; indeed it seems as though they would rather remain fools than become wise through this medium.

In the latter part of the fifth month, my dear wife and I attended our quarterly meeting in Pasquotank, which was a suffering time to me, accompanied with some very awful sensations; but the vision was sealed, and not then to be opened to the people, and I was thankful for preservation in what I believed to be my lot, though deeply trying; however, on the last day of the meeting, being first-day, and a mixed multitude gathered, my mouth was opened among them, and many were broken and melted down as before the Lord; may it be remembered to our lasting profit as the Lord's doing, which is ever marvellous in the eyes of his children. I felt considerable relief after this

meeting, and returned homewards, calling to see a few of my old acquaintances and near friends, at one of whose houses we were favoured with a heart-tendering opportunity, to our mutual comfort and refreshment.

We got home pretty directly after the quarterly meeting, where I have been ever since, pretty much engaged in instructing some poor children, in our neighbourhood, and attended our meetings constantly as they came in course, and almost as constantly silent therein, not having opened my mouth in more than three or four meetings for worship, perhaps in near six months, and frequently witnessing as great desertion as I almost ever experienced, insomuch that that scripture was often remembered by me, "for I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death; for we are made a spectacle to the world, and to angels and to men." About these days my situation was that of secret mourning and lamentation, not for the dead, but for them that were gone into captivity, and for the slain of the daughter of my people.—O, Lord, by whom shall Jacob's seed arise, seeing it is so small and oppressed.

In the latter part of the tenth month, I attended our yearly meeting, held this year at New Garden, about two hundred miles westward from my dwelling. I returned my certificate to the meeting of ministers and elders, which they had given me in 1799, to travel in Europe; and also produced several from Friends in Europe, expressive of their satisfaction with my travels in those countries, which were read in the meeting. At the same time I gave some little account of my visit, particularly that to the newly gathered meetings on the continent, which was very affecting to the minds of many. On the whole it was a memorable season, and I think it might be said, that the yearly meeting throughout was a time of favour, which we have abundant cause to remember, with heart-felt thankfulness and gratitude to the Father of mercies. Several ministers from abroad were at this meeting, with prospects of visiting the several branches thereof, which seemed renewedly to evince that our vineyard is not yet wholly forsaken, notwithstanding the very little fruit which it has produced in proportion to the care and abundant labours of the great Husbandman, which demands our humiliation and endeavours for amendment, lest many of us be miserably destroyed, and the vineyard let to others.

Not having any further prospect at this time than to attend the yearly meeting, I returned pretty directly home, and found the city as it were, still encompassed and threatened with desolation, and my prospect of returning to the mire and dungeon was so discouraging, that I was ready to make my request to the king, that "I might not return to the house of Jonathan, lest I should die there;" and as yet I have no assurance that I shall not be as deeply plunged as ever; yet if it be consistent with infinite wisdom, either for my own refinement, or if it may eventually redound to the good of others, I submit, though tremblingly. Lord, look down in mercy and preserve me.

Eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth of eleventh month, were held our select, monthly and general meetings, in all of which I was opened in gospel authority, once more to declare the everlasting Truth to our own people at home. These were humbling seasons; may the Lord of the vineyard sanctify them to our improvement. After these meetings I felt considerably relieved from a great weight and burden, with which my spirit had for a long time been clothed. Twenty-second, I attended the burial of a youth belonging to our meeting, who deceased after a very few hours illness; it was a memorable season, and I hope will prove as a nail fastened in a sure place to some then present. This week I also attended our quarterly meeting at Pineywoods; the select meeting was on sixth-day, meeting for business on seventh-day, and a large meeting for worship on first-day, all of which were seasons of high favour, especially the last two, in which many blessed God for the renewed offers of his salvation. Amen.

1804. Having been apprehensive from the manner in which my mind has been exercised for several years past, and more especially since my return from Europe, that my future religious labours would be chiefly in the northern and eastern parts of this continent, insomuch that I was induced to believe it my duty to resign myself up to the prospect of removing with my wife to New England; I accordingly communicated my prospects to our preparative and monthly meetings in the second month of this year, and a committee of men and women Friends was appointed in the monthly meeting, to take the matter under their consideration, and to visit us on the occasion; my mind felt sweetly calmed in this resignation to apprehended religious duty.

I attended our quarterly meeting in the latter end of this month, held at Little River, in Perquimons, and also several other meetings in that county, which were mostly exercising and laborious, but on the whole tended considerably to the relief of my own mind. I also attended a public meeting at Gate's Court-house, appointed by a Friend from Ohio.

Third month tenth, the committee appointed by our last monthly meeting to enquire into our circumstances, and to visit us on the subject of our removal to New England, met at our

house, and divine Good attending the opportunity in a remarkable manner, they unanimously concluded that the movement was right, and encouraged us to attend to our prospects; it was a watering time, which tended much to our strength and encouragement. Seventh-day, seventeenth, at our monthly meeting the committee reported their care and sense respecting our removal, and having prepared certificates for us, they laid them before the meeting. This was also an affecting time, sundry Friends from other monthly meetings being with us; after a time of solid deliberation and sympathy, Friends generally seemed induced to believe it their duty to resign us, and accordingly signed our certificates with much unanimity and great solemnity. After which my poor exercised mind felt humbly thankful, in being enabled once more thus far to make a full surrender of myself and my all, for the glorious cause I had embarked in, and which at times has been more precious to me than my natural life, or any thing I possessed in this world.

First-day, twenty-fifth, at our meeting I was favoured with rather uncommon peace and tranquillity of mind, and towards the latter part of it, I had considerable communication, I thought with a good degree of clearness; but very soon after meeting a fear possessed my mind, that it had been too much my own, or at least that notwithstanding the vision seemed to be clear, I had taken my own time in opening it to others, and for a considerable time after I felt miserable. Lord, if it be thine hand that is thus chastening me, go on, spare not, nor let thine eye pity until thou hast made a full end, and brought me into unreserved conformity to thy own blessed mind and will concerning me, as thou art pleased clearly to manifest it to me on all occasions; that so, O Lord, I may be preserved watchful and attentive, not only to the opening of thy holy visions of light, but also to the times and seasons, as thou art pleased to make them known in thy own blessed power. So, O Lord, take unto thee thy own power, and rule and reign both inwardly and outwardly over all, who art God over all, blessed forevermore. Amen.

Having now obtained certificates of removal, I began to dispose of my little outward affairs, in which I succeeded beyond my expectation, in much calmness and resignation.

In the fifth month, I attended the yearly meeting in Virginia, and returned to my outward affairs with peace and tranquillity of mind, and by the first of the sixth month, I so far accomplished the settlement of them, that on the fourth, being the day appointed for our departure, a considerable number of Friends and neighbours coming in to see us on the occasion, we had a solid religious opportunity together, and then took our solemn leave of them, and set out on this arduous journey.

We reached Suffolk in two days, though the weather was very hot, and spent nearly three weeks about Western Branch, visiting our friends and relations, and attending several meetings in the time; and having agreed for a passage in a vessel bound for New York, we embarked, the twenty-fourth of sixth month, and landed in New York on the first of the seventh. The passage being tedious, and my dear female companions very sea-sick most of the time, we staid in New York until the ninth, when we again took passage in a packet for New Haven, where we arrived the next day about noon, and the day following went by land to Hartford, the intended place of our residence, where we arrived the same day about one o'clock in the morning, and met a cordial reception at the house of our kind friends, Thomas and Charity Rotch, with whom we sojourned about six weeks. In the course of this time I purchased a farm, agreeably situated, about a quarter of a mile from the little meeting of Friends here, but did not get full possession until the spring following, but we took a couple of rooms in a Friend's house where we sojourned about seven months.

I spent most of the winter in keeping Friends' little school here, and about the twenty-sixth of the third month, 1805, we got to our new habitation on the farm; and though it was very much out of repair, we felt very glad and thankful in being favoured once more to settle down in a cottage of our own, having for a considerable time sojourned from place to place as poor pilgrims, having no certain dwelling place.

After our settlement I went very little abroad, except to the monthly meeting of Oblong, and the quarterly meeting of Nine Partners, of which we were now members. This summer I also attended the yearly meetings of New York and Rhode Island, and a few meetings at New Bedford, Providence, &c., and returned to my little family with solid peace of mind, with whom I think I never enjoyed more sweet comfort and satisfaction than about these days. May the Lord preserve us in his love and fear, and keep us thankful for the many favours which he hath been pleased to bestow upon us in these days of our pilgrimage.

I now felt at liberty to stay at home for some time, and attend to my domestic affairs, in order to make my family as comfortable as our circumstances would admit of, though constantly attending our own meetings both for worship and discipline; for we had now a monthly meeting settled at Hartford.

1806. About these days, temptations and trials seemed to assail me with redoubled force, so that I was almost ready to conclude my best help had departed from me, and I had scarcely strength to look up or cry for help, either in meetings or out of them, but verily was often afraid that I should finally loose my hold, and fall into grievous and horrible temptations, and so become yet a reproach to that blessed cause which I had once so much loved, and thus the last error be worse than the first. But blessed be the infinitely wise and merciful God, who was pleased to regard even my weak efforts of desire towards Him, and accept it as prayer; blessed be his holy name, He is still a God hearing prayer, and in tender mercy is pleased to accept the sincerity of desire, when we have no words in which to call upon him; and when we can bear no more, and are brought to see that all our own help has failed us, he is then pleased to draw near, and repel the enemy, and deliver us out of his hand. O, what shall I render unto thee, saith my soul, who hath been pleased thus to draw near and deliver me, yea, poor helpless me!—magnified be thy blessed and ever adorable name, now, henceforth, and forevermore!

I was mostly about home, except the attendance of our quarterly and yearly meetings, until the fourth month, 1807, when I attended the yearly meeting of Philadelphia, and several other meetings in the city and neighbourhood, to solid satisfaction; and on my return took the yearly meeting of New York in the fifth month, and so home, where I only staid one week before I again set out, and attended the yearly meeting of Rhode Island, and a few other meetings, and soon returned home, where I staid mostly until the latter end of the ninth month. I then again left home, in order to attend the yearly meeting of Baltimore in the tenth month, which was to good satisfaction; indeed, I thought it one of the most solid, instructive and encouraging opportunities of the kind I had ever experienced.

I have now attended all the yearly meetings for discipline in the world, and some of them several times over, and I may remark, that notwithstanding weaknesses and imperfections are still observable amongst this people, yet I have had abundant cause to marvel at the preservation which is still vouchsafed to them by the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, in keeping them so near together, in that harmony and oneness, which ever characterizes his true followers. May neither heights nor depths, principalities nor powers, things present nor yet to come, nor life nor death, nor any other creature, ever be able to separate them from this love of God, which has been so marvellously manifested to them, through Christ Jesus our Lord. I attended a number of meetings after this memorable yearly meeting, to good satisfaction, and returned home with solid peace of mind.

Having had drawings in my mind for a considerable time to visit Friends in some parts of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, I obtained a minute from our monthly meeting for that purpose, and set out in the latter end of the first month, 1808. I was out in this little journey nearly three months, and in that time attended about sixty meetings, sundry of which were public meetings, appointed for those not in profession with us, which were largely attended by them, and generally to solid satisfaction, insomuch that the priests at several places, as well as the people, would desire another meeting; but I dare not do any thing of the kind in my own will; and as I endeavoured to keep near my good guide, and to be led about and instructed only by Him, I humbly trust preservation was vouchsafed, so that the holy cause of religion was not wounded, nor the minds of any class of its professors hurt; and I returned to my outward habitation with solid peace of mind; blessed be the Lord.

I went very little from home this summer, except in attending our quarterly meeting at Nine Partners. In the second month, 1809, I was at the quarterly meetings of Providence and Smithfield, in Rhode Island, and also several other meetings in the course of the journey in that state, generally to good satisfaction; and in the fourth month, having obtained a minute from our monthly meeting for the purpose, I attended the yearly meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, and spent some time in that city, much to my satisfaction. I also visited some parts of its vicinity, as well as their West-town Boarding School, which appeared to be in excellent order, and attended the meeting on first-day morning with the children, about two hundred in number, which was a blessed heart-comforting season; indeed it was like a plentiful shower on tender plants; blessed be the Lord.

I also took several meetings in New Jersey, on my way to New York, where I attended our own yearly meeting in the fifth month, and then returned pretty directly home. Lord, preserve me here in my lonely, pelican-like state, for thy rich favours I am not worthy to abide under; but if for the sake of others, thou art pleased at times to vouchsafe them, I magnify and adore thy name.

I went very little abroad this summer, except in the latter end of the eighth month, to our quarterly meeting at Nine Partners, and spent about two weeks in visiting the meetings of Friends in that and Stanford neighbourhoods, to the satisfaction of my own mind, and I believe of Friends generally, and I returned home

with solid peace. And now I may mention a trying dispensation, which I have had to pass through for more than eighteen months; indeed it has been nearly two years, since my mind became impressed with a language which was intelligible to my mental ear, saying, "Ye have encompassed this mountain long enough;" and I said in my heart, "What must I break up again, and become a sojourner?" For a time I saw not where I should go, and I said, "Lord! where shall I go, and where shall I sojourn?" and I seemed to be left under this conflicting dispensation, without any sight or pointing to any particular place or service; but after a time of sore conflict, and seeking to know the blessed mind and will of the Lord concerning this thing, at length a little meeting of Friends called Newton, in New Jersey, a branch of the monthly meeting of Haddonfield, opened as the place, within the verge of which I was to go and reside with my family. This prospect became so impressive, that I mentioned it in our meeting at Hartford more than a year since, in order for their sympathy and communication, as way might open. I had here a fine farm now in good order, and likely to be very productive, so that we were comfortably settled as to the outward. Ah! Simon son of Jonas, how didst thou feel, when, under the blessing of heaven, thou hadst just made a fine draught in the line of thy outward business, and thy divine Master queried, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these?" Yea, when thy creaturely attachments were so closely tried, and brought to the test by His querying even to the *third* time, respecting thy preference for Him, until thou wast grieved, because thou hadst aforetime professed to love Him; and yet even at the third query, being sensible of thy own weakness, thou seemest almost afraid to say "more than these." But He who loved thee would prove thy love, and therefore did tell thee plainly, that although in thy younger years thou didst gird thyself, and wentest whithersoever thou wouldest, yet now if thou "lovest me more than these," or above all, so as to go and feed my sheep and lambs at my bidding, thou must submit to be girded by another, even by ME, and carried where thou wouldst not, of thy own inclination, go; but as though he had said for thy encouragement, "never heed, Simon, only do as I bid thee and all will be well," he saith unto thee, "follow me."

[The meeting in the neighbourhood of Hartford was very small, and the inhabitants generally Presbyterians, who were not very favourably disposed towards Friends. For some time after he resided among them, the prejudice against him was such, that the people were scarcely willing to have any intercourse with him, or even to treat him with common civility. It happened, however, that one of his neighbours was taken ill, and as he was known to have some skill and experience in medicine, his advice was solicited. Visiting at the house necessarily brought him into their society, and the means which he recommended proved effectual, which seemed to prepare them for forming a more correct opinion of their new friend. Another case of severe casualty occurred soon after he removed there, in which his assistance was also requested, and the discharge of these and other kind offices to the afflicted both in body and mind, together with his consistent and steady deportment, his social disposition, and his faithful maintenance of the testimonies and doctrines he made profession of, soon produced a very agreeable change, and removed the erroneous opinion which had been previously imbibed respecting the Society. His company was now sought by the most respectable inhabitants, and there appeared much openness to receive the religious communications which he sometimes found it his duty to make.

He was now a member of New York yearly meeting, which he regularly attended, and in the course of his visits to that city, he early perceived the buddings of the seeds of scepticism. The same disorganizing spirit, whose desolating influence he had sorrowfully witnessed in the Society in Ireland, was soon detected by him, secretly endeavouring to insinuate itself among Friends, under the plausible profession of superior light.

Having suffered much on account of this creeping, deceitful spirit in Ireland, he hoped when he came from that country, he had left it behind him. In this, however, he was mistaken, and as soon as he perceived the first indications of its approach, as a watchman on the walls of our Zion, he sounded the alarm. Notwithstanding few were then willing to admit the effects, which he early predicted would flow from the adoption of the plausible opinions that were promulgated, he felt himself constrained, as a steward that must render an account to his Lord, solemnly and emphatically to forewarn his Friends of the danger, if happily they might escape the deplorable consequences, which he had seen similar sentiments produce in a foreign land.]—*Memoir of R. Jordan.*

I must now leave this seeming digression, and mention, that as soon as I was fully satisfied in my own mind, of the propriety of my giving up to this prospect, I requested a certificate of removal, (which was some months ago,) and having now obtained one, and having also settled my affairs, so that none should suffer by me, I took my solemn leave of Friends and

neighbours, and left Hartford with my family, about the eleventh of the tenth month, 1809, and after a pleasant journey, we arrived at Samuel Cooper's, near the place of our intended residence, and met with a kind reception from that amiable family, and at their invitation sojourned with them for a few weeks, until our household goods arrived, which we had shipped round by water, and we had got a little prepared for house-keeping, which we commenced in the eleventh month, within a mile of Newton meeting-house.

The good angel whom we believe to have been with us in all the way, has still hitherto been near, comforting our minds in our lonely habitation, in our solitary walks, and in our religious meetings, enabling me to speak of his goodness among the people, which seems to have endeared many of us one unto another. And now, O Lord, thou hast seen all our temptation, and the anxiety and tribulation of our souls; we are here under an apprehension of its being according to thy requiring, and in thy divine appointment. Oh Lord, look down upon us, and be near unto us in all our temptations and besetments, in all our tribulations and distresses, and in all our goings in and out among the people. Be pleased to remember us, we pray thee, as among the poor and dependent ones, that have daily need of thy aid: we ask neither worldly riches nor honour; give us, if it be consistent with thy good will and pleasure, food and raiment convenient for us, and be thou, O Lord, our strength in weakness, our riches in poverty, and our present help in every needful time, that so we may be enabled to honour thee in thy blessed cause on earth, and bring praise to thy great name through our lives and in our death, who art God over all, blessed forever more.

1810. Fifth month, fifteenth. I have had great satisfaction in the constant attendance of our little meeting, as well as in some visits to the sick and afflicted, as also some others among my friends, and in the attending of our late yearly meeting in Philadelphia. In the latter part of the fifth and fore part of the sixth months, I attended the yearly meetings of Friends in New York and Rhode Island, and a few other meetings in the course of the journey, to satisfaction, which took up about six weeks. I am now returned to my habitation again, I think as sensible as ever of my entirely dependent state. Lord! keep and preserve me low, and in a state of entire dependence on Thee, who art the Giver of every good and perfect gift.

In the tenth month I attended the yearly meeting of Baltimore, and also that of North Carolina, which was held this year at Little River, in Perquimons county. I also attended nearly all the meetings of Friends in these lower counties, and had a few public meetings; and also visited the place of my former residence in North Carolina, and sundry of my near relations, both in that state and Virginia. I was helped to labour in the love of the gospel among my friends and relations in this journey, which I believe was accepted by many of them as a renewed visitation, as well as by others to whom the gospel was freely preached, and which tended greatly to the solid peace and comfort of my own mind.

On my way homewards I spent about a week at Baltimore, in which time I attended sundry meetings with Friends, and then returned pretty directly home to my family, where I found all well and comfortable, for which I was truly thankful, as well as for the many favours, preservations and deliverances, through the difficulties and dangers I had encountered in the course of this journey; blessed be the Lord.

1811. I attended the yearly meetings of Philadelphia and New York to satisfaction, as also some of the neighbouring quarterly and monthly meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in the course of this year; and having now lived two years in a hired house, I purchased a small house and lot near our Newton meeting house, to which we removed in the spring of 1812; and for some time after our removal I went not much abroad, except to attend the yearly meetings of New York and Baltimore, until the beginning of the year 1813, when, with the concurrence of Friends, I visited the meetings along the sea coast in this state. Although sensible that the seed of life lay low in many places where my lot was cast, yet as I endeavoured to keep low, and dwell with it, I was enabled to labour in the love of the gospel, and at times to experience the arising and prevalency of it over all, to our comfort and rejoicing. I was favoured to return to my family in peace, after being out about five weeks, in which time I travelled between four and five hundred miles, and attended about twenty-three meetings with Friends and others, to satisfaction; blessed be the Lord, our alone helper and preserver.

1814. In the winter of 1814, I spent a little time in visiting the meetings of Friends in Philadelphia, to good satisfaction, and on my return, my dear wife was seized with a malignant typhus fever, and was brought nigh unto death; but the Lord had mercy on us, and raised her up again, after a confinement of more than three months; for which favour I was truly thankful, as the loss to me would have been inexpressibly great, although I was well convinced that my loss would have been her unspeakable gain; as her innocent soul

through all her bodily sufferings, seemed centered in a state of calm, quiet resignation to the divine will. I was also thankful for the preservation of my bodily health, so as to be able constantly to attend upon her through the whole: may all these favours be remembered by us with heart-felt gratitude. By the time of our yearly meeting in the fourth month, 1815, my dear wife was so far recovered that I attended it.

I also attended the yearly meeting of New York in the fifth month, and returned directly home; and in the tenth month following, I attended the yearly meeting of Baltimore, much to the satisfaction of my own mind, and returned pretty directly home to my domestic affairs, where I enjoyed my health quite as well as usual, until about the first of the second month, 1816, when I was seized with the ague, which operated violently upon me, about once in twenty-four hours, for several days, and my health was so affected by it, that I was mostly confined in and about the house for several weeks, in a very weak state. But are not these dispensations of mercy, from Him who afflicts not willingly, neither delights in grieving his children? Afflictions are said not to arise out of the dust, nor troubles out of the ground, and as He who is the Great Controller of events, can sanctify all our troubles and afflictions to us, and make them subservient to his own wise purposes, may I improve under every afflictive dispensation which is permitted to befall me; may they all be sanctified to my good, and may He make them all subservient to his own wise purposes, that I may acknowledge him in all my ways, and know Him to direct my paths; even so, Amen.

1818. Since the latter end of the year 1815, I have not been out on any considerable journey, but have apprehended that my business was much about home in the attendance of our own meetings as they came in course; yet not unfrequently I went to some of the neighbouring quarterly and monthly meetings, and also attended our Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia. Being now in the sixty-third year of my age, my prospects seem much closed as respects long journeys, feeling an increase of the infirmities attendant on advanced years, though blessed be my gracious Helper, I enjoy a good share of health and strength at present, considering my time of life; yet the prayer of David seems prevalent, "Cast me not off in the time of old age, forsake me not when my strength faileth."

1821. Seventh month. I have now been for most of two years, afflicted with a complaint in my chest, which has rendered me unfit for much service; yet I have been enabled to visit sundry neighbouring quarterly meetings, and to attend our yearly meeting, as also our own monthly and particular meetings; in which at times living desires are raised, that after the example of good old Simeon, I may be found "waiting for the consolation of Israel."

1823. Eighth month. My mind has long been burdened with hearing assertions made, that every child coming into the world is placed precisely in the same situation as Adam was when in Paradise, or as he came out of the hands of his Maker, and speaking slightly of the atonement of Christ, bringing down that blessed suffering Saviour and Redeemer of men to the level of other good persons in common. Well would it be for such, in my apprehension, if they would seriously consider the import of a part of the apostle's comment on the law of Moses; viz: "He that despised Moses's law died without mercy under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the spirit of grace; for we know Him that hath said, vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord; and again, the Lord shall judge his people: it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." I am sometimes ready to tremble at beholding the signs of the times, as relates both to church and state, and I think I never saw with greater clearness, the necessity of being diligently engaged to feel after a foundation in ourselves, if happily we may be favoured, at least at times, with a comfortable evidence that it is the sure one, on which alone there is safety and preservation; and the awfulness of feeling which sometimes covers my mind, seems to produce a solicitude at least, if not something like a prayer, for myself and for those of my Friends whose situation may somewhat resemble that of those who wept as between the porch and the altar; "Lord increase our faith."

1825. Having now for several years been very much indisposed in my bodily health, I have not been out on any long journey, though mostly able to attend our own yearly and other meetings, and a few neighbouring quarterly meetings, as also a yearly meeting or two, until last summer and fall, when I got very little out, but was favoured so far to recover my health as mostly to get to our own meetings, as they came in course, during the past winter.

And now what shall I say more.—The Lord has been pleased in the inscrutable coun-

sel of his will, to take from me my dear partner, who ended her useful life in this world on the morning of the second of third month last, almost without sickness or pain, in the seventy-third year of her age; being as well as usual the day before, and engaged in her domestic concerns. We had sojourned together for most of half a century, and I could say much of her virtues, not only as a faithful helpmeet in our outward concerns, but in always giving me up cheerfully to the service of Truth, and sustaining my absence with Christian magnanimity, and sympathy with me in my labours and travels in the cause of Truth and righteousness, and a consoling evidence attends her departure, that she has sweetly fallen asleep in Jesus; and therefore though I sorrow, yet not as those who have no hope; for surely I am one in faith with the apostle of our Lord, that "them that sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him." And now, O Lord, thou hast taken the mother with the children, and left me behind a little space longer in this state of probation, for causes known only to thyself; for thou art not bound to give account of thy matters to any; it is enough for us to know that thou doest all things right; and will do for us more than we can ask or think. But because thou art a God hearing prayer, be pleased O Lord to be near by thy secret power, and keep and preserve me during the short remainder of my time in this world, so that I may be enabled to finish the good fight, and keep the faith of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Redeemer and Saviour, and so finish my course with joy; for thou, O Lord, art faithful who hast promised a crown of righteousness. Amen.

ADDENDA.

After the decease of his dear wife, our beloved friend seemed to pass the remainder of his days, as a servant waiting for the coming of his Lord, having a clear foresight that his earthly pilgrimage was nearly accomplished, and several times spoke of his decease as being at hand. He attended the yearly meeting of New York in 1826, and shortly after, in the seventh month, was at three of the monthly meetings in Philadelphia, and spent some time in visiting his Friends there, much to the peace of his own mind, remarking, when about to return home, that if it proved his last visit he should be well satisfied with it.

In the eighth month he attended the quarterly meetings of Abington, and of Salem held at Woodbury. On his way home from the latter, his mind was much engaged in contemplating the present situation of the Society of Friends, lamenting with much feeling, the deviations from simplicity and plainness which were conspicuous in many of the members, the avidity with which they pursued the pleasures and riches of the world, and the apparent want of religious concern on their own account, and for the welfare of the church. Much labour, he remarked, had been bestowed upon them; spiritual and temporal blessings had been dispensed with a liberal hand, and yet disobedience and ingratitude had been too generally returned for all these favours; and he feared lest those who might be considered as the children of the kingdom, if they persisted in this course, would be cast out, and others raised up, as from the stones of the streets, to support the doctrines and testimonies given to Friends to bear. He however expressed, that gloomy as the prospect of a succession of upright standard bearers seemed, he had faith to believe, that those doctrines and testimonies never would fall to the ground; and although many were predicting that the present commotions within our borders* would disorganize the Society, yet this would not be the case, but those who continued to maintain the ancient faith and discipline of Friends, would be preserved as a distinct body of Christian professors.

On parting with the Friend who accompanied him, he alluded to his late visit to the city of Philadelphia, and after expressing the great peace he felt in recurring to it, observed that it would be his last visit. The Friend expressed his earnest desire that the solemn presentiment might not be realized, and remarked, how much he would be missed at the present time of trial; to which Richard Jordan replied, "Yes, but you must part from me at some time, and perhaps it will be as easy now as ever," repeating the assurance that it would be his final visit. This was on fifth-day afternoon, the eleventh of eighth month, and on the following day he was taken sick. After this he attended meeting but a few times, being mostly confined to the house or bed, except occasionally riding out for a change of air and exercise.

His last illness was tedious, continuing for more than two months, and while the gradual decay of his bodily powers was apparent, the strength and vigour of his mind seemed to remain unimpaired almost to the close.

He did not appear disposed to converse much on ordinary topics or temporal affairs, but at times made many instructive remarks upon religious subjects. He mourned over the desolating effects of the spirit of unbelief, which,

* The difficulties which arose from the unsoundness of Elias Hicks and his followers.

under the plausible but false pretext of exalting the "light within," was leading many incautious minds into a denial of the saving truths of Christian Redemption, and a disregard of the plain and irrefragable testimonies contained in the sacred volume, declaring, as his full belief, that all those who were really led by the spirit of Christ, would feel themselves constrained reverently to believe in, and to acknowledge all that is recorded in the holy scriptures, concerning the coming and sufferings, the death and offices, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as he appeared in the flesh at Jerusalem.

He several times mentioned his firm conviction at that solemn period, that painful as is the present state of things amongst us, to the true disciples of the Lamb, it would be made the means of purifying the Society of much of its dross; that such as stood faithful in their allegiance to Christ, would be deepened by it in the life of religion, and some of them would live to see the Society in a far better state than it now is. He had seen, he said, that the Lord would take the cause into his own hand, and none should be able to hinder him—that he would choose his own instruments, and those of this Society who had been highly favoured, but who had turned their backs and forsaken Him, would be cast out, and others brought in, who would stand for the honour of His great name and for His cause in the earth.

On the sixteenth of the ninth month, a Friend calling to see him, he made some observations on the nature of his disease, and intimated that he thought his recovery doubtful, considering his advanced age and the great prostration of his strength; but he several times remarked, that he had no will but the Lord's will. "Yet," added he, "I have lived to see the end of one revolution, (meaning, as he himself explained it, in the Society of Friends in Ireland, during his visit there,) and if it was the Lord's will, I should have no objection to see the end of the troubles that have come over the Society in this land." With much feeling and deep sorrow he then expressed his concern for those under the name of Quakers, who, by giving way to their creaturely wisdom and carnal reasoning, have departed from the Christian faith, the principles and doctrines of the religious Society of Friends.* With much emphasis, he said, "Oh, what will those men do that deny the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? What refuge will they have at such time as this, on a sick-bed—Oh, what will become of them!" Once he said, "I would not be in their state for any thing in the world."

He intimated, that during this sickness he had had great opportunity for reflection, both by day and by night, and he had thought much upon the awful state of those people that deny the Lord, and the only hope of salvation—"which, added he, is by the mercy of God, through the merits and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." Then with much emphasis exclaimed, "My hope, my only hope for salvation is in the mercy of God, through the merits of Jesus Christ." These, or words nearly like them, he repeated several times during the conversation. He commented very instructively on the ground of this his hope, and the great stay and consolation it was to his mind. "Oh," said he, "I would not give this hope in the mercy of God, through Jesus Christ, for the whole world." He then proceeded to relate, that during his illness, many scripture passages, both in the old and new Testament, had been unfolded to his mind with great clearness and comfort, respecting the plan devised by Divine Love for the restoration of poor fallen man, and the salvation of sinners.

After setting forth the fall of man through the temptation and subtlety of satan, and his aspiring above the condition allotted him by his beneficent Creator, he proceeded to open some of those passages, beginning with the promise of the Seed of the woman that should bruise the serpent's head, Genesis, iii. 15;—adducing many other scripture testimonies, which show that this Seed is Christ, even He who died for our sins on the cross, and who is a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, our advocate with the Father, and Mediator between God and man. He enlarged upon what faith in God, and in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, had done in every generation, and then emphatically said, "this is also my faith, and I shall die in it as I have lived, hoping in God's mercy through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." He made many other remarks at the same time, that evinced his deep solicitude on account of the spirit of infidelity which had crept in, tracing its origin to the pride of the human heart.

On second-day, the eighteenth of the month, a Friend being with him, he made some instructive observations on the present situation of the Society, and with much tenderness of feeling mourned over the young and inexperienced, who were deluded by the fair pretences of some who were considered leaders of the people, and whom they had been accustomed to look up to as examples and instructors in the church; while these were taking advantage of the influence they had obtained, to inculcate pernicious principles, and infuse into their unsuspecting minds the poison of unbelief. For these unwary youth, thus exposed to the arti-

*E. Hicks and his adherents.

fices of designing men, he manifested tender commiseration and sympathy. But he said, he believed the time was coming, and perhaps was not far distant, when these false teachers would be fully exposed.

There were many, he remarked, who went under the name of Friends, that had never been convinced of, nor yielded obedience to, the principles and doctrines of the Society, but had made a mere empty profession; and it was no marvel if such as these were carried off with the unsound notions which were now promulgated. He believed it had been permitted, in order to manifest such as these—as a Society we were very impure, and needed much sifting to make us as we should be. But he was firm in the faith, that the ancient doctrines and principles of the Society, as set forth in the Holy Scriptures, must and would prevail over all opposition—that all those who were building on Jesus Christ, would be preserved amid all the storms and commotions which now agitate the Society, and that it would yet arise and shine in more of its ancient beauty, than many now living have ever seen it; adding, "I may not live to see it, but there are some of you that will."

He expressed much more during the course of this interesting conversation, not only manifesting the calm and confiding state of his mind, and his unshaken faith in the Rock of Ages on which he had built, but also his full conviction, that the Christian faith of the Society of Friends would eventually triumph; and that after the necessary conflict and suffering were endured, to purify it from such nominal professors as hold the truth in unrighteousness, and bring reproach upon the name of Christ by their unholy conduct and unchristian opinions, the Society would be enabled to rise superior to its present difficulties, and with renewed brightness hold up the light of a Christian conduct, conversation, and profession to the world. Great was the anxiety he evinced, that the Friends of Christ and his holy cause might stand firm in a patient, persevering testimony against every innovation, whether in doctrine or discipline; and by the steadfastness of their faith, the purity of their lives, and the meekness and humility of their spirits, evince that while they dare not strive to carry party views and schemes, they felt themselves constrained by a sense of religious duty, earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.

A meeting having been appointed near his residence, by a person who held and promulgated the new notions, he appeared under much exercise of mind respecting it, and greatly concerned at the sorrowful consequences which resulted from the dissemination of these unsound views, and with great earnestness asked a Friend who sat by him, "can nothing be done to prevent these persons from going about sowing their pernicious principles."

To a Friend who called to see him, he observed, "it is a satisfaction to reflect, that my outward concerns are all settled;" after a solemn pause, he added, "I know that I am a poor creature, and have nothing to depend on but the mercy of a gracious God, through Jesus Christ, my Lord: Oh! these poor things that are trying to do away all belief in the authenticity of the scriptures and in a Saviour, what will become of them? No other foundation can any man lay than that which is laid." In the conversation with this Friend he observed, that his day's work was accomplished; to another of his Friends—that he did not feel as though he had much more to say, but was labouring after true stillness and patience, to be gathered to the Source of all good; and throughout the whole course of his illness, it was obvious that his mind was often engaged in deep, inward, awful retirement, and waiting on the Lord.

The disease gradually made its progress; and though the symptoms attending it were not very alarming, yet he seemed impressed with the belief that he should not survive it. When his Friends would express their hopes of his recovery, though he seemed unwilling to give them pain by positively saying he should not, yet his replies generally evinced that he had no prospect of it. Once he said, his friends must exercise a patient hope, he had not seen that he should get well. At times his bodily sufferings were very great, but he was preserved in much patience and resignation to the Lord's will, often ejaculating with earnestness, "O blessed Saviour, O Lord Jesus, help me!" showing that his dependence was placed on the Physician of value.

A few days before his decease, he remarked to a Friend who was with him, "the crisis has not been shown me, when I shall be taken—but from the way I feel, it seems as if it could not be much longer;"—the Friend replying, "then thou dost not think thou wilt recover"—he answered, "I leave it all to Him who knows how to order all things for the best; I have no desire but that his blessed will may be done."

On sixth-day night, the thirteenth of tenth month, he became much worse—his strength was fast failing, and the power of articulation almost gone—and about three o'clock on the following morning, the near approach of death was apparent. He was in great suffering for a few hours, but about ten in the morning, the conflict seemed over, and exhausted nature ready to sink away: he said nothing during this time, except ejaculating with uplifted hands,

"O Lord," which were his last words. He breathed shorter and shorter, until about a quarter after eleven, when his purified spirit quietly departed to the mansions of eternal glory.

His remains were interred in Friends' burial ground at Newton, on second-day, the sixteenth of tenth month, 1826, after which a large and solemn meeting was held.

Testimony of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting, concerning our beloved friend RICHARD JORDAN, *deceased.*

IT appears from memorandums which he has left, that his parents, Joseph and Patience Jordan, were members of our religious Society. His father being much from home on business, and his mother dying whilst he was quite young, his education was so far neglected, that he was but a few times at a religious meeting of Friends, until he was twelve years old. But the watchful care and unspeakable mercy of the Lord, was manifested in the tendering visitations of his holy Spirit, exciting awful impressions on his mind respecting a future state, and raising at times fervent desires after an inheritance among the spirits of the sanctified in heaven, when time to him should be no longer. But not keeping close to this religious exercise, the tendering sense of divine goodness became much effaced, his mind alienated from the source of all true comfort, and his feet with avidity were tracing the paths of temptation and lying vanities. In this condition it pleased the Shepherd of Israel renewedly to bring him under a deep sense of judgment and condemnation for sin; and as he patiently and humbly abode under this refining baptism, though at times tempted to give up all hope of ever attaining to a state of acceptance and peace, he was, through great mercy, enabled to surrender himself into the hands of his all-sufficient Redeemer, and brought into a living and heartfelt experience of reconciliation to God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Being married and settled in North Carolina, and having passed through many deep and various baptisms, with an awful impression that he was called to the ministry, and at times a sensible feeling of the divine hand putting him forth therein, which he strove to avoid; he was, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, enabled to resign himself to the disposal of the blessed Head of the church, and strengthened to express a few words in a small meeting of Friends, which yielded indescribable peace to his hitherto oppressed and afflicted soul. His appearances in the ministry were for a long time small, and not frequent, his mind being covered with a fear and dread lest he should shoot out into branches, and not truly know an establishment in the root of immortal life. He kept much at home, except attending his own yearly meeting, and some neighbouring meetings in Virginia, and also travelling on foot in religious visits to some places in North Carolina. Being faithful in the little, his qualification for further services became enlarged; and feeling a religious concern to visit the meetings of Friends in the northern and eastern states, he opened the same to his Friends, and in the third month, 1797, obtained certificates of their unity, from the monthly and quarterly meetings of which he was a member. His visit to those parts was attended with the savour of divine life, and as a messenger of Christ, his fervent labours in the ministry were made effectual to the quickening of many minds, and to the real edification of the church. Some time after his return from this journey, his mind being often greatly reduced and humbled, a prospect of extensive religious service in foreign parts was weightily spread before him, which, through holy help, he was enabled to give up to; and in the second month, 1800, after receiving the requisite certificates, he left his residence with a humbling sense of the Lord's hand upon him; and soon after embarked at New York, in a vessel bound for England. Being strengthened to complete his visit with much acceptance and in the unity of his Friends, to most of the meetings in Great Britain and Ireland, and also to several parts of the continent of Europe, where he experienced many remarkable preservations, and signal interpositions of Divine Providence, he returned to America in the tenth month, 1802. After the lapse of several months, believing himself called upon to reside some time in Connecticut, he removed with his family to Hartford, in that state, in the year 1804. Whilst an inhabitant there, he paid several religious visits to distant meetings; and in 1809, being satisfied that it would be right for him to leave those parts, and again change his residence, he spread the same before his friends, who after due deliberation, signified their unity with his prospect, and he accordingly came and settled within the limits of this monthly meeting. His time for several years was much occupied in attending to the services of our religious Society, and in performing some religious visits. In the management of his temporal affairs, he was remarkably cautious of entering into engagements or contracting debts, lest through any unforeseen occurrence, an honourable and punctual dis-

charge of them might be improperly delayed or prevented, and a blemish be thereby brought upon the cause of Truth, which to him was more precious than any earthly possession: this guarded circumspection was so strictly maintained, that, making his wants few, he rarely had any unsettled accounts on hand.

Being devoted to the service of his heavenly Master, he was made an able minister of the gospel; and though at times in the beginning of his communications, he might seem to the superficial observer, to move on in weakness, yet to the truly gathered spirits he was felt to be exercised in watchful care not to proceed faster or further, than as the great Shepherd of the sheep was pleased to lead along, in the openings of the divine gift. His reverent humble waiting, and deep exercise of spirit, in his silent sitting in our meetings, were instructive and at times had a reaching effect upon the minds of those around him; and when put forth to speak to the people, it was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; baptizing the audience, and clearly opening to individuals their states and conditions, showing with indubitable certainty, that the pathway of peace and salvation was through the effectual operation of the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the third month, 1825, he met with a close trial in the death of his beloved wife, which he bore with exemplary resignation.

In the eighth month, 1826, returning from a visit to Salem quarterly meeting, held at Woodbury, and conversing with a Friend in allusion to a visit he had lately made to Friends in Philadelphia, he expressed the great peace and satisfaction he felt in recurring to it, and emphatically said that it would be his last visit; and appeared settled in the conviction that the happy period of his release from the trials of time was near at hand. In a few days after this, he was taken unwell; and in this his last illness, which continued about two months, he had much conversation with several of his dear and intimate Friends, upon the present state of our religious Society, earnestly declaring as his belief, that all those who were led by the Spirit of truth, would feel themselves constrained to acknowledge all that is recorded in the holy Scriptures, concerning the coming, the sufferings, and offices of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as he appeared in the flesh at Jerusalem. He several times declared as his firm conviction at that awful period, that however painful the present state of things was to the sincere followers of the Lamb, yet he fully believed it would be made the means of purifying the Society of much of its dross, and that such as stood faithful in their allegiance to Christ, would be deepened by it in the life of religion. He had seen (he said) that the Lord would take the cause into his own hand, and none should be able to hinder him: that those of this Society, who had been highly favoured, but who had turned their backs and forsaken Him, would be cast out, and others brought in, who would stand for the honour of his great name, and for his cause in the earth. On the 16th of the ninth month, a Friend calling to see him, he intimated that he thought his recovery very doubtful, considering his age, and the great prostration of his strength; but he several times remarked, that he had no will but the Lord's will. He expressed with much feeling and deep sorrow, his concern for those, who, by giving way to their creaturely wisdom and carnal reasoning, have departed from the Christian faith. With much emphasis he said, "Oh, what will those men do, that deny the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! what refuge will they have at such a time as this; on a sick bed—O, what will become of them!"—Once he said, "I would not be in their state for any thing in the world." He intimated that during this sickness, he had had much opportunity for reflection, both by day and by night, and he had thought much upon the awful state of those people that deny the Lord, and the only hope of salvation, which, added he, is by the mercy of God, through the merits and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then he said with much emphasis, "My hope, my only hope for salvation, is in the mercy of God, through the merits of Jesus Christ:" these, or words nearly similar, he repeated several times during the course of the conversation. He enlarged very instructively on the ground of this his hope, and the great stay and comfort it was to his mind:—"Oh," said he, "I would not give this hope in the mercy of God, through Jesus Christ, for the whole world." He then proceeded to relate, how, during that illness, many scripture passages, both out of the old and new Testament, had been unfolded to his mind with great clearness and comfort, respecting the plan devised by divine love for the restoration of poor fallen man, and the salvation of sinners.—After setting forth the fall of man, through the temptation and subtlety of satan, and his aspiring above the station appointed him by divine wisdom, he proceeded to open some of those passages, beginning with the promise of the seed of the woman, that should bruise the head of the serpent; and enlarged upon many scripture testimonies, showing that this Seed is Christ; even He who died for our sins on the cross, and who is a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, an Advocate with the Father, and Mediator between God and man. He enlarged upon what

faith in God, and in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, had done in every generation; then emphatically said, "This is also my faith, and I shall die in it, as I have lived, hoping in God's mercy, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

On the 18th of the month, being alone with a Friend, he entered into conversation on the present state of Society, and remarked, that there were many under our name, who had made a mere profession, but had never been convinced of, nor yielded obedience to, the principles and doctrines of Friends, and it was no marvel if such were carried off with unsound notions. He said, he believed it had been permitted, in order to manifest such as these, but he was firm in the faith, that the ancient doctrines and principles of the Society, as set forth in the scriptures, would prevail: and all those who were building on Jesus Christ, would be preserved, amid all the storms and commotions that now agitated the Society; and it would yet arise and shine in more of its ancient beauty than many now living have ever seen it; adding, "I may not live to see it, but there are some of you that will."—He remarked to a Friend who called to see him; "It is a satisfaction to reflect that my outward concerns are all settled."—After a solemn pause, he added, "I know that I am a poor creature, and have nothing to depend on but the mercy of a gracious God, through Christ Jesus my Lord. Oh, these poor things that are trying to do away all belief in the authenticity of the scriptures, and in a Saviour, what will become of them! No other foundation can any man lay than that which is laid."—His bodily sufferings were at times great, but he was preserved in patience and resignation to the divine will; and several times he ejaculated with much earnestness, "Oh, blessed Saviour!—Oh Lord Jesus help me,"—evincing that his dependence was placed upon the Physician of value.

A few days before his decease, he remarked to a Friend, that the crisis had not been shown to him, when he should be taken; but from the way he felt, he thought it could not be much longer. The Friend intimating that she supposed he thought he should not recover, he answered, "I leave it all to him who knows how to order all things for the best. I have no desire but that his blessed will may be done."

On sixth-day, the 13th of tenth month, he became much worse, and about three o'clock on seventh-day morning, the approaching change was apparent.—He was in much suffering until about ten o'clock, when the conflict seemed to be nearly over; and breathing shorter and shorter, he quietly and calmly departed, about a quarter after eleven o'clock, that forenoon, in the seventieth year of his age, being a minister about forty-five years.

Read and approved at an adjourned Monthly meeting of men and women Friends, held at Haddonfield, New Jersey, the thirteenth-day of the third month, 1827, and directed to be signed by the clerks of the respective meetings, and forwarded to the Quarterly meeting.

JOHN M. KAIGN,
SARAH CLEMENT,
Clerks.

Read and approved in Haddonfield Quarterly meeting, held third month fifteenth, 1827, and directed to be signed and forwarded to the Meeting for Sufferings.

DAVID ROBERTS,
Clerk.

A SHORT NARRATIVE OF OUR DEAR AND WORTHY FRIEND,

ISAAC SHARPLES,

LATE OF HITCHIN:

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. TO WHICH ARE ADDED, SOME OF HIS SOLID AND WEIGHTY EXPRESSIONS A LITTLE BEFORE HIS END.

BEING now about the 80th year of my age, it is in my mind to leave some few hints of the Lord's tender dealings with me from my youth to this time, for the information and encouragement of those I may leave behind me. I was born near Prescot in Lancashire, about the year 1702, my parents, William and Phebe Sharples being members of that meeting. My mother died about three years after, leaving six children, who, by her removal, were subjected to much hardship. My father, for want of keeping his place, forfeited his unity with

Friends, by which the family became dispersed, and none of us continued in the Society.

When I was about twelve years of age, by the persuasion of some of my father's relations, I was sprinkled at Ormskirk; from which time I continued to frequent the public worship, until I joined Friends. At about fourteen I was placed out apprentice to a taylor, where I suffered much; but my master, to whom I was bound, not having sufficient employment for me, after I had served about half my time, turned me over to a Friend for the remainder of the term, whereby I got some relief. And in this family they would often be speaking of my mother, who was esteemed a valuable Friend.

Having now frequent opportunities of being in Friends company, and observing their regular lives and conversation, it gave me a secret liking towards them; but looking upon myself to be a settled member of the established church (so called,) and there being most liberty for worldly indulgence, I endeavoured to satisfy myself in that way as long as I could; being often strongly tempted by youthful lusts, after the common evils that are in the world; yet I was mercifully preserved from the grosser part thereof. At length it pleased the Lord, who had long followed me by his secret rebukes, to break in upon my soul by his powerful love and awakening visitations, to show me that was not my rest, because it was polluted. My present state and condition being now clearly laid open to my view, by the light that shined into my dark heart, I saw sin to be exceedingly sinful, and that it was that which separated me from my God, and caused him to withhold good things from me. I was also favoured to see my great loss of time and neglect of duty, and how far I was behind in my day's work: for although the Lord was pleased to wink at the time of ignorance, yet now I found his call and command was to repentance and amendment of life. And when I set my heart to seek him, I met with great inward opposition from the combined force of my three potent enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil, who assaulted me with manifold temptations. But for ever magnified be my gracious God, he made good the saying of our blessed Saviour; "My Father is greater than all, and none shall be able to pluck you out of my Father's hand." Thus, although I was like one cast out and forsaken, and in great measure destitute of those natural advantages many are favoured with, (my education being low) yet, in this state of weakness and ignorance, the Lord took me under his care and protection.

When out of my apprenticeship, having but few friends or relations that took much notice of me, I concluded to travel in the way of my trade, and went to London, where I worked some time. Afterwards I proceeded westward by way of Oxford, Cirencester, and Bristol, intending to travel through the western counties, and return again to London. But I had not gone far from Bristol, before kind Providence, watching over me for my good, mercifully interposed, directing my way in his wisdom; he was pleased to put a stop to my roving mind, and to convince me of the truth of that saying, "It is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps."

Meeting with employment in my trade in the county of Somerset, and being convinced of the blessed truth, I settled amongst Friends, and continued in that part of the country some years; when, about the year 1724, my mouth was first opened in the work of the ministry at a meeting at Claverham, in the said county, which I attended for some years, before I went much abroad. After my stay here about twelve years, I entered into a married state with Esther Thurston, of Thornbury in Gloucestershire, widow, where I then settled. We lived together in true unity about five years, when she was removed from me by death. During my residence here, the Lord laid a concern upon me to pay a religious visit to divers northern counties, and Scotland, also South and North Wales; with which I acquainted my friends, and having their concurrence and certificate, I set forward, endeavouring to look with a single eye to my good guide, who was pleased to enable me to perform this service to my own comfort, and the satisfaction of my friends: for which, and for his preservation and care over me every way unto this time, I bow the knee to my gracious and merciful God. Although I sometimes set out in great inward poverty, yet I was secretly supported by an invisible hand, that I could truly say, the Lord was my shepherd, and bountifully supplied all my wants, so as many times to make my cup to run over, filling my heart with his love; that I can now say, What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits, who has been my morning light, and I humbly hope will be my evening song?

After this journey I continued at Thornbury about five years longer, visiting the meetings of my friends in most of the western and north-west counties, as the Lord was pleased to open my way. And about the year 1743, a concern was laid upon me to visit the principal towns in the county of Devon, where there were no Friends; and notwithstanding the undertaking looked difficult and arduous, yet as I was preserved in a faithful obedience to the Lord's requirings, he who put me forth was pleased to go before me in such a manner, that notwithstanding it was sometimes attended with

close exercise, yet through his divine assistance I was enabled to perform this service to a good degree of satisfaction, and to meet with no opposition; except in one place from an angry priest. At several towns I had meetings in the streets and market-houses. I afterwards went into Dorsetshire and Hampshire, and passed over into the isle of Jersey in company with my friend Jeremiah Waring.

1744. This year I visited Ireland.

1745. Visited several western counties as far as Cornwall, and the circular yearly meeting there.

1746. This year I entered a second time into a married state with Mary, daughter of our worthy friends Joseph and Mary Ransom, of Hitchin in Hertfordshire, where I then settled. She has been a true helpmeet to me, we having now lived together in great unity about thirty-six years.

After my marriage I visited most of the counties of England and Wales at different times, as the Lord was pleased to open my way, and enable me for it; through all which I have to acknowledge with thankfulness to my God, in whose service I went forth, that I lacked nothing, but was wonderfully preserved and supported: yet have nothing to glory in but that arm that was made bare for my help, and have done no more than was my duty to do. I have had many public services in barns and other places where there were no Friends settled, and have attended many marriages and burials not herein particularly noticed, whereby I have endeavoured to fill up my time: and under an humbling sense of the Lord's goodness, I can now look back with satisfaction and thankfulness, to him who has enabled me so far to do my day's work in the day time, and am now favoured in my old age to drink of that Rock, out of which flow the issues of life; so that now, through his merciful aid, I can set up my Ebenezer, and say, Hitherto the Lord has helped me.

I was called into the vineyard when young, and have ever since found work enough to do, either in digging, watering, or pruning; it not being a time for slothful servants, nor will it do to put that candle, which has been lighted in us, under a bed or a bushel. The Lord did not find me out amongst the wise and prudent of this world; but he took me from the stones of the street, where, in his wisdom and goodness, he has often raised up children to Abraham. I have now to rejoice my day's work is so near a happy close, having only patiently to wait my appointed time, until my change shall come.—Here ends the account our dear Friend gives of himself.

When, through the infirmities attending old age, he was rendered incapable of going far from home, he diligently attended his own and neighbouring meetings, frequently appearing therein in short but lively exhortations, endeavouring to stir up the minds of Friends to a faithful attention to their duty. He had a spirit of discerning beyond many, and an excellent gift in the discipline of the church, having a clear sight of the insufficiency of the outward form, without the influence of the divine power to support it to edification. His ministry was plain and powerful, often reaching the witness of truth in the hearts of his hearers.

In supplication he was inward and weighty, an awful solemnity covering his spirit, whereby he was frequently favoured with near access to the throne of Divine Grace.

An innocent cheerfulness, tempered with gravity, adorned his conversation, and his conduct was a pattern of meekness, moderation, and love, which gained him general esteem. Thus persevering in true watchfulness, the language of the apostle (which he was known frequently to repeat) may be truly adopted concerning him, "Our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world."

In his last illness, being sensible his end was approaching, he expressed himself after this manner:

"I feel my natural faculties fail much; I desire to be content with the Lord's will, and to wait all the days of my appointed time, until my change shall come; and it is pleasant to think I draw so near the end of my race, and can now set up my Ebenezer, and say, Hitherto the Lord has been my shield, and exceeding great reward."

At another time a few Friends sitting by him, he said, "I find my body advancing apace towards its dissolution; but death is no king of terrors to me; I hope I shall be ready for my final change: and although our meeting in this place is but small, it affords me a secret satisfaction to see the forming Hand at work in some of our youth, and that they are measurably called into service; which I hope they will give up to. The world, and the things of it, has lain too near, and hurt the growth of some, who might have made further advances, had they not been hindered thereby."

At another time, speaking of the state of our religious Society, he remarked, "Although many have fallen, and some degenerated into form, yet I believe the truth is kept to in as much simplicity amongst us, as amongst any people. I have often thought of Paul's address to the Galatians, his particular converts, where he says, "I marvel that ye are so soon removed

unto another gospel, which says he, is not another, but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ; but though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel, let him be accursed." He then observed, there was but one gospel, however some may have degenerated into form, and called it the gospel.

He was favoured to feel very little pain, his complaint being a gradual decay of nature. He kept his bed about two or three days, during which time he said but little, although he seemed quite sensible to the last. About an hour before his end he turned himself in his bed, and seemed to fall into a sleep; soon after which he quietly departed, without sigh or groan, the 18th day of the fifth month, 1784, about the eighty-second year of his age: a minister about sixty years.

Thus our dear and worthy Friend, after a long and well-spent life, finished his course, and we doubt not hath entered that glorious immortality of rest and peace, prepared for the righteous. His remains were interred in Friends' burial-ground at Hitchin, the 23d, after a large and solid meeting of Friends and neighbours.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND TRAVELS, IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY, OF

JOHN FOTHERGILL:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, DIVERS EPISTLES TO FRIENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA, ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS.

PREFACE.

It was not till within a few years before the author's decease, that he entertained a design to leave behind him a memorial of this nature. But being requested about the year 1742, to turn his thoughts this way, by one of his sons who had been much less under his immediate tuition than the rest of his children, and consequently less acquainted with many particulars of his life, he replied, that though he had been mostly easy in relation to writing any thing by way of journal of his labours—yet it had not passed wholly without thoughts concerning it; and so frequently of late, as to have somewhat turned his inclinations that way. From this time it fixed more closely upon him, and he employed great part of his leisure time, when health permitted, in drawing up the first part of the ensuing memoirs, which extends only to the time of his return from his first visit to America, and was finished but a few weeks before his decease, under great weakness of body. The plain, sensible and lively manner, in which this account is drawn up, occasions regret that he had not earlier engaged herein, and that the many interesting and instructive observations, that must have occurred during the remaining part of his life, are now lost.

The succeeding part of this collection, has been compiled from the short notes he kept of his several visits, and some other papers and letters.

It was not without hesitation, that some parts of the following collection were committed to the press; such as the summary journals of several of his visits. Nevertheless, as even these short hints may possibly occasion, in the minds of divers who remember those visits, and his labours therein, some useful considerations, it was thought most proper to retain them.

A painful, deep, searching, laborious ministry was oftentimes the author's portion; accompanied with a zealous concern, that all might come to the certain knowledge, and inward experience of an holy living principle operating in the hearts of mankind; in order to lead them from error and unrighteousness, into all truth, and into the practice of every Christian virtue. And to those who read with a view to profit, not barely amusement; and in order that they may both be informed of, and animated by example, to come up in their respective duties, the perusal, we hope, will be beneficial.

This was the general tendency of his labours in the ministry, as many now living can

testify; and in the following sheets the same important doctrine is strongly and frequently inculcated, and is now earnestly recommended to the reader, with desires, that the many truths herein delivered, may have a due effect upon every mind; and that those especially who have been witnesses of his zeal and fervency, may, in calling his services amongst them to their remembrance, be incited to follow him as he followed Christ, and thus secure to themselves the benefits he diligently laboured for; and at the same time to pay the most expressive regard to his memory.

I was born in Wensleydale, in Yorkshire, [in the year] 1676, of parents not only convinced of the blessed gospel dispensation of God to mankind, in sending the Spirit of Christ to enlighten and reprove for sin, and to lead the believers in it into truth and righteousness, as testified unto by the people called Quakers; but also, who endeavoured carefully to feel after, and live up to the powerful principle of truth, whereby they were both instructed and enabled to be exemplary in life, and in religious concern to attend meetings for the worship of God; and in an humble, steady, diligent waiting upon him for the appearance of his enlivening presence and power, to enable them to worship acceptably. This also led them into a godly care to train up their children in the fear of the Lord, and to take them to religious meetings frequently, both on first-days and others days of the week, which they seldom failed in attending; especially my mother, whose care herein, and her spiritual, reverent travail of soul in meetings, often in silence, for the sacrifice of a broken heart to be prepared in her by the Lord, had very early a deeply affecting impression in my consideration. I was convinced fully, when very young, both of the existence of an Almighty, holy, all knowing Being; and that there is a part in man that is immortal; and from hence arose a fear to offend him in word or deed.

I have made this mention of my parents, and the benefit accruing to me through their religious life, as well as of some other Friends, manifestly exercised in spirit towards the Lord, and feeling after his humbling love and life to renew their strength from time to time, for this end chiefly; to instruct our youth, who have religious parents or tutors, to prize such privileges, and to consider, that if such advantages be disregarded and made light of, those who so do, have much more to answer for, and will have heavier condemnation to bear, than those who have not had such convincing opportunities. And secondly, to stir up parents and others professing the holy and blessed Truth, to labour carefully to feel after and obey it; and also to be good examples and certain way-marks before their offspring and the youth, who may see them both in meetings and out of meetings.

I have had to remember divers of the elders, and the instruction which their conduct afforded me in my young years; so it hath often brought a fresh care and inward concern of soul upon me, that I might be such a light, and such an instance of diligence, as might carry some true demonstration with it to my children and others; and in this concern of mind we are often renewed in a capacity to pray, or desire for others, with some access.

I am not easy without leaving this testimony behind me, that I fully believe one great hindrance to the growth of our youth in true godliness, is the want of that true spiritual mindedness which ought to be regarded by all, but in an especial manner by the elder and more knowing.

From this fear to offend the Lord, which I mentioned above, to be early raised in my heart, I loved religious meetings and true ministers; and as many such ministers, who travelled in the service of Truth often lodged at my father's house, I greatly loved to be near them, and to remark their conduct and conversation, which hath often been beneficial to me, both then and in the after part of my life. It hath likewise made me glad to see the like inclination in youth, and taught me to be careful to converse with, and behave before them with godly prudence.

Although inward fear and care, with some heavenly touches of the life of Truth, enabled me to live more self-denyingly and gravely than some others of like years, which my mother particularly noted with some comfortable hope, and mentioned it to some in private; yet she was removed by death when I was about eleven or twelve years old, which was a great loss to me. For though my father's care continued, yet being more from under his eye, and he being obliged to have other house-keepers, who were not duly seasoned with the Truth—some of them, with other servants proved inciters to airiness and a looser conduct, instead of being examples of a religious and godly sobriety. Thus the evil power took advantage of my natural activeness and propensity to sports and plays, and often stifled that heavenly desire and care toward God, which I ought to have retained. So I became more thoughtless about my soul's interest, and subject to be led into folly, which yet was often made a burden to me, and an occasion of sorrow secretly, which caused me to beg mercy for my negli-

gence, and to make covenants to be more watchful against temptations; but alas! I often failed in performing them.

Yet divine mercy, by renewed convictions and awakening visitations, gave me to see and consider my unfaithfulness and weakness in such a manner, that I often with secret lamentation bemoaned myself under his judgment—much fearing that I should not be regarded in mercy any more; nor durst I make any more promises, as I had done, lest I should by failing increase my soul's bondage.

As I was kept for a time thus low and watchful to this heavenly principle of Truth, which let me see my sin, and the danger of it, I was favoured with the springings of hope for mercy and salvation; and then my cry was frequent and strong to be purged thoroughly, whatever I had to bear, if the Almighty would but enable me. Thus I wrestled several years, and durst not believe that I gained any effectual victory; and as the baptism of Christ by his Spirit had began to operate in me, to bring a death to sin, and the lusts of the flesh, that through faith, and a diligent attendance to his power, I might live to him in newness of life, I had some hope that the fan in his hand would thoroughly purge me, which was the very earnest cry and longing of my soul. But the winnowing, refining work of the spirit of judgment and of burning, now kindled to take away my dross, was so heavy upon me, that I was often tempted to conclude I was forsaken of mercy, and that judgment and darkness were to be my portion. Under such apprehensions the enemy of souls would have turned my heart against the righteous Almighty, or prevailed upon me to give myself a loose into present fleshly pleasures; but oh! blessed regard from on high was near, to manifest the wicked design of the evil spirit, and the tendency of his suggestions. A resolution, in a degree of living faith, was firmly fixed in my heart, to endeavour to lie and wait as at the Almighty's footstool, if haply he might regard me in mercy to salvation; and if not, but that I must perish, I would perish as near it as I could get.

And as this desire after divine favour and mercy, and devotedness of heart to lean towards, and wait for his arising for my salvation, was of his own begetting; so he was graciously pleased to stay my mind in humble resignation, until he brought forth judgment into victory by degrees, and caused the Son of Righteousness at times to arise upon me, with healing in his wings. Yet he often saw meet to hide his face from me again, and to strip me, not only of a sense of his favour, but even of hope of obtaining a place among the redeemed. At this time, the scripture which saith, "It is good to hope, and quietly wait, to see the salvation of God in the land of the living," and some other like sentences were brought to my remembrance, accompanied with glimpses of heavenly goodness, which graciously helped to stay me in some patient hope under the heavenly refining hand, which sometimes, as it were set me upon my feet a little, and withdrew again. I was left in a sense of weakness, fear and sorrow. But the blessed presence of of the Saviour of the world, which at times filled and overshadowed my soul, in my thus following him, though mourning, is never to be forgotten by my soul: this was about the seventeenth year of my age.

But I am not easy to proceed much further in this account, without making mention of some few cases respecting my younger time; and though they may seem little in some readers thoughts, yet I cannot but think they may be of service to others, and at least stand as a testimony to the purity and spirituality of the blessed and glorious gospel dispensation of God, in pouring out of his spirit upon all flesh, and writing his law in men's hearts.

When I was between six and seven years old, as near as I can recollect, being at some little play with another boy, through the force of a sudden temptation, I swore an oath, which notwithstanding it was to a truth, yet such secret conviction of the evil of so doing in the sight of the Almighty God, so affected my mind with sorrow and remorse, as made a lasting impression on my judgment; and also imprinted that warning and fear in my heart in this respect, that I never did the like since on any occasion.

Wherefore, as I cannot but believe that the pure law of God, which is light, makes its appearance against evil in all, and often in tender years; so if a careful regard were yielded in youth to this inshining of the day of God in secret, many evil practices and defiling liberties would be prevented, and would never get that room in the mind, and in use, which with sorrow we too often observe they do.

Another thing I am inclined to mention is, when I was about twelve or thirteen years old, which was after my mother's decease, a strong inclination took place in me to have a coat made with some more resemblance of the mode or fashion of the time, than in the plain manner which I had, with other Friends, used, and I prevailed upon my father to grant it; but I was made uneasy in it, almost at the first wearing it, and the more so in using it, feeling the certain reproofs of the Spirit of Truth, for leaning to, and joining with the vain and restless flesh-pleasing spirit of the world, and turning from the steady plainness of the unchangeable Truth. I was indisputably satisfied, that the enemy of all good worked in the earthly affec-

tions of those wherein he could get place, to draw out the mind at times, of the youth especially, after the unsteady corruptions of the depraved world, in its changeable and vain fashions in dress and cloathing, in order to lead into the broad way, and by degrees into the wide world, one step making way for another. On the other hand, I was in measure then, and have been since more immovably assured, that the light of the gospel-day, the Spirit of Truth doth appear against, and reprove the very conception of such vain desires and inclinations; and would lead and preserve out of them, if people did but attend thereto, and labour honestly to bear the cross of Christ in this respect. This, as it hath done before our age, hath also in our time, blessed be the name of the Lord therefor, saith my soul, crucified many to the world's spirit and ways, in these enticing and adulterating fashions, as well as to others of its evils. Oh! well would it be (and for this end it hath been with me to mention it) if the youth would duly consider these things, and learn to bear the yoke of Christ in their tender age, while they are teachable and innocent; before many wrong liberties harden the mind, and darken the understanding, and embolden in a disregard to that one ever blessed spirit in the heart, which only doth and must lead man to God and true godliness.

Another thing is fresh in my remembrance, which I am not easy without mentioning. There was in our meeting an ancient and truly valuable minister; and when I was about sixteen or seventeen [years old,] I was often affected with discouraging reasonings in myself; how we should do, and what would become of us when he died? Under this anxious thoughtfulness I was induced to consider, how and by what means he was made so valuable and serviceable. That it was through his faithfulness, his waiting to feel after, and adhering to that manifestation of divine power and life from Almighty God, whereof he declared, that this Holy Spirit, to which he laboured to turn and gather people's minds, appeared in all: and as hereby he was made truly serviceable, so that heavenly living principle was well able to help, feed, fit and preserve all who truly sought to know and be subject to it, and make them truly serviceable also. This consideration both instructed and encouraged me to look to the Lord, and beyond outward instruments. And I have reason to believe, the like thoughts affected some others of our youth in that meeting also, to advantage.

The said minister was taken away by death in about a year after, and the heavenly and merciful springings of divine life, so owned and relieved many of us, in our humble hungerings after it, though much silent in our meetings, that there soon appeared a lively and truly religious growth among us; and in little more than two years after the aforesaid Friend's decease, there were five of us engaged by the Truth to open our mouths in the ministry of the gospel, to the satisfaction and comfort of the meeting. So that instead of a decay and a declension, about which I had been distressed with fear, our meeting increased in number and in true godliness.

Discouraging thoughts may at times attend even some well disposed minds, and the evil spirit may be busy in making use of them to their hurt, and weakening their faith; so that it is necessary to endeavour to watch against him, and call to mind with sincere devotedness, wherein the alone sufficiency of God's people is. By duly seeking to witness divine help and succour from Christ the good shepherd, even one person, though poor and often dejected, may become instrumental to incite and encourage others in a rightly religious application, drawing down more of divine and truly strengthening help: by which means many people and meetings have been revived and helped, and have become more fruitful, to the praise of God.

I have sometimes heard complaints, or a bemoaning of the state of some places, for the fewness of ministers, and truly religious helpers in the churches, and I believe not without cause. Yet it hath long been my judgment, that this is principally owing to too many of our brethren in profession, neglecting a proper labour to improve the gift or manifestation of the Spirit of Truth, given to every man to profit with; and holding their profession of the doctrines of Truth, in a barely rational apprehension and carnal understanding. This, as our Saviour Jesus Christ taught in the parable of the unprofitable servant, is attended with taking away that which he had, and so came on a dark, restless condition. Those who diligently regard the Giver's direction, to attend upon the gift, improve it, and more is given. It is promised to the faithful in the little, that more shall be entrusted to them; which often hath been, and yet will, I believe, be fulfilled to the honest, diligent and spiritually minded. Thus many persons and meetings, by labouring to be found in their duty, seeking their soul's interest, have been regarded; and by degrees, through the humbling operation of the power of Christ, the blessed and everlasting High Priest, fitted for, and engaged in the service of the Lord in his wisdom; some in one station and some in others, to the edification of the body, and the building up and beautifying his city Zion in the sight of nations. Oh! that this right thoughtfulness and application of

heart, which is both the duty and certain interest of mankind, may more and more prevail when I am no longer here; and be a means of such fruitfulness in righteousness and heavenly qualifications, to show forth the praise of God to the earth, that multitudes may see and flock in Zion with everlasting joy upon their heads. Amen, Amen.

When I was about the eighteenth year of my age, a nearly affecting exercise befell me; my father being prosecuted on account of his Christian testimony against tithes, and carried to prison at York, forty miles from our dwelling; and I being the eldest he then had living, both the care of three other younger children, and our business and servants fell upon me. This with my father's imprisonment at such a distance, and he in a poor state of health, brought a deep and heavy concern upon me, that things might be well outwardly; and I well remember a kinsman, not of our Society, came to see me, labouring to improve the thought of our present difficulties, and urged me strongly to give him liberty to agree with my father's prosecutor, and that I would reimburse him the money. When I considered this a little, my understanding was of a sudden fully satisfied, that it was the mind and cause of God that this testimony against tithes in this dispensation should be borne, and that what suffering soever might attend our faithfulness to him, he could readily make up, and I then believed he would; on the other hand, that he could soon blast and consume any seeming advantages that might be hoped for, by giving way to selfish reasoning, or shrinking from the faithful and reverent bearing of that testimony. Thus Truth itself, as it were in a moment, both cleared my judgment, and brought a holy boldness, with heavenly comfort over my soul; in which I answered the man so, that he went no further in the case.

I am the more strongly induced to mention this, in order to leave an additional and experimental testimony to the nearness and clearness of the inshining of the light of the gospel, the true light that enlightens every man, to convince the understanding of what is evil, and to lead into the practice of Truth. I fully believe, that as a truly innocent and honest desire hath due place in the mind, to know and be enabled to do the will of the Lord our God, the professors of the blessed Truth especially, would have their judgments rightly opened and cleared, respecting this Christian testimony against paying tithes in any shape; and would find it to be their duty, and be encouraged in themselves, in feeling the arising of divine life and heavenly power, to stand firmly and act cheerfully with their faithful Friends, in confessing Christ before men in this respect, in actions as well as words. That as it is an everlasting truth that God is One, and his way is One; so the people professing the one truth, may walk and act consistently with that One way in all things.

During my father's imprisonment, for want of his staying, guarding eye, and present help to watch against and resist temptations to hurtful and deadening liberties, I suffered some loss inwardly; chiefly by regarding company too loose and airily disposed, particularly some of our servants. I earnestly desire that all possible care may be exercised by parents who have at heart their children's growth in godliness, to keep them from corrupting company, and the dangers they are exposed to from irreligious servants. The want of this hearty zealous care, has certainly been an inlet to many ruinous temptations, often destructive both to religion and morality; and the sense of my own loss, and the danger I was in of suffering more, induce me to leave this remark; both as a caution to others, and with deep and awful reverence to acknowledge the merciful goodness of God, in secretly disquieting and bringing a dread over my heart, to deter me from liberties, which though not generally condemned, yet the Lord would not allow me in, mercifully following me at times with heavy and severe reproofs. As I endeavoured to sit down under his chastising hand and power, revealing itself against the remains of the lusts of the flesh, he was pleased to deal gently with me, mixing mercy with judgment, and filling my soul again and again with reverent hope, as well as humble supplication, that he would thoroughly purge me, and spare nothing alive in me that was offensive to him. Thus was my heart often exercised both by night and by day, in the fields alone, and in company, often likewise when about my business; and sometimes the brightness of the salvation of God, and enlargings of his love were so abundant in my soul, that I could scarcely (nor did I always) keep from falling down upon the ground, to adore and worship his glorious presence. And at sometimes I apprehended it might be required of me, to open my mouth for the Lord in the congregation, which was an exceedingly humbling matter to me to think of.

My father being released from prison after about six months confinement, I had some outward ease, though I had a deep mournful travail inwardly, often feeling little comfort, but a heavy humbling weight, which at times I still feared was in displeasure. But as nothing but divine favour could give me any real satisfaction, so a steady submission to bear his purging hand was my desire and secret hope.

When I was about the age of nineteen my father was removed from us by death, which

again increased my exercise in divers respects; but as I endeavoured to seek the favour and counsel of the most High God, he was pleased to remember me with merciful help many ways. I believe he opened my way to have less temporal business, which was not only some ease to my mind, but more safe in several respects, it giving opportunity for more undisturbed retirement of mind, to feel after the salvation of God.

In my twentieth year I was often more apprehensive, that something of the ministry of the gospel would be laid upon me; and some words and matter would often come before me, in waiting attentively upon the Lord in our meetings. But I was very much afraid of being mistaken, as well as backward about so weighty a work, and put it off one time after another; but I was often exceedingly distressed after meetings, under a thought that I had refused to answer the requiring of God, and had thereby incurred his displeasure so as not to be forgiven. Under these tossings and fears I often concluded in my heart, that if I was but certain that it was the requiring of the Lord, I would endeavour to obey, whatever was the event. Thus I often concluded, both out of meetings and in meetings; and some matter would often be before me, but in a more transient manner, or less certainly distinct and positive, than what I reverently and sincerely begged for.

And after this poor, distressing, sifting manner, I waded near about a year; but when the time came indeed, that I was to open my mouth in a few words for the Lord among his people, it was so indisputably clear, that I had no scruple of its being certainly the holy requiring. Yet in fear I reasoned it away one meeting, to my deep sorrow. But the all-seeing One knew it was from an innocent fear, and not a rebellious contemning of his small appearance, and therefore he graciously owned me again; and in another meeting shortly after, a fresh, strong motion, or concern, came upon me, and I broke forth in a few words, but scarcely durst stand upon my feet. After the meeting I got quietly away, with some ease and an holy peace of mind, but thought I should perhaps never be farther concerned that way. Yet now and then a necessity came upon me to speak a little again, which I mostly endeavoured to answer, but with great fear and care not to enlarge beyond the requiring; which fear often prevailed upon me, so as hastily to deliver a small part only of what was set before me, by which many times I got but little ease and satisfaction; so that I was still ready to fear, and sometimes to conclude I was wrong some way, but knew not wherein. Under these apprehensions I was often much dejected, and humbled in deep travail, to be and to do what Truth would have me, let the event as to myself be what it might. This hearty care and fear I was made sensible, was favourably regarded by the all-wise Being, by the humbling sense of his awful presence being near, notwithstanding the threatening danger of being overset by sore tossings secretly, and various temptations with which the evil spirit was permitted to assault me. For some months I could not either eat or sleep much, but was often alone in the fields both day and night, mourning under a load of inward sorrow and deep fear, lest I should yet become a castaway; but by degrees I was brought to a desire after stillness, and a patient waiting for the saving help of God to appear; that if happily the blessed Saviour might arise, and rebuke those distressing waves which lay heavy upon my soul, occasioning a visible declension in my health.

In thus labouring after stillness, and through submission to the day which burns as an oven, one difficulty after another, and the disturbing afflicting uncertainties and imaginations, wherewith I was beset during this dark time, gradually vanished, and more powerful and living light, with an humbling yet joyful hope spread in and over my soul. On one hand the sense of the mercy, and a feeling in degree of the salvation of God, was made the more unutterably glorious and precious to my soul; and on the other, I was more pressingly and clearly instructed and warned to be fearful and watchful, both against unrighteous vain self creeping in, and acting in the shape or show of religion. Thus it was given me to see and consider, that the holy One was not only setting up his judgments in the earth, for condemning sin and obvious evils in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in me; but that he would overturn all rests or dependencies merely human respecting religion, that he, the Lord, in whom alone is sufficiency, might rule and have the pre-eminence in all things: and in a special and particular manner, in the ministers of the Gospel.

I am concerned to observe this further, in relation to the uncertain manner in which some matter and expressions were before me in meetings, as is hinted above, at times for near a year. When the clear and evident time and requiring came, I then saw distinctly, and I have often considered it since, it was a trial suffered to attend me, whether I would venture to act in the uncertainty, (though a measure of the presence of truth was about me for my own help to worship) and by bringing forth untimely and unripe fruit, soon fall to decay, and become rather hurtful than strengthening to others. But though the Lord our high priest suffered this exercising trial to attend me, he did not

leave me to fall and miscarry here, but he renewed fear and resolution to do my best, to wait for distinct assurance of his injunction, if I must be so concerned. This as it was and is my duty, so I believe it to be the duty of others also, and acceptable to the Lord, who fails not, nor ever will fail to manifest his mind, as he is duly sought unto, for understanding to do what he requires.

But I am not without fear, that such a due attention for distinct certainty of the immediate call or requirings of the Word of life, hath not always been suitably practised; and for want hereof, some have appeared as ministers before ripe, and have brought forth fruit of very little service, if not detrimental; because none can give what they themselves have not. Whereas if these had waited with proper diligence for the living Word to open and engage, in the entire subjection of self, they might have been great and good instruments, as clouds filled by the Lord with heavenly rain. And as the divine and certain requiring of Truth, is the only right entrance into the ministry, because the Lord said, Some run and I sent them not, therefore they shall not profit the people; so it is only his fresh and renewed requiring, not only opening matter to speak, but engaging to speak it at this time, whereby the church or particulars are edified, as our Father would have his children edified. These observations respecting the entrance into, and proceeding in the ministry of the Gospel, I could not be easy without leaving behind me, believing they will afford instruction and encouragement to some low and careful travellers; and likewise afford some necessary caution to such as may be in danger of being too active.

Though I was nearly tried, and had many hidden sorrows under the weight of the heavenly refining hand, yet a degree of living hope was often revived that I might in time, through humble attention and godly care, be set more at liberty in the freedom of a son; and through a true labour to wait carefully for the distinct openings of the light of life, and being faithful thereto, I should gather strength to discharge myself to more ease and satisfaction, in the little appearance in public I was engaged in. But I had so many discouraging views, and was often almost wholly cast down after some little spring of ease and comfort in the love and peace of God, that I often thought I had surely more dross and refuse in my nature than other men, and therefore I must go oftener into the furnace, and be melted down again and again. I often begged the Lord not to spare any thing in me that was offensive to him, how low soever I was brought, so that he would but deal with me in mercy and not forsake me; and gracious Goodness was pleased to vouchsafe regard, and staying help, as a tender and wise Father, knowing me better than I did myself, and acquainting me feelingly with my nothingness, and with the absolute necessity of his own power to enable me to live, and especially to act in religion, truly to his praise.

About this time I found my mind drawn to visit sometimes one neighbouring meeting, sometimes another, though much afraid to go because of the expectation that would be towards me, through a sense of my own weakness, and a fear lest I should do more hurt than good. But as I endeavoured to answer such drawing, I was beyond my expectation often owned, and strengthened, by and in the Word of life, to speak a little with that demonstration, which was edifying to others and easy to my spirit; begetting humble and living reverence in my soul, with secret worship and praises to the Almighty helper. It was exceedingly awful to me, and what I could not readily get to obey the Truth in, to open my mouth in supplication to the infinite Holy One in public assemblies, though I was often full of praises to his mighty and glorious name. But as he saw the reason of my putting off some strong motions to call vocally upon the Lord, so he dealt tenderly with me, and renewed strength to comply with the motions of life in this respect, but with inexpressible fear and awfulness. Which holy dread and due caution, I beg may ever be properly renewed upon all hearts from time to time, in the exercise of this solemn duty.

About the twenty-second year of my age, a concern came upon me to visit Friends in Scotland, and I acquainted some of our Friends, the elders especially, therewith, who carefully encouraged me in it; and I hearing of some other Friends likewise so concerned, I gave up to go along with them, with their free consent; and the monthly meeting approving my proposal, gave me a certificate according to good order. Setting forward in much fear and lowliness of mind, I met the other Friends at Carlisle, and travelled with them into the west of Scotland, to Glasgow and some other places, where we had satisfactory meetings, and came to Edinburgh. From thence we went into the north, visiting the meetings of Friends to Aberdeen, and where any meetings were settled, Friends every where appearing glad of our visit; and being easy thereaway, we returned by Edinburgh, and so by Kelso into Cumberland. We travelled together in true unity and comfort, divine regard, and fresh heavenly help being graciously afforded us, from place to place, enabling us to perform the service for which we were drawn thither. We met with abusive treatment in several places, especially at Glasgow and Edinburgh, by the mobbish

part of the people disturbing Friends' meetings, casting stones or any other matter at hand amongst them; which was a very frequent practice and continued many years, yet we were preserved from any material hurt. I had nothing to depend upon, but as it might please the Lord our God to open and supply with his own hand; so attending patiently upon him, that his will might be done, he failed not to afford both daily bread to live upon, and often help, and engagement to labour in the ministry, which seemed much to Friends satisfaction, and very much more to my own than I dared to hope for, so that I returned with peace and encouragement humbly to trust in God, and to follow the drawings of his divine love.

I had given up house-keeping some time before this journey, yet kept a little ground in my own hands for some necessary employ, which I loved and believed was good for the body, and a beneficial stay to the mind. Yet being much alone, I had often comfortable retirements, through the merciful regard of divine goodness, opening heavenly instruction, and increasing clear discernment betwixt the transformed and betraying suggestions of the evil spirit, and the steady, pure, heavenly openings and motions of the Word and Spirit of Truth.

Some further concern and drawings to leave home coming upon me, I thought it best to dispose of that land and business also; yet for employment I worked often for others, both for a living, and that my mind might not be too much disengaged from some temporal concerns. There appeared to me then, and more so since, a danger of being tempted to be easily drawn abroad, after having been somewhat engaged to travel, even before or without that distinct requiring of Truth, both to go and return, in which only the ministers of Christ move in true safety, and to right edification. By indulging such an inclination, we may be in danger of missing or losing the clear knowledge of the pure requirings of the everlasting High Priest; and so make way for formality, a barren ministry and unprofitable labour, whereby some have hurt themselves, with respect to real service in the church, and true esteem among the living and sensible part of the people.

On the other hand I was afraid—and so should all ministers be—of being involved in temporal concerns so much, as to hinder me from true inward retiring often to feel the life of Truth, for the daily supply of my soul, and where I might understand when he called to service abroad; and made willing and ready to leave every thing to follow the Lord's drawings.

Some months after the aforesaid little journey, I found it my concern to visit our own county, and the county of Durham, and afterwards several other northern counties. It pleased the Lord, the blessed Fountain of wisdom and all truly sufficient help, not only to engage me in that service, but to furnish with supply for inward life and public labour, to my humbling admiration before him; I being altogether poor and empty, but as he renewed help afresh in my careful waiting upon him for it. Indeed his goings-forth in my ministry in that visit, were often wonderful to me, both because of the humbling and encouraging effect that my labour had upon the better-minded, the younger especially, and which was not forgotten by many while they lived; and likewise the terrible and awakening calls to some bold libertines, and those who were sitting down in the deadness of formality. Though this labour was like a fire to the house of Esau, and therefore unpleasant some; yet the inward and living among the people were relieved and made glad in the Lord, whose favour and peace often filled my heart with awful reverence towards him, with strong desires purely to know, and be helped to do his will faithfully.

About this time several were convinced in the northern parts where I was drawn to visit, and were gathered into the knowledge of Truth; of whom some became valuable ministers of the gospel.

I still loved to be as much at home with our own Friends as I could with ease, and to labour with my hands, though some concern was growing upon me towards part of the south; which as I kept still in my mind, desiring to see my duty clearly, both places and times were set plainly before me, and a hastening to go forward. So with the approbation of our Friends at home, I set out in a poor low frame of spirit, full of fear, and reverent desire after heavenly help, and went through most of the meetings in the western side of the nation, and to London. After some weeks stay and labour there as Truth gave ability, I travelled westward, through several counties to the land's-end in Cornwall; then back by Bristol to the yearly meeting, and shortly after that turned into Wales, visiting, as I remember, all the meetings of Friends there, also in Cheshire and part of Lancashire; and so home again with gladness and thankfulness of heart, having been about nine months on that journey, though I travelled diligently. My health was preserved to me almost wonderfully; though as I came through Somersetshire, I was for some days very ill, but pressed forward in the service to Bristol, and the day I got thither after the meeting, the measles appeared upon me, on which occasion I kept house only two days; and being clear of the place, in a few days more I set forward again. An earnest desire and care

was very early imprinted upon me, and hath continued to this time, to occasion as little trouble and charge to Friends, in my travels, as could be, which I believe is but mine and every other minister's duty.

This journey afforded various occasions of profitable instruction to me. Sometimes divine goodness and heavenly life was graciously and plentifully opened in my soul, both for my own feeding and renewing of strength to worship; and furnishing me with matter and power to minister prevalently to others, that the name of the Lord our God might be felt and glorified: yet at some other times access to food was much more restricted, and with patience as well as diligence to be wrestled for. Sometimes it was longer before any thing was given to minister to others, and the openings were with less clearness for a time, and not so strong, nor engagements so lively or sensible to myself as I much loved. But often as I attended upon the Lord in due stillness and resignation of mind, at such times hath he opened a supply of food, though less plentiful, and something, though small in appearance, to offer to the people. I found it my duty to seek for satisfactory evidence, that it was a degree of the word of Truth, before I durst open my mouth, and then contentedly to labour according to the measure of present ability. Yet some such seasons, through the merciful, though gradual arisings of heavenly greatness and wisdom, were made both comfortable and strengthening to me, reverently to trust in the Lord; and signally beneficial and memorable to the congregation. Thus I was made a witness what it was to abound, and how to suffer want; and taught to be resignedly content with with the various dispensations, and operations of the heavenly power; neither in more plentiful seasons to forget God, the blessed author and giver thereof; nor in times of poverty to put forth a hand to steal. And oh! good and gracious was that divine arm, which engaged my spirit in that travail, showing me plainly many dangers and by-ways, which youth especially are liable to fall into; and that our safety only consists in keeping in watchful fear, and in carefully feeling from day to day, for the influences of divine life in the eternal Word, wherein is the light of men, for all stations and religious services, throughout all generations. It was made, through divine mercy and help, a teaching, strengthening, encouraging time to myself; and the Lord of mercies, by the attendance of this power, made the labour I was engaged in, profitably awakening and relieving to many. Several were convinced and gathered to the Truth in this journey; some of whom, in time, were made zealous and useful ministers in the church.

I was now easy, and glad of being at home among my friends, as they were also therewith, and I continued there, mostly visiting adjacent meetings as I found drawings, and attending our monthly and quarterly meetings, which I had an honourable esteem for; being often indisputably satisfied, that the Lord God in his wisdom and power had directed to, and established them in love and mercy to his church. I was livingly sensible, in sitting reverently behind the elders in meetings for the good order and discipline of the church, that the divine wisdom and presence of the Highest, was often with Friends for counsel and strength, enabling them to lift up a standard against the enemy of all godliness, when likely to prevail through the various evil liberties of the flesh.

In about a year I found a concern growing weightily upon me, to visit Friends in Scotland again, and likewise in Ireland; with the approbation of my friends, and having a certificate from our monthly meeting, I set forward in the sixth month, 1701, with humble desires of soul before the Lord for his presence and wisdom to guide and enable me. I went through Cumberland, to Edinburgh, and so to the north of Scotland, visiting the meetings of Friends every where in those parts, and returned by Edinburgh to Glasgow, and the meetings thereaway. In many places I was truly comforted with Friends, and they encouraged and glad in a living sense of the continued fatherly regard, and extendings of the love of God towards them in that nation; amongst a hard, self-conceited, and in some places an envious people. A wicked spirit prevailed with the mobbish people both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, to delight in disturbing Friends in almost all their meetings; sometimes throwing stones, &c. whilst others with all the noise and vain sport they could invent, endeavoured to drown the voice of any who were concerned to minister publicly among them. Yet at times the power and authority of Truth arose over those wicked endeavours, and the evil spirit was so weighed down, that some of the worst would go away, and others lend some attention to the testimony of Truth; and Friends were the more edified, and their faith and hope in God strengthened. This disturbing, envious, persecuting spirit, was suffered to exercise the faith and patience of Friends there, in that manner, during many years: but a case happened at Glasgow, when I was there, somewhat remarkable; on a first-day of the week, the people had very much disturbed us in the afternoon meeting especially, in their usual wicked and vain manner, and followed Friends after meeting along a large open street, where the number increased, some shouting and scorning, others throwing stones and dirt. One stone of some pounds weight

passed with great force very near one of my legs, which if it had been hit, must, I believe have been broken by it; yet we were preserved from much harm. The people who were gathered in great numbers about their doors, and saw what passed, seemed rather to be pleased with the abusive behaviour of the mob towards us, than to offer any discouragement to them; whereupon a soldier, an Englishman, began to cry aloud three times, as if he had some public proclamation to make; and when he had thereby drawn the people's attention to him, he called aloud again, Behold the godly town of Glasgow, how they entertain strangers! and repeated it three several times. This reproof made the people so ashamed, that they mostly took to their houses and got out of sight; and the more grown people drawing away, the rest soon left us and made off likewise, so that we had no further disquiet that day; and I heard, when I was at this place some years after, that the people had never offered the like disturbance again, either in their meetings or in their streets.

From hence I went down the river Clyde for Ireland, and landed near Belfast, and thence went to Lisburn, where several Friends lived, who received me lovingly. I began to labour diligently among Friends, hoping to get clear of the north part of that nation before the half-year's meeting in Dublin in the ninth month, which I was enabled to answer, in a good measure to my satisfaction. At Dublin there was gathered a large body of Friends, not only very consistent and in grave appearance, but a living and truly religious concern and zeal for the Truth was upon many of them, and great harmony amongst them. Here I met with our ancient and honourable friend William Edmundson, whom I had a great desire to see, having a deep and reverent value for him from seeing him before in England, though he knew little or nothing of me. I believed, if I was not what I should be, he would not only observe wherein, but would deal plainly with me. I went with some other Friends to see him at his lodgings, where he looked sternly and earnestly upon me, and said little. I sat down and little was spoken amongst us, but I observed he often cast his eye upon me. When we parted from him, he seemed more free and cheerful to me; and in several of the public meetings I was concerned to testify for the Truth among them, which both he and other Friends gave free way and time for; and he so openly manifested his regard to, and satisfaction with me, as made my way easy among Friends through the rest of the nation; and had a deeply humbling, and yet encouraging effect upon my heart, to feel carefully after divine help and wisdom, which alone can sufficiently qualify for real service, and preserve in the way and work of the Lord.

I then visited the meetings of Friends through the other parts of the nation with diligence; but forgetting natural ability too much, I fell into a dangerous illness from a violent cold, which forced me to stop about ten days at Mountmellick. I set forward again in the work I was engaged in, though before some Friends thought it was fit for me, but got well along till I was clear of the nation at that time. My labour in the gospel power and word of life was cheerfully received, and made profitably awakening to some, reviving to the living, and a means of divers of the youth amongst Friends being inwardly affected with the power of Truth, to their lasting advantage, and the church's comfort. And so with the love of my friends, and an humble and thankful heart before the Lord of all true help, I took leave of Friends at Cork, and went over to Minehead in Somersetshire, having something remaining upon me to a few places thereaway, and about Bristol; and from hence came pretty directly home again, with reverent awe towards the ever blessed Helper.

I staid mostly about and near home with my friends, in true comfort, for we were made and preserved truly dear one unto another in the love and life of Truth, employing myself in bodily labour with diligence, which I still loved, for the reasons abovementioned. But in less than a year after, a concern came upon me to visit the east part of the nation. I set forward through Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and went over the Thames, and through Kent, and Sussex, returning through Surrey to London, and through the middle part of the nation home, as I remember, in about five months, the supplying presence and power of Christ being mercifully renewed for assistance from time to time. But a deeply exercising trial for about two weeks was suffered to attend me, by a heavy weight of trouble and distressing doubts lying almost continually upon me day and night, especially out of meetings, which brought very narrow searching of heart, and much fear of being forsaken of all-saving help, and lest I should thereby become a reproach to the glorious name I had made mention of. Yet I was not left void of some hope in his mercy, who is all-knowing. This so far affected my behaviour, that I could not conceal my sorrow in mourning alone, and conversing little, though unexpected relief and supply mostly attended in meetings. But as I was brought to endeavour and desire after a thorough search to know if I had offended, or missed the right way in any case, and to double a watchful waiting and walking; I was strength-

ened in a resolution, or desire at least, to labour to be duly devoted to follow the Almighty's requiring, if he would but give a clear understanding thereof, with necessary help, whatever it was to do. And by degrees life sprang up in my soul through death; and a peaceful devotedness, with a cheerful, yet awful, trust in the Almighty searcher of hearts, overspreading my whole inward man, imprinting instruction upon me not to be forgotten.

Not long after this, a concern, which had been at times moving in my mind, but at some distance, to visit the churches in America, now grew more constant and weighty upon me; and my late exercising time had contributed to bring me into the more quiet and ready yielding to follow the Truth any way, if it was but cast up to me clearly; so when the matter was fresh before me, I endeavoured to be duly still and devoted; and when it seemed almost out of sight, or gone away, I was pleasantly easy therewith; which resignation and quietness I have found to be my duty, and the safest way to attain a clear discerning of the motions of Truth in those cases, and also of the time; for I am very sensible the Lord directs as to time, as well as the thing in this respect.

This was in the fore part of the summer, and the next second month seemed to fix with me to be the time, though I yet kept the thing mostly to myself; but as it seemed to remain settled with me, I grew inclined to acquaint some particular Friends, some especially who had been engaged in that travail, with the concern I was under, who engaged me to be given up properly in that respect; and a young man of our county, viz. William Armistead, finding his mind likewise drawn that way, gave up to go along with me. I having some acquaintance with a Friend, who was master of a ship, who used to go to Maryland, I had thought of going with him, and wrote to know when he expected to sail, and had answer he intended to go about the twelfth month 1705. This account put me out of expectation of that opportunity, because I durst not move before the time that appeared to me the right one. But as the matter remained with me I continued to make myself ready, and having the approbation of, and a certificate from our monthly meeting, and the meeting of ministers and elders at the quarterly meeting, we set out in the second month towards London. When we came thither, we soon heard that the above mentioned ship and master had not sailed, and though nearly ready, yet we had a seasonable opportunity of more than two weeks, to visit Friends in the city before we departed.

This circumstance I mention, because it afforded me matter of secret encouragement, both in confirming me that it was the Lord's requiring, also that it was his time; and likewise that this was the vessel ordered for us to go in: I had therefore the stronger hope we might be preserved. All these considerations humbled my heart before, and revived my hope in, the Lord; and the more relievingly, as there was at that time war between England and France, and the French had abundance of privateers at sea. This occasioned us to be longer in the channel than usual, that the large fleet might get together, being three weeks ere we parted from the land's-end, and we were ten weeks more in getting to our port in Patuxent river in Maryland; yet we had a safe and good passage, though long. The difficulty arising to me from so long a confinement with little business, having been much accustomed to be stirring, was abundantly eased, and rendered often joyful to me, by the gracious regard and comforting nearness of the Heavenly presence to my soul, never I hope to be forgotten.

After we had staid a few meetings with Friends thereabouts, who received us with great cheerfulness, finding our minds drawn towards Philadelphia, and so northward to New England, we crossed Chesapeak bay and had some meetings with Friends on the eastern shore of Maryland, and so into the lower counties of Pennsylvania. We got to Philadelphia before the Yearly Meeting there, which was large and comfortable to us and Friends, by the gracious and powerful influence of the love of God, whose glorious name was worshipped and praised for his mercy and salvation.

We set out for Long Island with some Friends who came from thence to this yearly meeting, and though I had an intermitting fever upon me, which distressed and weakened me very much, yet being desirous to be getting forward in the work we were there upon, I was not willing to be hindered by it, whilst I could any way avoid it. After staying a few meetings on Long Island we set out for New England, having near two hundred miles to travel by land through the colony of Connecticut; in which space there were few or no Friends, and the people generally very shy of us, and partly by reason of some severe laws then in force there, they were afraid to converse with Friends. Though I was enabled to bear the journey, yet it was not without difficulty and being much weakened; having almost no appetite to any food. But getting to Rhode Island, we were gladly received by our Friends there, to our encouragement; after a week's rest, and the trial of some medicines, though to little effect, I resolved to go forward in the service, in the ability that Truth would be pleased to afford. We visited the meetings down to Sandwich, and thence through Plymouth colony to Boston,

being favoured with the presence and help of Truth, often to our own and Friends comfort and encouragement in the Lord. We went forward by Salem, and to the furthest meetings of Friends that way, and had several meetings about Dover.

It was then a very exercising and trying time with Friends here, by reason of the bloody incursions that the Indians frequently made upon the English, being hired by the French about Quebec, which lies behind New England, to the north-west. Many of the English inhabitants were frequently murdered in their houses, or shot, or knocked down on the road or in the fields; some were carried away captives; and those whom they killed, they cut round the head about the skirts of the hair, and then pulled the skin off the head; and for every such skin, which they call a scalp, they were to have a sum of money. These barbarities caused many people to leave their habitations with their families, and to retire into garrisons, which the people built in many places for their greater security. Yet that which was sorrowful to me to observe was, that few of them seemed to be affected with due consideration, so as to be awakened to think rightly of the cause of this heavy chastisement, and be induced to seek the Almighty's favour, as they ought. But it was a profitable, humbling time to many of our Friends, who generally stood in the faith, and kept at their usual places of abode, though at the daily hazard of their lives; and it was very remarkable, that scarcely any who thus kept their habitations in the faith, were suffered to fall by the Indians, though few days passed but we heard of some of their cruel murders, and destroying vengeance.

We were in these parts, backwards and forwards, a considerable time, having many meetings, before being clear to leave them; which through the merciful regard and succouring nearness of the Almighty Power and presence, was satisfactory to us, and very strengthening and comfortable to Friends; we and they being all graciously preserved, though in the open country. We lodged several times at one Friend's house, at some distance from the garrison; and we had reason to believe a party of Indians was for some time about it, the marks of their feet being plainly to be seen next morning, but they went away without doing any damage, though it was but a mean little timber house, and easy to break into. We got a few meetings in some towns where few Friends lived; but not many people durst come to them, because of the laws of the country then unrepealed, which had been made to prevent the spreading of Truth, and also because of the dark and envious industry of their preachers to hinder them, by monstrous misrepresentations of Friends. Yet some did come, and behaved with attention, and the true love and power of Truth being measurably with us, they carried such satisfactory accounts to their neighbours, as tended much to beget more favourable sentiments with regard to Friends and the doctrines of Truth. I often thought that a thick cloud seemed to be over the country, and especially about Boston and parts near it; though light seemed to me to be breaking through in several places, and I fully believed would more prevail after the remains of that wicked and persecuting generation was gone off the stage. We had nevertheless in Boston some blessed meetings with a few innocent Friends there, and some others, who would often come, in the evenings especially.

From Boston we travelled back up the more western parts, towards Providence, having meetings with Friends; and I was not easy without going up to some of the latter settled towns, to see if we could have some meetings among them; the people thereaway being little acquainted with Friends, or their principles. We accordingly went to several towns, being accompanied by two Friends, and sought for liberty to have meetings among them, but the people were afraid either to grant room, or to come to a meeting; yet we found several willing to converse with us, asking questions and receiving answers, and who seemed pleased to be better informed. Several gross misrepresentations concerning Friends and Truth, which had been spread amongst them, were confuted and cleared away; with which many seemed well pleased in several places; so that we returned in peace and satisfaction, believing we were in our duty, and that our labour thereaway was of some service.

We came back to Rhode Island, and after having a few meetings on that island and near it, where there is a good and valuable body of Friends, with whom we were comforted in the heavenly Father's love and regard; we came back to Long Island and New York, and had some large and heavenly meetings thereaway; where some were convinced of the Truth, and joined honestly with Friends. We also had drawings to visit some towns towards the east end of that island, being some days journey from the places where almost any Friends dwelt. We accordingly went to several towns, and procured liberty to have some meetings, though there was a rigid Presbyterian people there-away. At one town the preacher and the justice consulted together while we were at a meeting in the evening, and contrived to give us some trouble. Next morning the justice, whose name was Hubbert, sent forth a warrant to bring us before him. We went, and many of the town's people hearing of it, gathered

about us, and went in. He began to examine us of our names, places of abode, and our business there, to which we gave him answers, so that he seemed to be at a loss what further to say to us; but he bethought him to examine us about taking the oaths. We desired to know what oaths he meaned; but he was much at a stand to tell us, nor could he find them in his book, which he turned over carefully, but met with nothing to his purpose; whilst the people who were there, seemed pleased to see him so fast, and in a manner confounded. Then another justice of the peace came in. The first being behind a table, stood up and said, come Mr. Wheeler, please to come here, this is a part of your business. To which he replied sternly, I know not that it is, or yours either; and so they fell to argue the case one with another with some heat, we standing still with an innocent cheerfulness; for the love and presence of Christ was measurably with us, and much beyond our expectation comforted us. The people were pleased to see the poor, dark, envious man, who gave us this trouble, confounded. Then the other justice who came in, said, I have been at our own meeting three sabbath days one after another, and did not hear Christ named from the pulpit; and I confess I was at the meeting with these people yesternight, and heard Christ preached truly. A pretty deal more passed betwixt the justices, and some of the other people began to show their dislike of him and his proceedings with us, so that he seemed much to want to have the discourse over, and us gone, though we were then in no haste. But after a little while he set us at liberty, though he had threatened us with a prison before. So after some time spent satisfactorily among the more friendly disposed people in the town, we being easy in our minds, left that part and returned up the island, having some service, and several meetings in other places, till we came again to where Friends were settled.

But we could not find ourselves clear without returning again to Rhode Island, though a long journey, in order to be at the yearly meeting held there, for that government and New England, which we got to through some hardships in travelling. There we saw Friends from most parts of those provinces, it being an exceedingly large meeting, and very eminently comfortable to many, through the strong and lively spreading of the love and power of God therein for several days; and the edifying accounts brought from the several parts belonging to this meeting. Friends generally keeping their places and habitations in the faith, were eminently preserved in that distressing, bloody time, when the sword, like a scourge, afflicted the country. We then were free to go from those parts, and return toward New York, and took our leave of Friends in much nearness of heart, under a sense of the Lord's blessed presence and fatherly care, and with holy and hearty returns of thankfulness and praise to the Almighty deliverer.

As we passed through the colony of Connecticut, we found some concern upon us, to endeavour to have a meeting in New Haven, the chief town in the government. We enquired at the inn if we could have a room, or where we could procure one to have a meeting in; but were told that none in the town durst allow such a thing, and that but very few would dare to come to one of our meetings, except the minister (as they call their teachers) first gave leave. One man in the house seemed desirous that we should have a meeting, and said he hoped the minister would not deny it, if he were sought to for it; and offered himself to go with us, if we desired to speak with him, which I found my mind inclined to. We went accordingly to the priest's house (his name was —— Pierpont); he spoke to us civilly, and invited us in. I told him, that as we, as a people, and our doctrine, had in many places been much misrepresented, and unjustly reproached, we were often desirous of opportunities that people might hear us, and so be the better able to judge for themselves; and that we desired to have such an opportunity in that town, but did not find the people durst allow it, unless he would consent thereto, and the occasion of our coming to him was to make that reasonable request. But he smoothly excused himself from giving such liberty, with divers allegations, but after a seeming civil manner; for by this time a pretty many of the upper-sort of the town's people were gathered in. Then he was told, that we had nothing in our hearts towards them, or any else, but the universal love of God. On which expression he began to observe, that he supposed they did not understand the love of God to be universal in the manner that we did. I returned, That seeing the Scripture is positive that Christ our Saviour gave himself a ransom for all men, and by the grace of God tasted death for every man; and that he became a propitiation not only for their sins (viz. the believers at that time) but for the sins of the whole world; and also, that he spiritually enlightened every man coming into the world; that a manifestation of the Spirit was given to every man to profit withal, and that the grace of God which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, from hence we have good reason to believe the love of God in Christ to be universal; and desired him if he thought fit, and could, to show from Scripture to the contrary. He answered, they understood that salvation was extended to mankind, as the Gospel was out-

wardly preached; proof of which opinion from Scripture was then desired. He mentioned that of the law coming to Israel, and the statutes to Jacob, and that God had not dealt so with any other nation. He also mentioned Galilee of the Gentiles, the people that sat in darkness saw a great light, &c. which was, he said, the Gospel was preached verbally amongst them. We answered that we scrupled not to allow, that the Almighty manifested a particular regard to the house or family of Israel; and also favoured the people of Galilee of the Gentiles, in causing the gospel to be instrumentally preached unto them early. Yet they did not prove, to our understandings, that others had not offers of saving help from God; because the Apostle Paul had asserted, that the Gentiles who had not the law, yet did those things contained in the law; thereby showing forth the law of God written in their hearts. Then he began to say, he supposed we were come prepared for disputing matters, and that he was not apprised of any such thing; or to this effect. We told him we were newly alighted from our horses, and came to him to ask his consent to have a meeting for the people's satisfaction; that this discourse was altogether unexpected by us, and that we considered we were in his house, and would not impose upon him.

By this time the house was almost full of soberly behaved people, which occasioned both more fear and care upon the priest; and I believe the Truth both supplied and seasoned our spirits for their good. I think we might have had about an hour's conference at least, mostly in a commendable calmness and civility; we parted with an holy comfort and thankfulness of heart before the Lord for his merciful assistance.

We were then easy to go forward, and came to Flushing in Long Island, and having some few more meetings there-away, we came through part of the Jerseys into Pennsylvania; in which provinces we travelled, visiting meetings most of the summer, having many large and heavenly seasons. This very much spent my bodily strength, so far that I think, I never recovered it. But the Lord added a blessing to our labours in these parts; some were convinced and gathered to the Truth; and one young woman, who after some time became engaged in the ministry of the gospel, wherein she was made a very eminent instrument, to the help and comfort of many in divers parts of the world.

We were also at the yearly meeting in the seventh month, at Burlington, for Friends of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, which was exceedingly large, and to good satisfaction in the dominion of Truth.

We then turned towards Maryland, and visited Friends and some others in several places down the eastern shore, into Virginia, to pretty good satisfaction, though the affairs of Truth among Friends there-away, were at that time but low, partly through a neglect of discipline.

We got over the great Bay of Chesapeak, so through the lower part of Virginia and into North Carolina, and had many strengthening and comfortable meetings in those parts, through the gracious extendings of the love and power of God towards a well-disposed people, both professors of Truth, and some others; among whom we had some good service.

We then came up into Maryland again, upon the western-shore, but got over some large rivers with great difficulty and hazard, in the severity of the winter; and visited some few places in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, which we were not clear of, greatly to our comfort; and so prepared to take our leave of those parts in order to visit Barbadoes. But I hope never to forget the heavenly nearness and openness of heart, wherein we had to take leave of our Friends there-away, with the offers of thanksgiving and praise to the Almighty Helper and Protector.

As particular marks of the interposition of Divine Providence, should be had in remembrance, I think it fit to mention here something that we esteemed such. There were two vessels both nearly ready to sail for Barbadoes, and many were inclinable to our going in one of them rather than the other, believing the master would behave respectfully to us. The other was accounted a morose sour-tempered man, yet we could not be easy but in concluding to go with him. The other vessel went out first, but quickly lost her mast, and lay many weeks tumbling at sea; we went well, and were nearly six weeks before the other, which was owing to the providential care over us.

We were kindly received by Friends at Barbadoes, and entered upon our service among them, labouring therein nearly two months, to pretty good satisfaction: but through the heat of the climate, and my diligent labour, I was seized with a violent fever, which most of those who saw me, expected would have taken me off; but it pleased the Lord of all mercies to restore my health again, in about a month's time; and shortly after, being clear of the island, we took leave of Friends in much nearness in the love of the gospel.

We sailed to Antigua, but in our passage were attacked by a French privateer, which after firing a few guns, without doing the ship or men any damage, made sail and left us. Some of us were very thankful for the merciful protection; and that evening we landed at

Antigua, where we had good service in divers respects among Friends; several of whom had been out of good order, but we were helped to leave things better, and were clear to depart in about three weeks, and sailed for Jamaica, where we arrived in the eighth month.

There were at this time four meetings of Friends in Jamaica mostly kept up; though several of them were remote from each other; we visited them frequently, and had some meetings at times among the people, so that our labour became of good service for the Truth. There was a priest toward the farther part of the island who grew very angry about us, calling us deceivers and deluders; and gave out that he would dispute with us. We thereupon let him know, that though we were not much in love with such opportunities, they often proving more noisy than really edifying; yet as he had frequently taken the liberty to calumniate and asperse us as a people, and the doctrine of Truth which we had to publish, in a public manner behind our backs, we were willing to meet him in a public place, when and where he would appoint, that we might make our defence. He then sent us word by letter, that he would only have a private conference before six of our people, and he would bring as many with him. But we chose that the meeting might be so public as that all might come and hear who desired it; which as it was his own proposal at first, he could not fairly refuse.

Time and place being agreed upon, he and many people came; he had fixed upon four things to discuss, in order to prove us erroneous, viz.: The disuse of the two sacraments, as they call them; our holding perfection; and allowing women to preach; and to keep to Scripture for proof. He first entered upon water baptism, in order to prove it a standing ordinance in the church of Christ, which he endeavoured to do by a chain of arguments, artfully linked together; but when these came to be taken asunder, and their inconsistency discovered in much calmness of mind, he fell into a furious passion, using angry threats instead of arguments. After becoming somewhat more cool, he wanted to proceed to another article. I told him, I would allow him to proceed to the next as soon as he pleased, if he first yielded up that, or could advance some more convincing proofs of his assertions, but not till then. He was so uneasy and ashamed with his management of the debate, that he soon left the house and company. We and many of the people staid, and had a good and edifying meeting, and parted comfortably. The priest in a little time after left the island and got a place, as I heard, aboard a man-of-war.

We laboured near three months in this island among the few Friends in it, and sometimes among the neighbouring people; but grandeur and vain liberties very much obstructed the growth of true religion at that time, and more so afterwards. We were favoured with heavenly help, and much holy comfort and peace in our labours amongst them.

When we became clear in our spirits, and easy to leave the place, we prepared for our departure for England; and a ship bound for London being almost ready to sail, we had some thoughts of going in her. My companion being indisposed, desired that I would go on board the said ship to take our passage. I went accordingly to speak with the master, but quite unexpectedly to me, I found myself so disquieted and uneasy in mind, that I durst not say much to the master, though the vessel had the character of the best sailing ship in the trade. I learned that there was another vessel almost ready to sail for Bristol; I went on board her to see how things were, and here I found my mind easy and quiet. I let my companion and Friends know what I had met with, and the occasion of altering my intention. My companion readily agreed with me, to come in the Bristol ship, and we embarked for England the 18th of the eleventh month, 1707, but were eighteen days in beating through the windward passage to Crooked Island, from whence it is called thirteen hundred leagues to England, which distance we run in twenty-six days. The master and mariners agreed that they never had had so expeditious a voyage; and through heavenly protection it was safe. I mention heavenly protection at this time, I think from very evident reason. The ship which we first thought of coming in, had we not been restrained by a supernatural heavenly hand, foundered somewhere at sea, and was never heard of more, which was a very teaching thing to me. Secondly, when we were got within the Irish channel, the master intending to keep as near the Irish shore as he could, one of the seamen on a sudden called out 'land.' The master asked where? and was answered on the larboard. The master replied, God forbid that land should appear there; then almost all running to look at the land, I walked upon the forecastle, and looking into the sea, saw a rock a-head of us, not above six feet under water; of which I gave notice to the master, who immediately saw it, and called out to the man at the helm, with the most lamentable cry I ever heard, helm a-lee, helm a-lee, for God's sake, or we every man of us perish. This he quickly did, and so the ship steered by it, but within half the length of the vessel. A dark fog with drizzling rain had occasioned the master's mistake; it cleared up a little before

this danger occurred, and enabled us to discover it, but it soon returned again thicker than before. We got a good way up the channel, but our wind failing us, we dropped anchor, and early next morning got into the port of Minehead, with deep and humble thankfulness before the Lord of heaven and earth, whose guardian angel was manifestly regardful of us. It was now a time of hot war betwixt England and France, and great numbers of privateers were out, yet we were preserved out of their hands, as well as from the perils of the sea, which was owing to divine mercy, and not to any merit of ours.

To this period of time our dear and honourable father had brought down the account of his life and labours in the service of Truth; and finished it only a few weeks before his decease. The remaining part chiefly consists of Christian Epistles to the churches and some particular Friends in divers places, together with such an account of his travels, as could be collected from the short journals he kept. In them he seldom put down more than the times when, and the places where he had meetings, with some general observations upon them; as these might in some respects assist him to give a particular account of his travels, and the state of the churches, to his brethren at home; to whom at his return he was wont to communicate it, with a peculiar warmth of gratitude and reverent thankfulness to Him who had called him to labour in his vineyard, and accompanied it with such instructive observations, as made these opportunities often very precious and edifying.

But as these lessons were too deeply fixed in his mind ever to be forgotten, so as he had not, at least, during a great part of his life an intention of writing any thing by way of journal, he omitted inserting them; we are therefore deprived of many valuable observations, and Christian experiences, and are obliged to present the reader with such an account of some of his visits, as though worthy of notice, yet will be the less satisfactory, as it appears from the preceding sheets, that the remaining part of a life so usefully employed must have afforded much important instruction.

We have inserted here the copies of such epistles, written by him during this visit to America, as we could find among his papers, or in the hands of his Friends, and were thought proper to be added to this collection, reserving to the conclusion some pathetical exhortations, which though written very early, may be till then postponed, without prejudice to order or utility.

*To Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Richmond in Yorkshire.**

Dear Friends,—In the bowings of living virtue, my spirit doth freely reach towards you, in earnest travail for the prosperity of the Lord's work among and in you all. My heart is humbled before the Lord Almighty to magnify him for his mercy, in bringing me to have a share of that solid comfort which the living enjoy, in the sweet gospel-fellowship of Jesus Christ. Herein my life is strongly with you very often, though I am outwardly far separated from you for the great name's sake, as he hath hitherto given my soul large and plentiful confirmation, in being pleased frequently to visit with his humbling presence and life, which doth support through various difficulties: To his Almighty power let my soul bow for evermore.

And dear Friends, both male and female, I cannot easily forbear signifying to you, that I have been under deep exercise of soul on your behalf many days, and for some time wanted to see my way opened to speak to you. But in my inward and secret attention upon the Lord, my heart was opened, my life set at liberty, and my spirit engaged to remind you all, of the inexpressible love and mercy of the God of heaven, in manifesting his saving Truth to our understandings, whilst many as worthy as we were, do not yet know it. And now a consideration of the end of so great a favour from on high should engage us all, and be always before us. Surely it is for no less a purpose, than that we by the power of it, should be redeemed from all iniquity, and be purified as unto himself, a peculiar people. Oh! this word Redemption is often in my mind, and lives closely with me at this time, and I entreat you all to take notice of it. It is a word soon spoken, but requires deep travail to experience it to be fulfilled; and without this experience, all other enjoyments can never make us truly happy. This is the word of life that is in my heart at this time to you all; that you may be redeemed from the power of all such humours and inclinations as are carnal and fleshly, and consequently opposite to the pure nature and will of the Lord God; that so, answerable to primitive doctrine, every thought may be brought into subjection and obedience to Christ. This is the

* In a private letter to a Friend, to whom this epistle was sent, he writes thus: "I have been under a concern of spirit on behalf of the monthly meeting of Richmond, and all its members, and through secretly seeking to the Lord, my way was opened to visit you with a letter, which I desire thee to take to the monthly meeting, and if Friends think fit, I would have it solidly read both to the men and women: and also copies of it sent and read in the particular meetings, for stirring up of all; or however that I may be so far cleared."

state into which the Lord is gathering his faithful, though often mournful followers. For though prejudicial and hindering thoughts and inclinations may sometimes appear and arisc; yet they being brought to the light, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of Truth we make profession of, to be tried and proved, he shows the nature and danger of them, and also makes way for the deliverance of such inward Christian travellers. And as they yield obedience to his leadings, they go on from strength to strength: these are they who experience what redemption is, and dare live no longer unto themselves, but to him, who has called them. Thus the blessed end of the Lord's mercy in visiting us will be answered, to the glory of his great name, and our souls will have the comfort and enjoyment of his love.

I again say, and it is an everlasting Truth, that though we submit in our judgments, and give up to profess the blessed saving Truth, yet if we sit down short of witnessing redemption, by the humbling power and virtue of it, we can never reap the benefit of God's salvation, which is indeed therein; nor be brought into covenant with God, nor partake of the sweet and holy communion of saints, and the true spiritual union which is among the living members of the true church. The want of right devotedness of heart and diligence in this momentous concern, is the reason why many fall short of the enjoyment of that engaging life which doth descend into many bowed souls, and fills them with holy zeal. On the other hand, not feeling this, is the cause of so much coolness and indifference in many, about the Lord's business, so that the necessary care and concerns of the church, for its preservation and growth in righteousness and holiness, in order that Sion may become the beauty of nations, according to God's determination, is almost become a wearisomeness to them. I say, this concern, I am afraid, is become like a burden and uneasiness to some among us, and I have often borne a part with the living, of the weight of such careless easy spirits; my soul cries, that the Almighty and powerful God may awaken such by his eternal word of Truth, which though people may change, and become less fervent and zealous for his cause, is the same that ever it was, and remains so forever.

And dear Friends, brethren and sisters, my soul entreats you, as though I was present with you, every one to see to the discharging yourselves in the time allotted to you, of your respective duties and services in the church of Christ. You are not called to be idle, neither to serve yourselves; but that with your abilities and qualifications, you should above all, and in every undertaking, labour to exalt and show forth the glory and excellency of the everlasting, undefiled, glorious Truth; which God in his mercy has given you to believe in, which must be over all, and shine to the very ends of the earth. Those who are faithful livers to it, shall be dignified with riches and honour that shall never fade away.

My Friends, my heart is open in the extendings of eternal life towards you, and for the discharge of my duty I am plain with you. I cannot but desire you to consider, how industriously careful, and earnestly concerned some both men and women are about temporal things, some in one sort, some in another, in their trades and dealing, and about the very cattle, and by such industry attain to great skill and acuteness in their professions and employments; though most of this is to gratify human desires and inclinations, and to make them and their posterity appear great in this world. If such did but employ the capacities and qualifications which God has given them, with the like earnestness, about heavenly things, proportionally to the weightiness of matters, and to be great in favour with the Almighty, rich in faith and good works, and to endeavour to bring up their children in the nurture of the Lord; and as much as in them lies, to prepare their minds to receive the power of Truth, without which they can never be happy; oh! then we should soon have many, both men and women, excellently qualified with clear understandings, sound in judgment, not wanting zeal for the Lord, which at present is too much wanting, because the engaging love of God would be shed plentifully in their hearts, drawing them to serve the Lord heartily. May we not justly say, if some were as zealous for the Lord and his Truth, as they are for themselves and their own concerns, they would soon be mighty men and women for the Lord, and great would be their comfort and reward both here and hereafter.

Dear Friends, my heart is reverently bowed, that the Lord has opened my way to ease my spirit a little to you, from the concern I am under for your good. I beg earnestly of you who are more elderly, to let what I have here written, have a place in your solid consideration, knowing there is no reason for the truly living to be offended. And you who are young, lay these things to heart, for now is your time, and as you wish to be happy, bow inwardly to Truth, that you may be saved by it, and become of the redeemed of the Lord, so will he be a tender Father to you, providing for you what he sees you have need of, which, without him, you cannot provide for yourselves.

And you truly living souls, you travailers in the deep, that nothing can satisfy but God's arising, first in yourselves, and then in others; so that he alone may be exalted, and may

sway his sceptre in righteousness, that whatever is contrary to him, may come under judgment. As I know there are such among you, my spirit is steadfastly with you.

Dear Friends, this one thing is yet in my heart to you; keep in mind, that it is the life of Truth which quickens the soul to God; if ever we become of his people indeed, it is by retaining a thirst after the renewed springings up thereof in the soul. This alone can keep us to be of his people, and whoever loseth this true thirst after life, humbling, bowing life, they lose the access to God, and that wherein alone is acceptance with the Father. It is the life that is the light; it is the life that is our only strength, and the alone sanctuary and place of safety in all besetments. And though it may sometimes seem as if it were sealed up, and the heavens may appear like brass, yet the truly thirsty soul, that retains its earnest travail, and cries after the enjoyment of life, will never be tried beyond what it will be helped to endure, to the encreasing of its experience of the Lord's goodness, and adding obligation upon it to serve him faithfully, who is Lord God Almighty, worthy to be served and obeyed by all people for ever; into whose hand of love, I commit you all with my own soul: and in the sense of his uniting heart-tendering love, I bid you farewell, and remain your near friend according to my measure, who earnestly seek the good of all people.

Cliffs, in Maryland, in America, the 17th of the Sixth month, 1705. } JOHN FOTHERGILL.

To Friends in Rhode Island and New England.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS!—In the love of our heavenly Father, whereby through his Son the Lord Jesus Christ, our blessed Saviour, he hath graciously visited our souls, and by the merciful drawings thereof, hath gathered a people into acquaintance, and measurably into covenant, with himself, and one with another, my spirit doth at this time tenderly salute you; earnestly praying, as at many other times since our outward separation, that the eternal and divine spring of love and life may abound among you. I firmly believe it will be so, as you wait for it with diligence and patience; as it is the incumbent duty of both old and young, because daily bread to our inward man we all have need of. And that our blessed Father may guide and keep us, and may ever be with us on all occasions, is my fervent cry.

And my dear Friends, as it is divine love that hath overcome our souls, and gathered us to be a people to show forth the praise of the living God; the same divine love draws his servants from country to country, to visit and strengthen one another in the way to peace. The strength of this love, often engaged my spirit when with you, in a deep travail, both by night and by day, for the exaltation of the government, and righteousness of our gracious God; that he may delight to dwell among us, and through our faithfulness to him, his glorious name may be magnified among them who are afar off.

And very often since has my heart been drawn towards you, and it remains engaged, with those who are truly concerned among you, and such I know there are, both elder and younger, male and female; whom I beseech in the bowels of engaging, uniting love, some as fathers and mothers, and some as brethren and sisters, as to age, to labour that nothing may hinder your growth and progress in due care and diligence; first respecting your own souls, and then in faithful care and suitable dealing with those of your household, your offspring especially, if such you have. Endeavour not to be behind in due labour, not only in living zeal to advise, but to restrain from what you see, or may have seen to be inconsistent with the mind of Truth, and pernicious to them, in respect to their souls happiness. In the next place, relating to the churches in the respective places where your lots may be cast; having especial care that those who come among you, and are reputed to be of you, may live to Truth, and come up in obedience to the holy leadings of it. This true and diligent care over one another, hath often proved greatly helpful to some weak and staggering people, and a comfort to the admonishers. For Friends may have heard line upon line, and precept upon precept, in a public or general way; and they believe that Truth is Truth, and are willing to make profession of it, and love to hear its testimony; yet continue in what the truly living know is condemnable, and not of the nature of God's blessed Truth.

My friends, we must come to this, to tell such thou art the man who art unfaithful in this or the other thing, which we know the Spirit of Truth, if regarded, doth show to be evil, and would lead out of. It is a hurt to thy own particular, a reproach to the blessed Truth, and a cause of sorrow to the true seekers of Sion's prosperity. Be they rich, or ancient, or near acquaintance, or under what circumstances soever—this I believe is the way in which the Lord will have them dealt with, if concerned persons shrink not from their places.

Bear with my plainness, dear friends, I must be so, if I be right; think on these things, and look to the full discharge of that trust and service, which the living and holy God has reposed in you, and fitted you for, many of you

in divers places, both male and female; and he would fit many more, if they would but stand looser from the loading, clogging, reasoning world, and the hindrances that attend those who earnestly pursue it. Arise, arise, you who know that the Almighty would make use of you in his house, his church, if you would but cast your care upon him; mind heavenly things more than earthly, and shake off your reasonings and entangling enjoyments, and the Lord will then make use of you, and you shall not want your reward, but shall have what he, who is wiser than man, sees convenient for you here, and an eternal glory with him hereafter. But if all the labour of love thus every way bestowed, doth not prevail with the earthly-minded, or those who mind themselves too much, the Lord will pass by them, and choose others into their places, and will give them their reward. Thus I am eased on this head, being truly plain in God's love.

Yet I have further to treat with some among you, who may perhaps be of the elder rank, but have not gone on in the way, that in the visitation of the love of God, they were convinced was right, so honestly and uprightly as they should have done; but have stooped a little here, and a little there, and rather shrunk from the work of the mighty God, sometimes with one shoulder, sometimes with the other, and stood not upright like men for him in the day when he would have made principal warriors of them; by these means and doings they have marred and wounded themselves, so that they have not the clearness of sight nor understanding, nor are they to be leaned upon, as according to their age they might have been. For if they had walked uprightly and faithfully before the Lord, regarding his honour and testimony as they ought to have done, he would undoubtedly have made them capable of being thus serviceable and honourable in his hand, as he hath made a remnant among you, through their faithfulness to him in a day of trial, unto whom my soul cleaves in immortal love.

But this is not all the damage which has ensued by giving way in this manner; the spirit of the world, and its corrupt fruits, which Truth has to make war against, hereby have been spared and got strength, and were the harder to encounter by such as God raised up, and who must stand for the Truth in good earnest. Their work was harder, their burthen heavier, and the warfare in some respects made longer through such unfaithfulness; but the Lord is on his way in good earnest, and is and will be mindful of all who truly wait for his counsel, both old and young, and who give up their all in true dependence upon him. He has been the God and helper of his people in all their straits and besetments, and he will never forsake his little ones, as they confide in him. My heart is filled and overcome, with the living sense of the immediate extending of his love and fatherly care over all his family; especially the faithful warriors for his righteousness and holy testimony against the corruption of the world. Whether they are such as are immediately engaged in person, or are such as have been valiant in their day, and have done their day's work truly; or are true in faith, and sufferers in spirit, and right in heart with those who are so engaged, though not required to be much personally concerned; such are all the Lamb's followers and warriors; and the Lord of heaven and earth has a careful eye over them for good; and in keeping true to him, he will be with them, and they shall have the victory.

Thus my heart is open to all my faithful brethren and sisters, in a pure stream of love, which sprung up, and a little drew me from another matter; and from persons under some other circumstances, who for age might have been more serviceable, and more worthy of true honour, than now they are. Some of these have had a service in their time, and I know, kindness from a tender Father has often reached towards them for their good, and in order to stir them up closely to consider where they had stooped, and given way to the wrong thing. Although I am led to treat after an unpleasant manner to some, and I am sure, as a man, it is so to me, yet my heart was engaged on this wise, sometime since, to treat with such; and my spirit, though at first attended with sorrow on their account, yet was presently full of the reachings of immortal love to them, with an invitation from the God of mercy to such holders-back and hinderers of the work of the Lord. Such you may soon find yourselves to have been, not only by your giving way yourselves, but when any thing has been to be discoursed of as a branch of our holy testimony, have you not generally rather opposed it, and been pleaders for ease and liberty, and withholding of right judgment from being placed upon things that were inconsistent with Truth! Oh! that you may see yourselves, and lay hold of that searching, purifying power of the living God, which is extended towards you, which though it would lay hold in judgment, yet mercy follows very near. Let a time of searching and humbling have its way, I beseech you in that love which I know comes from the Holy One. For he will bring men to account when he pleaseth, and in judgment will not regard their stations in this world. The faithful, upright walkers, the lovers of God's testimony, more than life, or liberty, or estate, or any other enjoyment, these will be admitted into the Lord's rest; when some more

knowing, in their own eyes, or older, or richer, and of more account among men, will be disowned by him, if they do not come up in more faithfulness.

I am earnest with you upon this head, because a concern fastened close upon me, well knowing that the Lord would have such truly awakened; that as some are hastening to the grave, they may go away living and bright, and leave an encouraging example to the younger, whom the Lord is stirring up. And that others who to appearance are not so near their latter end, may be aroused up out of their unsafe rests, and stand up like men for God, indeed. He would make some of you, I fully believe, who have rather been retarders of the work, valiant for his cause, and serviceable in many respects; whereby you will at last receive the good sentence of well done. That the Lord God of mercy and salvation may thus prevail upon you all, is my earnest prayer, with an heart full of true love; believing there will be but few, if any offended at my plainness, except such as have some need to lay fast hold of this renewed visitation. For it will not touch the Lord's deeply engaged servants and faithful burthen-bearers for Zion's sake.

And as I have been drawn to entreat, and tenderly to caution both older and younger, men and women, whose spirits are engaged to seek the honour of God every way according to their capacities, the prosperity of his holy blessed Truth, and the growth of those who make profession of it, in the righteousness which it would lead, and doth lead the faithful followers of it into; that they who have this care upon them, (as I know many have) may see to the full discharge of their duty; so I have to speak to such as have been convinced in their judgments, that Truth is Truth, and make some profession thereof, yet live out of the life of it, and shun the cross of Christ, that would break them off from their former vain conversation, in words and actions, which are of the flesh and the world, and not of the Father; and tend to nothing but to gratify the fleshly mind and desires in yourselves and others, whom you may strive to please, either for worldly profit or pleasure, though in so doing you slight and neglect what would make for your future happiness and eternal peace. Oh! my bowels are full of love and pity for you; and I am engaged, though absent in body, to call unto you once more, to consider your latter end, the time whereof is uncertain; and that you must give account to a righteous God, who has long waited over and invited you in mercy, and who will be just in his rewards according to the deeds you have done. Look into yourselves in coolness, I beseech you, and see whose will you are doing, and whether you live to the pure word of Truth, the Spirit of holy Jesus; or to the flesh, and the vain corrupt spirit of this perishing world. You have had many reproofs, by the grace of God; you have also had many opportunities of hearing the everlasting gospel and word of Truth plainly declared, in the love and power of the Father; all which has been for the gathering you to Truth and righteousness, and out of the corruptions of the world, to be a people to bear a faithful testimony, in words and actions, against the apostate practices, and to that power which never fell, and is come to redeem the fallen to itself. And many of you have been advised and plainly dealt with, by the servants of God, and of his church; though some to their own hurt, as it will be found at one time or other, have slighted their advices, and rather despised them. But be it known to all such, as would have no bounds set to their corrupt inclinations and humours, that the Lord will yet concern others to treat plainly with them, yet for no other end, than the honour of his Truth and their good. And if all will not prevail with such to obey the righteous and holy Truth, the harvest will pass over their heads, and they will be ungathered; and will then, though too late, remember, who were their friends, and acknowledge the great mercy of a long-suffering God towards them. That you may be brought forward in true faithfulness, while time for it is continued, I am thus engaged to treat with you in the Father's love, which I heartily desire you may embrace, and be fitted to enjoy it both here and hereafter.

There yet remains upon my mind, a near concern for such as have been mostly educated and brought up in the profession of Truth, and are children of believing parents, whose care it has been, both to advise their offspring faithfully, and to set before them good examples. Though you might be included in what is above written, yet I have to treat with you in particular, in hopes that the cautions may be more prevalent. There are several, I fear, if not many, who take more delight to be like the vain world in their conduct and conversation, than to grow up in obedience to Truth which worketh in you, and in a gravity and comeliness answerable to the care, the labour, and the example of your honest parents. But remember, that both these inward convictions, and the care and advice of parents and others, are merciful visitations to you from your great Creator; in order to gather you in your young years into righteousness, without which none can enter the kingdom of God. Be assured, the time will come, and it may be unawares, when you must be accountable for them all to the Judge of heaven and earth. Therefore be entreated to seek after acquaintance with, and

submission to, the pure principle of Truth in yourselves, which you make profession of; that by the power and virtue of it, you may come to be witnesses of its saving you from vanity, and delivering you from corrupt inclinations; and so you may be brought into communion with the living God, and become faithful testimony bearers for him in your generation, in the room of your parents and others who are passing away. The blessing of the Lord shall then be upon you while here, and at last an inheritance among the sanctified will be your portion.

And though some young people among you may not have had those advantages of due care over them, nor the benefit of examples in sobriety and faithfulness, from their parents, which some others have; yet I believe these can see that it has been their parents' fault, and if they had been true to their principles, or rather to the Spirit of Truth they professed, it would have taught them, both to have been better examples, and to have advised and restrained you more, from vain ways and company, and youthful pleasures, which we know war against the soul. Wherefore be persuaded, I beseech you, as you are I believe convinced concerning the Truth, to learn of it, and suffer it to lead you, though it be from your pleasures; and instead of taking liberty either from your parents' indulgence and neglect, or their looseness and misconduct, rather let them serve as caution and instruction to you not to do the like; seeing you know or believe that they should have done otherwise. My heart is engaged for your good and happiness every way, who have been brought up in some profession of the blessed Truth of God, and I entreat you in plainness to cleave to Truth, that you may be broken off from vanity, and vain and idle company, which it is impossible to use frequently and unnecessarily without damage and hurt. Therefore be warned and shun it in time, before you be like it, as I fear some are already too much. Let the extending of divine love, both secretly in your hearts and instrumentally, win upon you, and humble and soften your spirits before the Lord of mercy, who is abundantly gracious, and waits to shed his love abroad in many hearts, if they would but make room for it: in the issuing forth thereof towards many of the youth, who have been lovers of their own ways, more than the ways of gospel Truth, I thus discharge myself to you, with prayers that this renewed visitation from our heavenly Father, who would make you his children indeed, and heirs of the kingdom, may have due weight with you all.

And to you dear and tender spirited ones among the youth, upon whom the sweet influence of the love of God hath made some impression, and hath begotten desires in you after the enjoyment of it, and that you may grow up such as God would have you to be; though you are often beset with the strength of your own inclinations, and the secret allurements of satan, rendered more ensnaring by means of associates and former acquaintance, drawing your minds out after one little thing, or another little matter, according to your various circumstances and tempers, and pleading the harmlessness of it too. Beware of such things I entreat you, and as your faces are turned from them, when your hearts are most tender, and your spirits the most sweetened with divine love, be careful not to tamper with them when that may be a little withdrawn; for then is the time of the enemy's working. Love, I beseech you, and as much as possible keep to solid company, there you will find help; and shun the company that love idle jangling, and airy discourse, for this draws back and hardens.

Thus, dear young Friends, be careful that the work which the Lord has begun in you, in order to fit you for himself, and to enjoy his holy living presence, may not be hindered. If you cleave close to him, and regard him diligently, he will be with you, and you know not what use he may make of you in his family, or to bear his glorious name to other people.

And you, my brethren, and tender sisters, who have something of this work committed to your charge, to appear in public in and for the great name; some of whom are fitting for more and more service, yet are attended, as I know some of you are, with many fears, and know times of withdrawing, as it seems to you, so that you think you are emptier and leaner than other people; and sometimes the great disturber seems almost to be let loose upon you. These are indeed distressing, humbling, proving times; yet they are times of learning great experience, and of fitting for divers services, as well as plunging thoroughly down, that we may see what we are, when the power of Truth hides itself from us, and to exercise our careful dependence upon the arm and power of the Lord. I know there are among you, who are witnesses that this hath been the way in which God hath led them, and fitted them for his work; and in leaning upon the divine hand that shuts and opens as He sees good, they have been preserved living and sweet to this time. And I wish that all who take the mighty name in their mouths in this respect, were rightly prepared for it, and had come in at the right door, and kept a due dependence upon renewed, divine opening, and would open and shut with it. But I fear with some it is otherwise, though those who stand most in need of caution, are often the most backward to receive it; and those who want rather taking by the hand,

are the most subject to search and get under undue discouragements.

Dear friends, I am led somewhat further than I was inclined to go in this respect; but I see not how to ease my spirit otherwise, and shall add this entreaty to you my dear and truly esteemed brethren and sisters, whose hearts and souls are engaged in care for God's honour, and the churches growth in righteousness, and soundness in every respect. Let this last mentioned observation be under your notice; and let all unsavoury and unseasoned spirits, who do, or would bring forth their dry, dead and killing offerings in public, be discouraged, let their words be as smoothly composed as they may; for this, you know, may be done by the wit of man, but they can never beget rightly to God. And as this ought to be discouraged, being a distemper, as I may call it, that hath attended your country, and is a very great hindrance to peoples' growth; so the tender and simple who are living in the Truth, though little, must be encouraged. I pray God, that he may stir you up whom he has qualified for his work, and help you with his powerful presence to labour in his vineyard; that people may have the opportunity of feeling and tasting the difference, betwixt that which is but the words of men, and the ministry of Jesus Christ, which quickens the soul.

Thus, my truly near and esteemed friends, brethren and sisters, in the covenant of life, and fellowship of the everlasting gospel, I open myself unto you; as I know Truth has many times opened in my heart, in secret hope, that though there is something of advice and stirring up herein, from a younger brother to many of you; yet you will not set it wholly aside, but give it room in your minds. In immortal love from the Father and fountain of all our mercies, I tenderly embrace the truly living among you; being brought under an engagement of spirit, for many days and weeks, to visit you with this general epistle, as it settled upon my mind in that which drew me from my native country, to leave with you now before I take my leave of America. I remain your friend in the Truth and a travailer for Zion's prosperity and Jerusalem's peace, and that her glory may shine forth to the ends of the earth.

Antigua, the 1st of the Ninth month, 1707. J. F.

Not long after he returned from this his first visit to America, he married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Hough, of Sutton in Cheshire, a family of esteem in the world, and walking answerable to our holy profession. She was a person of exemplary piety and prudence from her tender years, and eminently distinguished by that most valuable ornament, a meek and quiet spirit.

From this time we meet not with any account of his being engaged in much public service abroad, till the year 1709, when he found himself engaged in spirit to visit Friends in the south-west parts of England, of which journey the following short account is preserved.

The 12th of the seventh month, 1709, I set forward on my journey, to visit the south-west parts of England, having been under some concern of spirit, engaging me thereto, some time before. I left my dear wife and friends at home, in a sense of our heavenly Father's love and care; and met my uncle Gilbert Thompson, who had been under the like concern, at Middlewich in Cheshire; where we joined together in the service, and had a good edifying season with Friends there in the attendance of the virtue of Truth, to our comfort; and went to Namptwich, where we had a meeting, the 15th, to which came several of the people; with whom we had a pretty open time. From hence we went to Wolverhampton, and to Stourbridge, where we had meetings; and so to Worcester, where on the 18th, being the first-day of the week, we were at two meetings; that in the afternoon especially, was a good season, through the free extending of Truth, both towards Friends and others.

After this we had meetings at Tewksbury, Gloucester, and Painswick, where we had a pretty satisfactory meeting, through some deep labour of spirit, and so to Nailsworth, and had a large meeting, in which the love of God engaged us in a deep labour, and supplied with strength to discharge our spirits, though in a rousing, shaking manner, and Truth prevailed much to our comfort, and to the help of the faithful. From hence we went to Thornbury, where we had a seasonable opportunity in the meeting there; and so to Bristol, and were at both their meetings on the 25th, being first-day; wherein Truth owned us freely, both in giving its testimony forth, and in coming up in a good degree of dominion. On the third-day following, we had another good solid meeting, through the labour of both, tending to bend some lofty ones, and to stir up some who embraced this world more than the life of Truth, to more care in their duty to God, and for their own good. From hence we went to Glastonbury, where we had a meeting, attended with some heavy labour in the extendings of the love of Truth in order to stir up some dull-spirited professors, as well as to strengthen the faithful; and so to Grinton, where we had a pretty edifying season with Friends in their

meeting; and also the next day at Long Sutton, which Truth owned with its presence, much to ours and Friends comfort.

The 2nd of the eighth month, being the first of the week, we were at a meeting at Wellington, which was pretty large, but very exercising, by reason of a dull, earthly spirit having prevailed upon the minds of some of the professors of Truth. But the divine power in mercy, worked strongly in a rousing manner; though attended with much tenderness towards the faithful, who were glad, and praised God in reverence. And that evening we had a good open meeting, both among Friends and many sober people, and the power and testimony of Truth was exalted.

We had also a meeting at Minehead, where there was a marriage, and the testimony of Truth went freely forth amongst the people, there being of divers professions, and our spirits were comforted with Friends. We then went to the Quarterly meeting for Devonshire at Collumpton, which began that day for worship, and was solidly comfortable. The next day was their meeting for business, and a seasonable edifying time. From hence we went to a meeting at Spiceland, where Truth accompanied us mercifully, to the stirring up of those who were at ease, and to the encouragement and help of the upright; and so to Exeter, and were at Friends' meeting, which was pretty large, and Truth opened freely towards them, engaging us to declare, that in becoming subject to the power of God's Spirit, we only can become his people indeed; and that to live under the sense thereof, was our preservation. At Stickle Path we likewise had a meeting with Friends and many other people; amongst whom we were favoured with a pretty open time. From this place we went to Launceston, Pershore, Falmouth, and the Lands-end, and had a meeting at each place; as also at Marazion, where several other people came in, and through the attending of Truth, we had a good edifying season. We then went to Falmouth, and had a meeting there that evening, which Truth owned very eminently, to our, and Friends' solid comfort; as also at Key the next day, to which place many Friends from Falmouth accompanied us; from whom we parted in great sweetness. We set out for Tregany and Liskeard, to a general meeting, which was large, and a blessed opportunity we had, through the gracious attendance of Truth, and the Lord's holy name was magnified. From hence we went to Plymouth, and had a meeting there, and the next day at Kingsbridge, where a considerable number of other people came in, and the power and testimony of Truth was exalted. From hence we went to Topsham, Chard, Thorncomb, Bridport, and to Dorchester; in all which places we had meetings, and at the last place many of the town's people came in, together with a considerable number of Friends, and the Lord's power and testimony prevailed to our satisfaction in a good degree, and the Lord was praised.

On the 4th of the ninth month we went to Pool, from thence to Ringwood, Fordingbridge, Southampton, Alsford, and so through Alton and Guilford, to London the 12th; in all which places we had meetings, and in most to the help and comfort of Friends, and the honour of the great name.

The 13th, being the first of the week, we were at the Bull-and-Mouth meeting in the morning; wherein the ancient power of Christ our Heavenly Head, came over Friends' spirits, much to our comfort and strength. In the afternoon we were at the Peel meeting, which was very large, and many sober people came to it; and the Lord's power was over all in a great and solemn manner, and his holy name was magnified. We visited the week-day meetings, and on the 20th, being first-day, were at Savoy in the morning, which was a very large meeting of Friends and others, and an open good time, through the blessed prevalency of the power of Truth; and also in the afternoon at Westminster, to our great comfort and satisfaction. We continued to visit the meetings in course through the week, and on the 27th were at Devonshire House in the morning, which was a very great meeting, and were very bowingly opened by the power and virtue of God's blessed Truth; in the afternoon at Grace Church Street, which was very large of Friends and others, and was, through divine goodness, a truly edifying and strengthening time to the upright, of whom I took leave in great sweetness.

On the 28th we set out on our way homewards, and had a meeting in the evening at Waterford, and the next day another at Jordans, where several Friends met us from some other meetings; and it was an edifying, strengthening time in the prevalency of God's power. We had a good open meeting the day following at Aylesbury, where there were some newly convinced of Truth, and some other sober people, to whom the power of Truth reached freely, and came into good dominion; blessed be the name of the Lord God. We had a meeting at Banbury, which was pretty large, and a good comfortable time, through much deep labour with divers sorts of spirits, and circumstances of people. From hence we went homewards by Warwick and Birmingham, where we had meetings; on the 9th we parted; and on the 10th I got home, and found my dear wife well; and we were humbly and truly

comforted together, in the consideration of the Lord's providence to us, and in a sense of his great and unspeakable goodness, in affording us his blessed presence, both abroad and at home.

From the time of his returning from this visit in 1709, to his second voyage to America in 1721, it does not appear from any memoirs in our possession, that our father was engaged in much public service abroad. It seems most probable that he was now at liberty to discharge the necessary care over an increasing family. In this interval, however, he visited Friends in several of the neighbouring counties frequently, attended the Quarterly meetings at York pretty constantly, and the Yearly meetings at London, as he found himself engaged for that service. For though few were more diligent in business, more carefully affectionate to every part of his family, or loved more to be at home; yet whenever he perceived it was his duty to leave them, he could cheerfully cast his care upon one that was able to supply all wants, and on whom he secretly and steadily relied, not with presumptuous boldness, but with humble, reverent trust; and often, yea, very often, would he take occasion to recite to his family the signal interpositions of Divine Providence, in many trials and exercises of various kinds.

In the year 1719, he met with a very closely affecting dispensation, in being deprived of a faithful and affectionate companion; as were seven young children, the eldest not ten years old, of a religious and most tender and careful parent, before they were capable of knowing their loss. This he bore with holy resignation, and acquiescence to the divine disposal, as appears from his answer to a Friend, who was sympathizing with him on this mournful occasion; The Lord gives, and he takes away; his will be done, he is worthy. But, what if I must be called from my little ones also? For at this time he was apprehensive, that it would ere long be required of him, once more to visit America. Which must render the trial still the harder, as few, or perhaps none, ever exceeded him in paternal care and affection for his children. Yet when he became fully satisfied that it was the Lord's requiring, he gave up freely, saying to his children, as some of them could remember, that though he had all the anxious concern of a father for them, yet he must obey the holy call of the Lord, who he believed would care for them in his absence.

Though an account of our mother's religious and exemplary life, hath already been published in the Dying Sayings of Friends,* yet we think it may not be without its use to insert it in this place, viz.

* Piety Promoted, Part VI., page 90.

Margaret Fothergill, late wife of John Fothergill in Wensleydale, Yorkshire, was carefully educated, when a child, by her parents, among the people called Quakers; and while she was but very young, did not only delight to go to Friends' meetings, but came under a concern of heart that she might become acquainted with the Lord for herself, and be made a partaker of his quickening power and virtue in her own soul. This concern the Lord was pleased to regard, and graciously came in upon her heart by his power and love, and thereby helped her to draw near him, and worship him knowingly, while she was but very young. And as she grew up, she continued to delight in waiting upon God, and feeling after his goodness secretly, through the pure influence whereof, she came to be clothed with a meek and quiet spirit, and also helped to show it forth in a grave, modest and exemplary behaviour; because whereof, she was much beloved by most that knew her. Sometime before she was married (being likely to leave her own county,) she came under some exercise to exhort Friends in several of their meetings, to a close walking with, and a true depending upon God; and to beware of an unconcerned mind when they appeared before him in meetings; which exercise she made mention of, being fresh in her mind, on her dying-bed.

After she was married, she continued a true lover of meetings, and an humble waiter for the resurrection of the life of Truth, right well knowing, therein is all ability for the performance of worship acceptable to the Lord. And as she was often attended with fear and care, lest any thing should divert her mind from the fervent search after the Truth itself, which is absolutely necessary; so would she often express her sorrow of heart concerning a dullness and indifference she apprehended to be growing upon some people's minds, who had professed the Truth long.

Notwithstanding her being often unfit for attending meetings as she had a good will to do, especially monthly and quarterly meetings, by reason of having several young children, and sometimes being very tender and weakly as to her constitution of body; yet would she often express her care, that the affairs of Truth in those meetings might be managed with suitable zeal and care for the glory of God; sometimes saying, She could be glad, and was not without hopes of living to be a little more at liberty to attend those services, and to discharge herself more fully among Friends for

righteousness sake. Whereof she was a pattern in her conversation, being humbly careful, that the Lord's holy name might be glorified. At the birth of her last child, she expressed much thankfulness to the Lord, saying in a reverent mind, "How shall we be thankful enough for all his help, and wonderful goodness!" And the third day, after she discovered her apprehensions of being taken away, in these words: "I wonder that I cannot be troubled that I am like to leave my little ones, and my dear husband?" which expressions nearly affecting her husband; she added, "they, (meaning her children) will be cared for; and thou, (meaning her husband) will be helped; and there is a place prepared for me." She afterwards continued in a steady expectation of being taken away, and spoke of things relating thereto, with such cheerfulness and resignation as was much admired. Divers persons in particular, she advised to prize their time, and make right use of the visitation of God to them. And she also expressed herself in a living concern, that the young people among Friends might not content themselves with barely going to meetings; and said in a weighty manner, "It will not do, it will not do;" and so spake of her own concern and desire to meet with the Lord in her young years, when she went to meetings; and that she could not be content without his presence or his love; and humbly acknowledged his mercy and goodness to her, from her youth upward. Also said, that she had often thought herself poor and bare, but she followed on after him, and could not let him alone; and humbly acknowledged, He had often appeared to her as a morning without clouds; and her heart then being filled with the love of God, with unspeakable joy in the holy Spirit, she sang praises and hallelujahs to the Lord God and the Lamb her Saviour, for his loving kindnesses and goodness to her in many respects till that very time.

Another time, one coming in to see her, of whom she quickly took notice, she called her by name and charged her to be careful about going to meetings among the Lord's people; and that she did not go in a careless and unconcerned mind, but sit down at his footstool, and wait to hear his gracious words. She charged her to tell her daughter thereof; and so spake further of the sorrow which had seized upon her spirit, because of an unconcerned mind, and indifference, with respect to waiting for the knowledge of the Truth itself, that she had seen coming in among Friends, which that day (or then about) she said, she well remembered she had to advise Friends against, the last time she had any thing to say in meetings before she left her own county. And with great weight further said, "It is great, or absolute mockery, to go sit down before the Lord in meetings in a careless mind." After some little stillness in the strength of the word of life, she said, "There was a terrible day of judgment coming, or hastening upon the backsliders in Sion." And after that she seemed to be easier in her spirit, and lying some time more still, her husband softly asked her, How she was? She replied, "Well, or pretty well my love; I find nothing but ease and peace." And though her weakness had then prevailed much upon her, and she lay pretty still for some time, yet her strength was renewed in the power of Truth, wherein she brake forth in supplication, in a very humble and fervent manner, for the church in general; and also mentioned her little ones. And further said, "Let me be bowed down before the Lord, that the fruit of my body may be enriched with the same savour, love and goodness;" and so went on in praising and glorifying God, in the aboundings of his love, and merciful goodness, to the tendering the hearts of most about her. And after some time, she being entreated to endeavour after rest, or sleep, she answered, "I had a fine or easy day, yesterday, but this will be a hard day; for I think I shall rest little more, till I rest for altogether;" that being about or before the middle of the day; and so she continued in humble acknowledgments to the Lord for his goodness and mercy, and in praises to him, who she often said, was worthy, worthy of it for evermore, so long as her words were intelligible.

And though she had a hard struggle with death, yet the sting of it being taken away, she seemed not to regard it, or complain, her spirit being borne over it by the sense of joy and lasting pleasure she was near to launch into the full fruition of; and that evening she departed, the 16th day of the second month, 1719, in the forty-second year of her age, and was buried the 18th day in Friends' burying-place, accompanied with a great concourse of people, among whom the testimony of Truth was borne, in the power and goodness of the Lord Almighty, to the comfort and strengthening of many.

Not long after this, it came before him to pay another visit to America: for which journey he began to make the necessary preparations, committing his children to the care of relations and proper persons. But a dangerous accident which befell him about this time, seemed likely to retard his journey. By a fall in the dark, upon an instrument made use of for cutting hay, he received a deep and large wound in the fleshy part of his thigh. As he lived in a part of the country where no proper assistance could speedily be had, he di-

rected his servant to sew up the wound, whilst he held the lips of it together himself. Of this accident he recovered so fast, as to get abroad in less than two weeks, to the admiration and surprise of many of his neighbours, who being little acquainted with any other calls than those of temporal interest, or any duties where this is not the object, ignorantly interpreted it as a judgment inflicted upon him by divine Providence, for leaving his family and outward concerns.

Being hindered by this accident from attending the Quarterly meeting at York, as he had designed, he acquainted his much esteemed friend, Benjamin Horner, with the occasion of his absence, in the following letter addressed partly to him, and partly to the Quarterly meeting at York.

Dear Friend B. Horner:—It has happened that I have been staid about home somewhat longer than I expected when I was last with thee, partly in that my own affairs have not seemed to rid out of my way so much to my satisfaction as I have desired to leave things; and also having been enlarged beyond what I then saw, to visit divers places in my own country, in the movings of the blessed Truth, which has been graciously sanctified and made truly profitable; all which gives me satisfaction. I have hitherto been ordered, in the will of the all-wise Disposer, which to me is enough, being all I desire on my part; and it was pleasant to me to see a likelihood to have the comfort of being with my near friends in the Quarterly meeting at York again before I leave my native land. But now I am like to be prevented, by reason of an accident, whereby I am like to be unfitted for travel a week or two at least. Yet my friends may know, that though I have been beset with some straits and fresh difficulties in this pinching time, altogether unlooked for; having been plunged in expectation of having to wade through a narrow passage to the service before me; yet I am not dejected, or unsettled in my spirit, under the siftings which are suffered to attend me, because my mind is preserved entirely quiet under renewed sweetness, believing the Lord Almighty is near, and will go before in his due time.

And, dear friends, although I desire not to magnify myself among my brethren, yet is my heart engaged in travail to be more and more known among the Lord's family of all ages, in the hidden root of immortal goodness, which is the only true engager of hearts for the Lord's cause and testimony, and which rightly fits, and maintains strong for the work of our day. And as my heart is made often to stoop in awful reverence before him, for help to live so that access to the pure spring of sufficiency may be renewed; so my bowels in true brotherhood move within me for my brethren's sake, that a suitable watchfulness and fervency of spirit, in feeling after immortal goodness, may grow and be maintained, through all degrees in the Lord's family. And if we slack not in attending upon the pure spring, I am well assured, the Lord our gracious and mighty helper, will be near to supply with life and favour, wisdom and ability, to serve him acceptably, and to show forth his mercy and salvation, to the enlargement of the borders of his sanctuary, so that his name may be more and more known and renowned in the earth; so be it, saith my soul.

Though I am like to be disappointed of the opportunity of being present with you at this time, yet I am thankfully glad, and strengthened in my hope, both on your and my own account, if I should not meet with you here any more; in that I find my soul enlarged, and flowing in a current towards you, in that pure love wherein new Jerusalem's children have their true consolation, and wherein, my dear friends, I tenderly salute you, hoping to be bettered for your tender remembrance when we may be far separated; and thus I shall conclude, remaining your loving and near brother in pure fellowship.

Carend, the 11th of the First month, 1720. } John Fothergill.

At the time proposed he set out for London, in order to take shipping for America; of which voyage, and of his labours in the work of the ministry in that country, he kept the following Journal, which though short, was judged worthy to be preserved, viz:

In the year 1721, an exercise of spirit, in the moving of the word of life, came upon me to visit Friends in America again; and though the matter seemed somewhat strait at the first, because my wife being taken from me, I was left with a pretty many young children; yet the moving of the word in my heart was so powerful, and sweet, that I was soon made perfectly willing to give up all and to follow the Lord freely. I laid the concern before the brethren at our Monthly meeting, and then at the Quarterly meeting, where Friends readily signified their unity with me in the exercise. I then settled my affairs and placed my children under proper care, and in the latter end of the first month, 1721, took leave of Friends in our own country, in the love of God, and

set out for London, having Lawrence King as a companion in the service. We had some meetings among Friends in the way, in which the Lord owned us, and strengthened us by his holy and living presence; greatly confirming us that we were on the way in his counsel and requiring. We came up to London in the second month, and staid there about three weeks, visiting the meetings, the Lord opening a door for our service among Friends in the city, and mercifully attended with his blessed presence, much to ours and Friends comfort, and the name of the Lord was glorified.

Then finding our minds set at liberty to go forward, and a vessel bound to Virginia being ready to sail, we took leave of Friends in the love of Christ, and left London the 6th of the third month. We were favoured with a safe passage, and arrived in York River the 6th of the fifth month, 1721. The Lord's countenance was often graciously manifested to my great humiliation and comfort, often filling my soul with praises to him.

We got up to Skimino, and the 9th of the month, being first-day of the week, we had a meeting there, where there are but a few Friends, though several sober people came in and were very attentive to hear the testimony of Truth; and it was made a good season to us through the presence of Truth. On the 11th we had a meeting at Warwick, where a pretty many sober people came in with Friends, and we were favoured with the free extendings of the love and goodness of God to our comfort, and the satisfaction and encouragement of the meeting in general. On the 13th we went to a Monthly meeting at Chuckatuck, where was a fine appearance of Friends and the Lord's good presence, in the opening of his word and counsel was with us, and his holy name was magnified. The 16th we were at Friends meeting at Perquimons in Carolina. The 18th we had a meeting at Joseph Barrow's, to which many sober people came, and the Lord's power and goodness was graciously present with and amongst us, to our great comfort, the people's satisfaction, and the mighty name of the Lord was glorified. We came back from thence to a meeting at Little River, where we were favoured with sacred help, and the testimony of Truth prevailed amongst the people.

On the 20th we were at the Monthly meeting of Friends in Pascotank, whither came many Friends; and we had an edifying season together, through the abounding of gospel life and wisdom, blessed be the holy and great name. We had a meeting amongst some tender Friends the 22nd, at Joseph Henley's and went from thence to the other side Pascotank, to a meeting we had appointed, and where some hundreds of people were gathered; the meeting was held under the shade of a large tree, it being extremely hot. My heart was much enlarged in the power and testimony of the gospel of salvation towards the people, to the glory of the Lord of mercies. We came over the river to Mary Glaister's, and on the 24th visited some Friends' families there-away. The 25th we came to Little river meeting again, which was very large of Friends and others; and the testimony of Truth opened freely and plentifully towards the meeting, and prevailed sweetly over many hearts; and I so far forgot my bodily strength as to be very much spent, the weather being very hot; but the life and goodness of the Lord God was magnified, and the might of his holy arm supported me beyond reasonable expectation.

The 26th we came to the lower meeting house upon Perquimons river again. The meeting was very large, and very solid and edifying. The 27th we came over the river again to a meeting not far from Gabriel Newby's; but so great a number of Friends and others were gathered, that the house could not contain them; the meeting was, therefore, held under a large Mulberry-tree, and we were greatly favoured with the glorious presence and power of the Lord God, to our great help and comfort; the testimony of the gospel prevailed in an establishing, strengthening manner over many souls; and the name of the Lord was magnified.

On the 28th, being accompanied by many Friends, we went among some new plantations, where we had appointed a meeting, which, considering the place, was very large, (it being towards Virginia) and the Lord was pleased to bless the time unto us, by opening his life and testimony to the edification of Friends, and the satisfaction of the people, who were very attentive. We took leave of most of the Friends of Carolina here, in a sense of the love and tendering power of Truth, and in much nearness to one another. From thence we came to Nathan Newby's, in Virginia, where we had a large meeting the 30th, mostly of other people, who were, as in many other places there-away, attentive to the testimony of Truth, which in the openings of the power of Christ, went freely forth among them that day to the glory of God. We went the 31st to Robert Jordan's, and on the 1st of the sixth month we had a large and a solid meeting near Nansemond River, and on the 2nd at the Western Branch meeting house, which was large, and mercifully favoured with divine attendance to the help of some tender Friends there; though there were many other people with whom Truth itself had but very little place.

The 4th, went to a meeting at Rasperneck, which is small, but the name of the Lord was with us to declare his excellency and safety for refuge. The 6th, being first-day, we were at Friends meeting in Levy Neck, which was large, as many Friends and others came to it many miles. It was a searching, exercising time, but through the Lord's goodness, it proved a good and serviceable meeting. On the 8th we went towards the Head of Elizabeth river, where there were a few Friends, and had a meeting at Sarah Whitehouse's, to which came some pretty innocent people, with whom I had a good open time. From thence we went to a place called the Great Bridge, and had a meeting at a friendly man's house, to which likewise came many sober people, and some of the more considerable thereabouts, and we had a satisfactory season among them; and there being one Henry Woodward at the meeting, he invited us to go with him to lodge, which I was very easy to accept of, and three other Friends who were with me accompanied us. Both he, his wife and children, were exceeding friendly and loving; and both the former went with us to another person's house, where we had a meeting amongst several sober and tender people; and it was made a profitable time to many of them, through the Lord's goodness. We then went to visit one Robert Stewart (a loving friendly man) and his family, and had a good opportunity with them and lodged there that night, as he would not willingly part with us.

The 11th being clear of that part of the country, we came back to John Holliwell's, near Nansemond River, and had a meeting that evening with a few Friends who lived near him, much to my satisfaction. The 13th we were at Friends meeting near Nansemond, to which came many Friends from several other meetings; and though I was but weak in body, and much indisposed, yet the Lord's goodness and life strengthened me, and we had a solid, settling meeting, to the Lord's glory, and the comfort of many. The 14th we visited a widow woman, whose name was Baker, and her children; where our gracious God was mindful of us, and by the springing up of his love among us, made glad our souls together.

The 15th we had a meeting in a barn at James Copeland's, whither came a considerable number, both of Friends and others, from among the woods; and the power and dread of the Lord of Hosts mercifully owned us, and prevailed over many; the testimony of Truth being over all. The 16th we passed over a river called Black Water, to a place newly settled, and had a pretty large meeting among some Friends and people thereabouts. The 17th we rode through the wilderness to another new settlement, where on the 18th we had a meeting with some people who lived dispersed among the woods, and though many of them seemed to know very little about religion, yet the Lord was good to us in owning us with his presence, and enabled us to preach the gospel of Christ in the power of it, among them, wherewith divers of them seemed much affected. The 20th being the first of the week, we were at Friends meeting, in their meeting house in Surry County, which was pretty large; but too many of the professors of Truth there, as in some other places, for want of living to the Truth, stood in the way of the gospel life, and hindered its prevalency among the people; yet the Lord helped to declare the Truth, in the power thereof, and filled my heart with praises to him.

The 23rd we had a meeting at the widow Butler's house, to which came several soberly behaved people; and through the Lord's goodness and help, we had a good opportunity among them. We came back from thence to Robert Honicut's, and had a meeting near his house, among the few Friends who live thereabouts, and a pretty many other people, wherein the Lord's power, and the testimony of Truth, made some impression on them, to the glory of the Lord of all our mercies. From hence we went with a Friend called James Benford, in whose family we had a good little meeting that evening. The next day we crossed James River to William Ladd's, where a small meeting is usually kept; and we had one that day, in which the Lord mercifully owned us with his living power, and furnished with ability to preach the glorious gospel of Christ in a good degree of dominion, to the praise of our gracious God. The 27th we had a pretty large meeting at Curles, and lodged at Thomas Pleasants'; and on the 28th, with some other Friends, we rode up the woods to a place called Dover, where few Friends live; we lodged two nights with one Joseph Parson, who with his wife entertained us cheerfully, though not professing with us. On the 29th they went with us about four miles, where a pretty large meeting gathered; in which the power and testimony of the blessed Truth reached freely to the people, to their general satisfaction, and the comfort of many. The 30th we had another meeting, seven miles higher up in the woods. The 31st we crossed over James River, and had a meeting amongst some people who requested it; to which many came out of the woods, and the Lord favoured us with his presence and help, so that Truth prevailed. That evening we came down to a French settlement called Manikin town, and on the 1st of the seventh month, we had a meeting there; to which divers of the French people,

with others, came; and the Lord was graciously mindful of us, his gospel testimony freely reaching forth in his free love towards the people, and Truth was magnified amongst them. We lodged with one Daniel Groom, a man upon whom the Truth had made an impression in a visitation of mercy, and we left him tender and loving. After the meeting we took leave of that part of the country, in much ease of spirit, and came to Thomas Pleasants' that night.

On the 2nd we went to the monthly meeting at Edward Mosby's, where many religious people, besides Friends, were gathered; and the power and goodness of the Lord appeared among us, to the satisfaction, comfort, and establishment of many; as also in faithful warning to backsliders and luke-warm professors of the truth. Friends went through the business of the monthly meeting in a peaceable tender manner. We lodged that night with John Johnson, at the Swamp, and on the 3rd, being first-day, had a large meeting of Friends and many others, where divine mercy and goodness owned us, and helped to declare the way of life and salvation, in the demonstration of the Holy Spirit; many were comforted, and the name of the Lord magnified in the midst of his people.

The 4th we went to Black Creek, where we had also a large meeting, and many people not of our Society, though generally very sober, were present. But through the backsliding, or indifferency of some, who had been convinced of Truth in that part, the way of the testimony of the gospel seemed very strait; yet the blessed power of Christ did by degrees prevail, to the praise and honour of Truth, and the encouragement and comfort of many. We lodged at Gerard Ellison's, and on the 5th, we had a meeting over the Pamunkey river, where few or no Friends had ever been, or had a meeting before. The people who came were generally sober, and attentive to hear the Truth declared, and we had a satisfactory time among them: several were very loving. We came back to G. Ellison's, and had another meeting the 6th, at Black Creek, more select to Friends or friendly people, where the Lord appeared mercifully mindful of them, opening both counsel and warning to the loose, encouragement to the honest, and in the riches of his ancient love, made the time very comfortable to us.

The 7th we went to the meeting at William Ladd's again, where the Lord graciously owned us with his presence, and opened counsel for the establishment of the well minded. We lodged at John Crew's, and went again to a meeting at Curles, where we had a mercifully open time in the love of Truth, to exhort Friends to faithfulness to the Lord; we took our leave of them in His love, and lodged at J. Pleasants, where the next morning we had a truly edifying opportunity, in the openings of the power of Christ, with some Friends who came to take leave of us.

The 9th we went over James and Appomattox rivers, lodged at the widow Butler's, and went to Joseph Patterson's, a friendly man, who lived on the bank of this last river, up in the woods, his wife being a Friend. We had a pretty large meeting on the 10th, among a tender people, being almost at the outside of the inhabitants that way; and the Lord was pleased to open my heart and mouth to preach the gospel of life, in much openness of spirit, to his praise. The people appeared satisfied, and seemed very desirous of another meeting, which I gladly submitted to, and appointed it to be at Timothy Harrison's. It was held on the 11th accordingly, among a larger number than before, of sober people, and the Lord of mercies was tenderly mindful of us, and gracious in extending his love and goodness to the people. I left that part of the country with much peace and comfort of spirit, and came back again to the widow Butler's that night. The 12th we had a little opportunity with her, her children and family, wherein Truth opened my heart in counsel to them, to our comfort, blessed be the Lord for his help and goodness. Taking leave of them, we came down to James Benford's, where we had appointed a meeting, which was held there accordingly the 13th; a considerable number of Friends and others came, and Truth was pleased to own us, in its power and wisdom, to the establishing of many in the way of life.

The 14th we took our journey towards the yearly meeting, and came to Matthew Jordan's at Pagan Creek. The 15th to Chuckatuck, where the yearly meeting was held, which continued three days, part of the first being for the business of the Church; wherein divers things were inquired into, and offered to Friends consideration, relating to the building up and preserving Friends from the corruption of the world, and maintaining the testimony of Truth amongst them in that country; which was done and received in a spirit of love. The public meetings were very large, both of the Friends and many soberly behaved people. And through the merciful help of the Lord's power, the glorious gospel, both in its testimony and holy life, was exalted over all; and Friends had to part under the sense of the love and goodness of God, whose holy name was magnified, as it is worthy to be forever.

The 17th being first-day, and the conclusion of the yearly meeting, we came back again to Matthew Jordan's. The 18th we took our journey northward, and came to James Bates',

at Skimino. The 19th to William Trotter's, a Friend who lives remote from any meeting, and had a meeting in his house next day, to which divers of his neighbours came, and we had a good open time in the love of Truth. We went that evening to Thomas Pretlow's. The 21st, to Warwick, where we had a meeting with the Friends who live thereabouts, and lodged at Miles Carey's. The 22nd, we went to Skimino again, where we had appointed a meeting to be that day, and though it is a low, decayed place respecting religion, yet the Lord was good to us, and helped us to declare the unchangeable Truth, and way of life, and to exalt its holy testimony over all unrighteousness. We lodged with James Bates, and on the 23rd took our leave of him and his wife, and went to Black Creek to Gerard Robert Ellison's. The 24th, being the first of the week, we had a large meeting, Friends coming thither to meet us from many places thereabouts We had a good edifying season in the love of God, and took leave of one another in much tenderness of spirit, as children of one Father. We went to a place called the Swamp, that night, and on the 25th, accompanied with a pretty many Friends, we went up the country to see some friendly people, newly settled at a place called Cedar Creek.

The 26th we lodged at Thomas Stanley's, and had a meeting there, wherein divine Goodness favoured us with a satisfactory opportunity. A few there were who made some profession of Truth, and many soberly inclined people, towards whom the love and testimony of Truth extended freely, which was greatly comfortable to us.

The 27th we took our journey through the country towards Potomac river, and came at night to William Duff's, in Prince George's County. The 29th we had a meeting among a few Friends, and some other sober people, at Peter Skinner's where we had a good and seasonable opportunity.

The 30th we went to a meeting held at Mattocks, at Justice Washington's, a friendly man, where the love of God opened my heart towards the people, much to my comfort and their satisfaction; and the holy name of the Lord was glorified. We came back to William Duff's again that night, and the 1st of the eighth month, the first of the week, we had a large meeting there, to which came many other people: many of them were very attentive to the testimony of Truth, and the Lord's love and power were greatly magnified and exalted over all. The 2nd we had a little meeting with Friends living thereabouts by themselves, which our Heavenly Father owned with his presence, and made it a good time to them and us; His great name was praised.

The 4th we took our journey over Potomac and Patuxent rivers, and came to the widow Hutchins' that night, and the 5th we were at the week-day meeting at Cliff meeting house; we had a sweet season in the love of God. The 6th we had a meeting at Patuxent meeting house, several being with us from the Cliffs; and a comfortable time we had through some deep travail, but the Truth prevailed over all. The 7th we came back to Kinsey John's house, at the Cliffs, and the 8th we were at their meeting again; which was large and precious, to our comfort, the help of many, and God's glory.

The 9th we had a large meeting at Herring Bay, where the ancient love of God, and its holy way and testimony reached freely, and was exalted among Friends; divers of whom were much hurt by the libertine spirit of the world too much prevailing; yet the love and power of God was over all to their comfort and help.

The 10th we had a large and edifying meeting with Friends at West River, in the free extendings of living power, tending to build up the living, and gather the wanderers who had gone from the simplicity that is in Christ, nearer to it again.

The 11th we came to Samuel Chew's. From hence we crossed the bay, and lodged the 12th at one Edward Ellicot's, not a Friend, but were kindly entertained by him. The 13th we went to Daniel Richardson's, and the 14th to Treadhaven meeting house, to the yearly meeting there, which continued five days successively, where a great number of Friends and others were gathered; and the Lord's goodness and majesty manifested among us, to the glory of God, and the comfort and confirmation of many souls.

The 18th we went after meeting to Rebecca Pitt's, where we rested the next day, and from thence through Chester to Cecil, where on first-day, being the 22nd, we were at a large meeting, and came back to William Thomas' the 23rd, and had a meeting at Chester, wherein the power of Truth prevailed, to the comfort and strengthening of many. The 24th we came down to the widow Pitt's, and the 25th to Treadhaven meeting house again, to the quarterly meeting, and the monthly meeting, which was held the next day; wherein the life and goodness of Truth attended us to the encouragement and hope of those who loved it, and its testimony.

The 27th we went to Tuckaho, and had a large and profitable meeting, through the eminent manifestation of the Lord's power and goodness to the comfort of the living, and to the awakening of the careless; the loose were faithfully warned, and Truth was exalted. The

28th we went to the bay-side, and were at the meeting there the 29th, being first-day, and at a marriage there the 30th, to which came many sober people; and the Lord mercifully owned us, and magnified his own name and testimony, which prevailed over many hearts, greatly to our comfort. The 31st we went to Choptank meeting, which though small, yet was made very comfortable and edifying to Friends.

The first of the ninth month we went over Choptank river, to the meeting at Joshua Kinnersly's, where many others beside Friends were gathered, among whom the glorious gospel life and testimony ran freely forth, and prevailed in a great degree over many souls: I was much comforted, and the Lord's holy name was glorified.

The 2nd we went to Transgeeking meeting, which was large, and many others not of our profession being present, it was rendered to us a profitable season. The 3rd we had a meeting at the widow Fisher's at Nanticoke river. The 4th we crossed that river and Nicocomico to Mannie. The 5th we had a meeting there, wherein the Lord's power and goodness helped us, and his testimony went freely forth to the information and encouragement of the religious minded, and powerfully against a backsliding worldly spirit, which has almost overrun the few Friends there. The 6th we went to the widow Waters' at Annimesset, and on the 7th had a good little meeting there, to which divers other people came.

On the 8th we took our journey downwards into Virginia, and on the 12th had a meeting at Neswadax meeting house, to which came a considerable number of soberly inclined people, and the Lord's power and testimony were exalted to our comfort and the glory of God.

The 13th we went to one Arthur Upsher's, a friendly man's house, and had some service in the love of God in his family, and lodged there that night. The 14th several of the family went with us to a meeting at William Nocks', to which came many sober people, and the Lord gave us a good and seasonable time among them, though we were much afflicted in a sense of the prevailing of an earthly spirit, leading some that had been convinced of the Truth, into indifference and slackness respecting its testimony; by which the progress of Truth and righteousness has been much obstructed in divers parts of that country. The 15th we went to Muddy Creek, and had a good open meeting there that day, through the gracious nearness and help of the powerful presence of the Lord God, whose name was exalted over all. We went that night to Mary Johnston's, an honest woman's house, on the 16th to Thomas Preeson's plantation, near the sea-side, to a meeting appointed before; to which many sober and well-behaved people came, and the testimony and life of the gospel, in the love of God was opened towards them, to their satisfaction and our great comfort in the Lord.

The 17th we went up to Maryland again, and the 19th, being the first-day of the week, we had a meeting at the widow Truit's, which, though but small, was favoured with the extending of merciful regard for the people's help. On the 20th we set out towards a part of Pennsylvania, and the 21st went to Robert Lodge's, a Friend living at Cold Spring, through some dangerous swamps. The 22nd we had a good and comfortable meeting near his house, and were at several others in the remaining part of this week.

The 26th we went to Duck Creek meeting, being first-day, and Truth favoured us and Friends with a good and strengthening season, in the free opening of divine power and goodness. We had divers meetings betwixt this and the 1st of the tenth month, when we were at Chester meeting, which was large and solidly comfortable, in the free attendance of divine Goodness and counsel: many Friends met us here from several other meetings. The 3rd, being first-day, we had a large meeting at Darby, wherein seasoning goodness, from the Lord of mercies, was comfortably manifested, and the holy name of our gracious God was magnified amongst us. The 4th we went to Philadelphia to William Fishbourn's, where I met with many near Friends of my former acquaintance, and we were much comforted together, in the love of our gracious God. I staid there about a week, and had several good and truly edifying meetings in that time, through the Lord's merciful goodness.

The 12th I had a meeting at Springfield, which was very large and solidly profitable; and on the 13th another large and good meeting at Providence. On the 14th I had a meeting at Middletown, which was likewise very large; but it was an exercising time, because a worldly spirit, and love to vain liberty seemed to have unfitted many hearts for the love and life of Truth: yet the Lord's blessed power prevailed, and was exalted over all. The 15th I went to a meeting at Chichester, wherein God's love and testimony likewise prevailed over hurtful things, to the comfort and strengthening of many.

The 17th, being first-day, I went to Concord, where a great number of Friends, and some others were gathered, and the Lord's power and goodness came over us, and were magnified to the comfort of many, and to the awakening of others. The 18th I had a meeting at Centre—a laborious time, but Truth pre-

vailed and came over loose spirits. The 19th I went to a meeting at Kennet, where the Lord gave us a good and edifying season, and on the 20th I had a meeting near Abraham Marshall's, being a newly settled place, and the Lord gave us a good time among the people there. The 22nd I went to another new place, called Caln, where a pretty many people were gathered, towards whom the love and mercy of God extended freely, to their help and comfort.

The 23rd I had a meeting at Uwchland, to which came a considerable number of Friends, and in the Lord's goodness we had an edifying season. The 24th being first-day, I was at meeting at Goshen, which was large, and a heavenly informing and truly edifying time it was, in the demonstration of the Lord's power. The 25th I was at the monthly meeting for business at Providence, which was large, and the ancient goodness and living power of the Lord God was comfortably among Friends, and therein the service of the meeting was carried on in much unity and peace.

The 26th I went to Newtown, and though it was extremely snowy, yet we had a large and blessed meeting. The 27th, to Haverford, where we had a very large meeting, and Truth was near to help through much exercise, to my comfort and ease. The 28th I went to Radnor, where was a large and solidly profitable meeting, and the powerful testimony of Truth was exalted to the help of many souls. The 29th, to Merion, where a large number was gathered, and the blessed gospel testimony, and humbling power, greatly prevailed that day, to the joy and help of many, and the Lord God was magnified. I went that evening to lodge with J. Roberts, where I had a good and edifying season with the old people, many Friends also coming there to see us. On the 30th I came to Philadelphia, in order to take my companion along with me in a visit further up the province, he having remained here about three weeks, being unwell. I staid here over the next day, viz., the 31st, and first-day, and had pretty good meetings.

The 2nd of the eleventh month we had a meeting at Frankford, which the Lord blessed to us, and made it a comfortable season. We lodged at Jonathan Dickinson's, where Truth opened the way to extend a merciful visit to the family. The 3rd we went to Byberry meeting, which was very large, but a strait suffering time. The 4th to Neshaminy, which being the monthly meeting for business, many Friends came, and the Lord strengthened and encouraged us together, by the attendance of his blessed power and goodness. The 5th we went to Bristol, where many Friends gathered, and the Lord gave us an heavenly relieving time, in the reachings of his wisdom and power. The 7th being first-day of the week, we were at the Falls meeting, which was very large, and through the blessed attendance of the Lord's power and goodness, we had an edifying season. The 8th we went to Makefield, and had a good meeting that afternoon with some Friends, and many friendly people who came in. The 9th we went to Wright's town, where we had a large meeting that day, wherein the testimony of Truth reached forth in an awakening manner; and to the comfort and strengthening of many.

The 10th we had a meeting at Buckingham, and went the 11th to North Wales, where we lodged at John Evans', and had a good meeting that evening, with a large number of Friends who came to see us. The 12th, being accompanied by several of those and some other Friends, we went to a new settled place called Great Swamp, and though the snow was deep, and the frost very severe, yet through the Lord's goodness we got well through, and had a good little meeting with some Friends and other people, who came in that evening, at Peter Leicester's. The 14th, we were at the meeting of Friends at North Wales, which was very large, several of other professors coming in, and the gospel was preached in its own authority and wisdom, and was exalted in many souls, to the comfort of the living, and the glory of the Lord of all our mercies. We had another meeting that evening, at the house of Hugh Foulke, which was much to our satisfaction. The 15th we had a meeting at Plymouth, a good, informing and profitable season. And the 16th we were at North Wales meeting again; a large solidly edifying meeting it was, and the Lord's power spread weightily over many hearts.

The 17th we had a meeting at Horsham, wherein the wisdom and power of Truth prevailed greatly to our, and many Friends' comfort. We lodged that night at William Stockdale's, where we had some good service in the love of Truth that evening, among a pretty many Friends. The 18th we were at Abington, where the meeting was large, and an awakening rousing season. We lodged at Morris Morris', where several Friends came in, and we had some service among them.

The 19th we went to a meeting at Germantown, which was a large and blessed meeting, through the prevalency of Truth. The 21st, being first-day, we were at the meeting at Burlington, where we were favoured with a good and solid meeting; and the 22nd at Springfield, where the holy arm of the Lord was revealed, to the comfort and help of many souls, and His name was magnified over all. The 24th we had a meeting at Mount Holly, which was pretty large; and the blessed arm of power was

manifested therein, tending to stir up some slack and loose people, and to encourage the upright. The 25th we went to a meeting at Rancocas, where there was a marriage, to which many people came; and Truth made it a profitable and establishing season. The 26th we had a large and blessed meeting, through the strong arisings and goings forth of the testimony and life of Christ. The 28th, being first-day, we were at Newtown meeting, wherein Truth appeared in mercy and good will to revive and build up a weak and staggering people. The 29th we had a good and prevailing meeting, in the help of the life and goodness of Truth, at Woodberry creek. The 31st we had a meeting at Alloways creek, which was an establishing, strengthening season, through the merciful attendance of the power of Truth. The 1st of the twelfth month we had a very large meeting in Salem town, which the Lord made an awakening time, to the comfort of many.

From hence he wrote the following Epistle to Friends in his own County, but more especially to Friends of Wensleydale meeting.

Dear Friends:—whom I very often remember, though now separated far from you outwardly; yet as I am a part of you in many respects, especially in that we have, many of us, been begotten by one heavenly Father, into one faith and near kindred; and by and in his love and living power, many of our souls have been fed, and nursed up as bone of bone, both in true and near love, and readiness to serve one another with pleasure. This, as it is the effect of divine love, so we shall never lose the comfort and profit of its being renewed to us, and upon us, both to our own particular help and supply, whatever any of us may have to wade through, or be tried with; and also to nourish and maintain a holy strengthening fellowship, as brethren and sisters, if we in ourselves keep the pure faith in the everliving power, and walk in due fear and care before the Lord God of mercies and all-sufficiency. For this my heart often breathes to the Lord for myself, and for you all; and in a tender near manner for the humble, inwardly needy, and baptized souls among you, towards whom my bowels, often as it were, turn within me; you being almost daily before me in the love of God, whose compassionate eye is surely over you in a fatherly manner, and his mighty arm extended towards you, both to feed and wash, and fit you for a further service in your day, if you wait patiently and diligently upon him, in true resignation of heart, to be what he would have you to be; for love and care from the Lord Almighty, I am often very sensible, reach graciously towards you to do you good.

And, dear Friends, as you are in general often fresh in my remembrance in brotherly love, so I have been influenced to write a little to you, and therein I now send you my near salutation in engaging love from the holy spring of pure edification; praying that you may all wait diligently, to feel a holy fervent thirst to be raised in your hearts, after certain experience of divine life and enlarging goodness in yourselves, and more and more to be prepared for it; so will you come to have bread in your own houses, pure water in your own vessels, and so to have rejoicing in yourselves, and not in another. Thus will all grow towards God, and become fruitful in righteousness, to the comfort and help one of another, and to show forth the nature of Truth, to the praise and glory of the one most holy Head.

And it is also fresh upon my spirit, with some weight, earnestly and tenderly, to advise all of you, to see carefully to the improvement of your own gifts or talents; which is not only your duty, as they were given for this purpose, but is also the alone way to a truly happy end. And although all have not received gifts alike, neither with respect to measure nor operation, yet all are from one God, one spirit, and are to be improved, whether five, two, or one. The faithful improvers, the diligently exercised hearts, according to the measure given, only will have the sentence of well done, and enter into the joy of the Lord at last; as well as be often favoured with access to life here. It is the careful waiters for the spirit of Truth, and its quickening power, such as sow and live to the Spirit, who will reap life everlasting, and from time to time, have the free earnest of a never-fading inheritance. And thus, strength in faith, and vigor in zeal for the Lord God, and his holy testimony, and for the peace and prosperity of his family, are renewed and maintained; and thus we grow up truly subject to one holy and living Head, and near to, and careful over, one another.

And, Friends, be careful that heavenly things have suitably more room than earthly, with you all; and walk in the Spirit, as well as talk of it, and then the lusts or unprofitable desires of the flesh will not be fulfilled, but the mount of Esau will be gradually judged in all; and the kingdom and government of your hearts will be the Lord's, whose right it is. Then will your hearts enlarge one towards another, and grow stronger in an heavenly mind. Thus will the elder among you be built up and maintained bright in Spirit, and in life; and the younger will be gathered from the lofty mountains, where the world's deceiving, dazzling glory is viewed and coveted; where the hurtful things mostly range; where coolness and barrenness often reign; and then

the Lord alone will be exalted in feeling knowledge among them, and he will become a fountain of blessing to them, that they may be a generation for God in their time, to show forth his salvation and redeeming power in the earth. My hope is strong, that many of the youth will thus grow up to their own, to yours, and the comfort of many others. I am well satisfied that divine care and regard is, and will be extended towards you in general, to do you good, according to your several wants; but be assured, it must be in the Lord's way and terms, and not in man's. And one thing further take good notice of, which hath both caution and encouragement in it, that although Saul was sent against a great people, and with orders to destroy Amalek utterly, yet was he attended with ability suitable to the service. So is the Lord carefully near to help you in every respect, in the performance of what he requires, both in resisting and eschewing whatever he shows to be hurtful or evil; and also in pressing on, though through a crowd, and drawing near for right and effectual healing of every distemper. He will also be with you, and near to help forward in answering his requirings, in any thing or service for his holy name, the good and comfort of his family.

I say again, in a steady sense of holy goodness in my heart, at this season reaching towards you, that the Lord God, who manifests unto man what is good, and what he requires, doth and will attend and assist you to go forward, in performing and answering the blessed end, to our peace and his glory, how weak soever any may appear in their own sight, if they do but duly labour to follow him with full purpose of heart: and that this may be more and more all our humble care, is my sincere advice to you, and prayer to him who can do all things. Amen.

Thus, dear Friends, I have freed my spirit a little towards you in our Father's love, wherein I am almost daily mindful of you, though at this great outward distance, and in it once more dearly greet you, and remain your sincerely loving friend and brother, in the unchangeable covenant of life.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Salem, in West Jersey, the 1st of the twelfth month, 1721.

P.S. I may further acquaint you, that through divine goodness and mercy, my health and strength are every way maintained and renewed, to mine and many Friends admiration, considering my diligence and the depth of labour: and although I am led to trace out, and wade through many exercising circumstances attending the churches, yet the Lord's arm often makes way to great dominion in the resurrection of the power of Truth, to my humbling joy; and the most holy and worthy name is magnified. We get forward pretty well, though not very speedily, but my hopes are renewed that I may yet live to see you again in the Lord's time, unto whose hand I am freely resigned, having my evidence, or confirmations, through divine help, that it is well I am here.

The 2nd of the twelfth month (continues the Journal) we had a meeting at Pilesgrove, where many soberly inclined people were gathered, and the love and testimony of Truth reached freely towards them, and made it a profitable season.

The 3rd we came up the country again, and in the evening crossed over the river Delaware to Philadelphia, where on the 4th, being first-day, we were at the burial of an ancient Friend, Nicholas Waln, at Fairhill; at which place a great concourse of Friends and others were met. We had a large meeting that evening in Philadelphia, which the Lord was pleased eminently to own by his glorious power, and the gospel testimony and life was over all in a great and blessed degree. The 5th we were at the quarterly meeting for business for the county, where the Lord owned us, and opened divers weighty things, to recommend to the meeting, in the power of Truth, which Friends received in tenderness, and an holy reverence, with deep thankfulness, was brought over our souls before the Lord.

The 6th we were at a general meeting for worship at Haverford, wherein the Lord's power gloriously appeared, and shook the earth in many hearts, in divers respects; and it was made a day of gladness and comfort to others, blessed be the name of the Lord God for ever.

The 7th we were at a monthly meeting for business at Darby, where we had a good and edifying time, in the love of God. The 8th we went to Springfield, visiting several Friends by the way, to some advantage, and had a large meeting there, wherein the Lord's power and life was exalted and magnified, to the encouragement of many. The 9th we had a meeting at Middletown, wherein the powerful word of life arose and greatly prevailed, to our comfort and the help of Friends. The 10th we visited several Friends' families, and went to Chester. The 11th being first-day, we were at Friends' meeting there, to which Friends came from many places, and a solid settling time it was in the power of Truth. The 12th we went to the quarterly meeting for business at Providence, where the Lord's power and love were eminently among Friends, to our encouragement in the service of Truth. The 13th were at a general meeting for worship at Middletown, which was very large, and a blessed, humbling

season, in the prevalence of the gospel of Christ, and the holy name was magnified.

The 14th we went to Lewis Walker's, in the Great valley, where we had a large meeting out of doors, with many other professors; all were very attentive, and the gospel power and testimony went freely forth to general satisfaction and comfort. The 15th we went over to Perkiomen, where we had a good meeting in a sense of the prevalency of the power of Truth. We lodged with Joseph Richardson, in whose house we had a serviceable humbling season with his family, and some others who came in that evening.

The 16th we went up the country to a new settled place about Manatawny, where were gathered some Friends and others; we had a good season amongst them in the love of Truth, much tending to their establishment. The 17th we had a meeting in the Baptist meeting-house near Skippack, at the request of some of them, where the Lord owned us in his wisdom and power, and gave us a comfortable time to general satisfaction. We parted lovingly, and came that night to Evan Evans' at North Wales, and the 18th were at Friends' meeting there, which was large, and it being first-day, we had another in the evening; in both which, the great Lord and fountain of life and wisdom graciously owned us, and prevailed upon the hearts and understandings of many, both of Friends and some who professed not with us.

The 19th we went to visit an ancient Friend who had lost her sight, being accompanied by several Friends, with whom we had a profitable season in the love of God. We went to Philadelphia that night, and the 20th into the Jerseys to a general meeting, which was very large both of Friends and others; and though I met with some affliction and suffering of spirit, because of the prevailing of a careless and libertine disposition among many professing the Truth; yet the Lord showed himself gracious, in extending help to many conditions—and many souls were comforted in the love of Truth, the power whereof was exalted. We came back to Philadelphia that night, and went the 21st to Neshaminy, to the meeting of ministering Friends and elders, where we were comforted together in the love and power of Truth.

The 22nd we were at the quarterly meeting for the county, wherein the Lord's power greatly prevailed, in humbling and strengthening many souls. We lodged at F. Stackhouse's pretty near, and on the 23rd visited several Friends' families thereabouts, wherein we had some good service, and returned that night to Adam Harker's, and went the 24th over the river to Burlington, to a meeting for ministers and elders, where the Lord God opened many things to them through my heart, for their help and encouragement in the work of the day. We went back to Bristol by boat, and rode to Joseph Kirkbride's.

The 25th, being first-day, we got over the river in a boat near the falls, but were driven down a great way by the strength of the stream, so that it was not without difficulty and danger that we passed. We got in pretty good time to Stony Brook, where we had a good meeting among a few Friends, and many other professors, at Joseph Worth's.

The 26th we came down to Burlington again to Friends' quarterly meeting, which was very large, and a strengthening encouraging season in the love of God, and a peaceable spirit was sweetly over many hearts, to the glory of the Rock of all our strength.

The 27th we were at a Youths' meeting at the same place, where many Friends were gathered, and the blessed order and testimony of the Truth, in the power of it was exalted and extended to many hearts. The 28th we went to Mount Holly to a General meeting of several particular meetings, which was large, and the Lord was pleased to make it a solidly strengthening time, in the free spreadings of divine love and edifying life, much to our joy in the Lord. We lodged at Nathaniel Crisp's, where the Lord's goodness arose among us in the family to profit.

The 1st of the first month [1722], we were at Chesterfield meeting, wherein the power and doctrine of Christ reached eminently forth, to the great comfort and help of many souls. That evening we went to F. Sykes', intending to set forward from thence toward Egg Harbour; the 3rd we took our journey through the desart to Little Egg Harbour, and came to Gervas Farrar's, and on the 4th were at a meeting there, and had a pretty good time in the extending of the love of Truth to the poor people thereaway. The 5th we travelled part by land, and through dismal marshes, and part by water in canoes to Great Egg Harbour, and on the 6th had a meeting among some poor dark people that came thither; yet the Lord was pleased to draw near, and comforted divers of us sweetly. The 7th we had a meeting at one John Scull's, where a considerable number of different professors came in, and we had a pretty good time among them. The 8th we endeavoured to go over a great river to Cape May, but the wind was so violent that we could not get over till evening, when with hard rowing, and much tossing, we got safely to land.

The 9th we got to a meeting which was appointed at the widow Townsend's and gave notice to have another meeting there on the 10th, which was first-day; and a large one we had, wherein the Lord graciously owned us

with his counsel, and the going forth of his goodness to our comfort, and the satisfaction of the people, most of whom were of other professions, and but few Friends. The 12th we took our journey through the wilderness and a great boggy marsh, and swimming our horses over Maurice river, we came to Cohansey, and on the 13th had a meeting at Greenwich with a few Friends and several other professors; and had a good open, confirming time in the love of God, which was graciously extended to us.

The 14th we went to a meeting at Salem, which, through the Lord's goodness, was made an edifying season; and on the 15th we had a meeting at Pilesgrove again, where a pretty many people were gathered; and the doctrine and power of the gospel of Christ reached freely towards them, to the satisfaction of many.

The 16th we came up to a meeting at Woodberry Creek, where the wisdom and mercy of the Lord our God was evidently manifest in dividing the word of life to the several states and benefit of many; and His holy name was magnified.

In his passage through west Jersey, he wrote the following epistle, viz:

To Friends of the Quarterly meeting at York. My dear brethren and sisters in the covenant of life.

Although I am now outwardly far separated from you for the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, yet as I have been favoured with mercy to obtain a share of near brotherhood amongst you in the heavenly relation; so you are very often truly fresh in my remembrance, in the springing of heavenly love from our Father, wherein I believe I am often bettered for your tender breathings to the living Rock of all our ability and comfort. The remembrance of that near unity, and sweet fellowship, which many of us have been nursed and built up in, and wherein we had to take leave one of another, is often renewed in my view, and made somewhat like a staff to lean upon, (in part,) in my travel. In feeling the renewal of quickening virtue from the everlasting Root, my heart is often filled with supplication to the God and Father of all our mercies, that his powerful presence may be with all your spirits, to strengthen heavenly zeal and care in every heart for your own good, and for that of the family of God; and that pure wisdom and unity of heart may be, and continue to increase among all.

I doubt not but that it will be a degree of joy to you, to hear of me and my companion being well, and on our way in the Lord's work. I may likewise add, that pure and living love often moving in my heart towards you, has encouraged me to send a few lines as a token of my remembrance of you, and therewith my dear salutation in the love and fellowship of Christ our Lord; and in humble reverence to let you know, that the living and powerful Word, that drew us away from amongst you for the present, hath been graciously near in our services hitherto, to our great comfort, notwithstanding it has been our lot sometimes to wade through sorrow and suffering of spirit for Truth's sake, and has prospered the work in several places; both in awakening some of the forgetful and lukewarm—in reaching to many amongst the poor, airy, and wanton youth, by his baptizing power; also in gathering some from without in divers places: and the living and concerned hearts for Sion's prosperity, are strengthened and encouraged.

And though a forgetfulness of the Lord's goodness, and merciful visitation in some, and of the duty of living near the Truth, and an unwillingness to walk within, and a slight of the bounds of Truth, in others, have sorrowfully prevailed in too many places; yet blessed be the Lord God forever, he is at work, and arising to turn the stream of divers hurtful things which have crept in; and I am strong in faith, that the power and life of righteousness is prevailing, and will spread in the earth, and in these countries, even in this generation, to the glory of God, and the comfort of the living.

And, my dear Friends, I have it in my heart to request of you, and tenderly to advise all fathers and mothers, ministers and elders, in particular, carefully to wait to feel the love and life of the blessed Truth to arise in your hearts; to strengthen and increase a heavenly zeal and concern to do the work of your day, according to your abilities, with due diligence, while you have time and opportunity. I believe the Lord will enlarge your capacities for your several services, and will bless your labour and care in and for the Church; will also loosen some from these lower enjoyments, and striving too earnestly after them, both with respect to the gain, and the greatness of this enticing world, either for yourselves or your posterity; the grasping after which, has hindered diverse amongst us from being so serviceable in their day as they might have been; and not only so, but a way hath been opened thereby to greater damage, in their becoming snares and hurts to their offspring.

And you who are mothers, keep in a diligent, watchful labour, that the youth, who generally are more immediately under your eye, and sometimes your ordering too, in several respects, may grow up, and be preserved in such society and conversation, as is most likely to

influence them to love the Truth, purity, and the adorning and behaviour agreeable to it; which is the most beautiful of all: and fathers likewise should carefully unite together in this concern.—Suffer, dear Friends, this word of exhortation to have due place with you; for the pure love from the bosom of the Father moves in my heart often, and at this time towards you.

And you, tender and concerned youth, who are very dear to me, be encouraged to follow on to feel the humbling love and goodness of God to arise and prevail in you, and to hope in the strength of his powerful arm; which, though it may sometimes lead through exercising siftings, yet will it carry forward that blessed work, and way to blessings, which is begun in many amongst you. I am well assured, that the love and favour of the God of blessings is mercifully extended towards the younger generation, to make you serviceable in his house, both males and females, and truly honourable in your day: and I have strong hopes, that the Lord will raise up many among you, who often walk with heavy and doubtful hearts, and make you as polished shafts in his mighty hand, and instruments of honourable service in the Church, to the comfort of many souls, and the spreading the fame of wisdom in the earth, if you patiently wait and depend upon the sufficiency of his holy power.

And that thus, my near Friends, the Lord's power and love may be with you, his own life rise higher and higher among you, and the glory of the reign and government of Sion's King shine through you, in all your services, to the glory of the Lord God of our salvation, is the humble travail of my spirit, who remain your near brother in the heavenly covenant—farewell, farewell.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

West Jersey, 5th of the First month, 1722.

The 17th of the first month we came over Delaware to Philadelphia, to the meeting of ministers, it being their half year's meeting, principally for worship, for the Provinces of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, to which came a great number of Friends, and our gracious God was pleased to favour the meetings with his holy presence, and opened many things through us, to their comfort and help, tending to stir up and engage many hearts to diligence in following and serving the Lord. Friends parted in thankfulness towards him, and true nearness one towards another.

After some other services among Friends in the city, and preparing for our journey towards New England, we set forward, having many Friends with us; the 22nd, to a meeting at Bristol, where a man and his wife, from among the Seventh-day Baptists, had been convinced when we were there before: the woman was there now, and in a solid tender frame. The meeting was, in the main, comfortable and edifying, though under some exercise with a dull, unfaithful people.

The 23rd we went over the river Delaware, and called to visit a Friend, Thomas Lambert's wife, who had been long indisposed, with whom we had a comfortable opportunity. We then went forward to John Watts', at Stony Brook, and had a meeting there that evening, which was helpful and seasoning. The 24th we went to John Kinsey's, at Woodbridge, and on the 25th, being first-day, were at a meeting there, to which came many other people, and the Lord gave us a good and prevailing season among them. The 26th we set out towards Long Island, and on the 27th had a meeting at Newtown, where many Friends met us, and several other professors came in; and it pleased the Lord to give us a good time to the profit of many. The 28th we were at a large meeting at Westbury, where the gospel doctrine and life was freely extended and declared in its own authority, to the help and comfort of many.

The 29th we had a meeting at Matinicock, where many people not of our profession came in, and a blessed opportunity it was made to us; many hearts being reached with the life of Truth, and were bowed before the Lord God Almighty. The 30th at Cow Neck we had a very large meeting of divers professors; and the blessed testimony and humbling power of Truth, in the love of it, affected many hearts.

The 31st we called to visit several Friends, and on the 1st of the second month, 1722, being first-day, were at Friends' meeting at Flushing, which was very large—it was a time of faithful warning to some, and of solid edification to many, through the Lord's goodness.

The 2nd we set out on our journey towards Rhode Island, and had a meeting with Friends at West Chester upon the Continent, and the 2rd at Rye, to which several people came, and Truth favoured us with its help and living presence, to our comfort. The 4th we proceeded on our journey, and got, on first-day, which was the 8th, to a Friend's house, John Richmond's, in Rhode Island government, where we had a good little meeting with a few Friends and others who came in. The next day we visited several Friends in our way to Kingston, where, on the 10th, we had a meeting, to which pretty many people gathered, and the Lord gave us a good time among them. That evening we went over to Conanicut Island, and has a meeting with Friends there; and on the next day in the evening, we came

to Newport, in Rhode Island, and were, the 12th, at the meeting there, which was pretty large and comfortable. The 13th we went to Portsmouth to Friends' quarterly meeting for the business of the Church; wherein Truth was renewedly present in counsel and help under some exercise attending Friends, from some brittle, unsettled spirits; but the power of God was over all in a good degree, to the comfort of the right minded. The next day we were at their meeting for ministers and elders, and came from thence to Newport, and on the 15th, being first-day, we were at the meeting there, which was very large; and the Lord's power and glorious testimony reached eminently forth, making profitable impressions on many hearts, to the glory and praise of the Lord our God, who alone is worthy forever.

The 16th we went to a meeting appointed at Tiverton at J. Wanton's, to which came pretty many Friends and others; and the Lord gave us a good opportunity, in the ability of his power to declare the Truth, and its holy testimony was exalted over all earthly and loose spirits. The 17th we had a meeting at Little Compton, wherein the testimony of the everlasting Truth went freely and powerfully over the loose and lukewarm, to the awakening of some, and much to the encouragement of the living travailers for Truth's prosperity. The day following we had a good and solidly edifying meeting at Acoakset, and the next day another very large one at Poniganset; and a blessed time it was, in the fresh extending and prevalency of the Lord's power.

The 20th we had a meeting at Rochester, which through the gracious attendance of the power of Truth was made a good opportunity to many, and the Lord's holy name was magnified. The 21st we visited a family of Friends in the way, where we had some good service, and went to Sandwich. The 22nd, being first-day, we were at the meeting there, wherein the great duty and advantage of loving God and his Truth, in sincerity of heart on one hand; and the mischief and hurt with respect to religion, by loving the world, the things and spirit thereof, on the other, were largely declared; to the help and stirring up of many minds, the exaltation of the power of Truth, and the praise of the Lord God Almighty.

The 23rd we had a meeting near this place, at the house of a person who was indisposed, to which several who did not profess with us came, and the Lord was pleased to own us in his power and goodness, greatly to our satisfaction, and to the comfort of many. The 24th we had a meeting near Yarmouth among a few Friends, and several others who seemed to attend to the testimony of Truth with diligence; but it went forth against a loose negligent spirit that was given way to, by divers called Friends here-away, much to the dishonour of Truth; yet we were comforted in the Lord who helped us. The 25th we were at Friends' meeting at Sandwich again, wherein the Lord opened our hearts and mouths in counsel and admonition, also in encouragement to the honest-hearted; and gave us a blessed opportunity together, to his glory and praise, who is alone worthy for ever.

The 26th we went to Succanesset, where was gathered a pretty large meeting of Friends and others; and the testimony of Truth and righteousness, in the love and power of Christ, extended freely among them, both to inform, reprove and confirm in the way of righteousness, to the profit of several, and our comfort. The next day we rode to Pembroke, and on the 29th, being first-day, we were at Friends' meeting there, in which the Lord was near to help us in his service; though we found that a great deal of dulnesss and indifferency about religion, had prevailed among Friends; whereof they were warned, and stirred up to consider its tendency, and to be more careful in feeling after the power and life of Truth in themselves: and we had our reward of peace and sweetness in the love of God.

The 30th we had a meeting at Scituate, to which came many sober people, and the gospel power and testimony rose and went forth among them freely, to the great satisfaction and comfort of divers. We took our leave of Friends there, and came up to Pembroke again, and from thence to Joseph Eddy's near Taunton, where on the 2nd of the third month we had a blessed and open meeting with the few Friends; many people not professing with us came in, who seemed much satisfied with the testimonies delivered. The 3rd we had a meeting with Friends at William Chase's at Swanzey, wherein the Lord's goodness was manifested, much to our comfort; and the next day we had a meeting over a great river, in a place called Fairtown, where few Friends live, but a considerable number of other people came, and heard the Truth declared attentively; but in general they are a hard dark people. We came over the river again, and went towards Providence woods, where on the 6th, being first-day, we were at a large meeting in Friends' meeting house near this place, and Truth helped us to declare the way of life and salvation, among a wild raw people who came in, and the religiously minded were comforted and encouraged; the life of Truth seeming low among them. The next day we went towards Mendam, where on the 8th we had a meeting, in which we had a good and profitable season in the love of God; and on the 9th were at the monthly meeting of Friends in the upper part

of Providence, wherein the Lord opened counsel in his living power, and gave us a good and heavenly time with Friends and several others. Friends afterwards went through their business in peace, and we had some service with them therein, to their help.

The 10th we came down to Benjamin Smith's, visiting several Friends in our way, and on the 11th we had a meeting in the town, to which came many sober people, and the Lord's power and gospel testimony went freely forth, in a tendering manner; we had good service, and the people were glad of the opportunity. We went that night to Warwick, where we were at a large yearly meeting on the 12th, to which came many of other professions, and the Lord's power and blessed testimony reached freely and was established over all, to Friends satisfaction. The 13th we went to Greenwich, where a yearly meeting began that day, and was held the following. The meeting was very large, many hundreds of people being gathered, so that the house could not contain them: wherefore we kept the meeting in a Friend's orchard, and though there was a great multitude of young wild people, yet the Lord's blessed presence and glorious power favoured the meeting, and the testimony and doctrine of the gospel was declared in great dread, and went over most there, stilling the spirits of the people wonderfully. It was made an alarming season to the careless and forgetful; a tender visitation to many of the youth, and a time of strengthening of the hearts of the true seekers of Zion's prosperity, to the glory and praise of the Lord God, who is worthy for ever.

The 15th we went up into the woods to Ishmael Spink's to a meeting, where several friendly people were met, and we had a good opportunity with them. The 16th we went further back into the wilderness, to a new settled place called Volintown, having sent to have a meeting appointed there for that day; but a very few of the people came to it, being very rainy. The Lord was pleased to open his hand of love amongst us in the little meeting we had, to our comfort and the people's satisfaction. We went that night to another town where were no Friends, and on the 17th had a meeting there, in which the Lord our God was graciously near, and opened us in the life and doctrine of the gospel to our great comfort; the people were very loving, and seemed much satisfied. The 18th we had a meeting at the house of one not a Friend, and who was desirous thereof, where the Lord's power reached forth freely, and the testimony of Truth prevailed to our mutual comfort. The next day we came to William Robinson's at Kingston, and on the 20th, being first-day, we were at Friends' meeting there, and notice having been given some time before, several Friends from other places, and many of the country people came in; so that it was a very large meeting, and the testimony of Truth went forth among them in great dread; tending to awaken them out of a slothful ease, which many in that country had long sat down in; several of them having been convinced some years, but shunned the cross of Christ. It was a meeting of good service in the love and mercy of God, and much to our satisfaction.

Being clear of these parts at present, we went along with Friends over a water to Conanicut, to David Green's and on the 21st we crossed another ferry to Newport; and there a passage offering, we set out directly for Nantucket Island, whither we then inclined, and got there through the care of divine Providence, the next day in good time, but wearied with hard travelling, and poor lodging; but all was well, Truth being with us, and sweetened all. We lodged at Nathaniel Starbuck's, and staid a week upon the island, having several large public meetings, and many others in families. The Lord Almighty was pleased to own and attend us with his living, strengthening power, and holy counsel, for the several services, to the glory of his own name; and blessed our labour, to the great comfort and help of Friends, and the satisfaction of many of the people, who came freely and pretty generally to our meetings, especially on the first-day of the week. We took our leave of Friends in much sweetness and nearness of spirit in the love of God, with true thankfulness of heart to him, for the help and comfort of his living and glorious presence.

The 29th we set out for the main land again, accompanied by several Friends in a sloop, and got well ashore, and were the 30th at Friends' week-day meeting at Poniganset. The 31st we went to Thomas Hathaway's at Cushanet, and on the next day, which was the 1st of the fourth month, we had a pretty large meeting there of Friends and others; with whom we had a profitable, informing season in the power of Truth, but very heavy and strait amongst such as might have been a comfort. The 3rd we were at the meeting at Poniganset again, where most of those in that part of the country, and some Friends from a great distance, met together; and it pleased the Lord of mercies so to help us with power and wisdom, that the doctrine of the kingdom, in the life of Truth went freely forth and prevailed in a good measure over many hearts, and the Lord's name was magnified, being worthy for ever.

The 4th we went to Swanzey, through the woods and bad way, to Joseph Chase's and were the next day at a large meeting, where

a marriage of two young people was solemnized; a considerable number of people of different professions came to it, and the Lord was pleased to magnify his own name and testimony to our comfort.

The 6th we went towards Rhode Island, and the next day were at the yearly meeting at Portsmouth, wherein the Father of all mercies greatly owned us with his power, encouraging to hope for his help for the service of the other part of the meeting, which was held at Newport, to which place we went that night. On the 8th the meeting gathered at Newport, and continued four days. It was supposed to be the largest that was ever held there; it being computed that near two thousand people were present. The Lord Almighty, the never-failing helper of his depending children, graciously opened his glorious gospel testimony to the people freely and plentifully, in the demonstration of his eternal power and wisdom, greatly to the comfort and confirmation of many souls. There appeared to be a general satisfaction, and awful reverence on the minds of people: divers matters came under the consideration of Friends, relating to the propogation of Truth and righteousness, and the comely order of the gospel, in the meetings for business; all which were carried on in peace and amity, and the great and most worthy name of the Lord was magnified over all. After this meeting was over, we set forward towards Boston, and the east, and came to Swanzey the 12th, visiting several Friends in the way.

The 13th we went to Taunton, where we had appointed a meeting at Joseph Eddy's, to which many Friends accompanied us, and a pretty many people likewise came in; so that we kept our meeting in a barn, and had a good open season, and the word of life went freely forth to the people, who seemed to hearken with gladness, and the life of Truth affected many hearts with solid comfort. After meeting we went about seven miles, and got the 14th to Boston, where we had a meeting that day, to which a considerable number of people came, and Truth favoured us with a pretty open time.

The 15th we went to Lynn, where we had a large meeting, in which the power of the Lord God, and the holy testimony of Truth went forth eminently against a dull carnal mind, and worldly libertine inclination, which prevailed too much; and for the purity and saving nature of the gospel; and many hearts were comforted. We went to Salem the day following, and on the 17th, being first-day, we had two large meetings there; several soberly inclined people came in, and through the goodness and love of God, Truth's testimony and power was exalted, to the refreshing of many hearts, and the awakening of others to more religious consideration; so that the Lord's cause gained ground over worldly ease and darkness in some good degree; blessed be his powerful name for ever.

The 18th we went to Newberry, and on the 19th we had a meeting near the middle of the town, in a warehouse belonging to captain Brown (so called) who offered it freely, and was very loving to us. Many of the town's people came in and about the house, some appearing afraid to come in; yet the word of life, and testimony of Jesus, was evidently manifest among us in the love of God, and had a satisfactory reach and impression upon many. We parted with much cheerfulness, and our hearts were made truly glad, in that the word of Truth prevailed among them.

On the 20th we had a meeting at Haverhill at Robert Peasley's, to which a pretty many people came, and we had a good season among them, Truth in part, prevailing. The 21st we were at a meeting at Amesbury, which was pretty large, it being Friends' monthly meeting for the affairs of the Church; and it was a profitable, awakening and edifying time; the living power of Truth being manifestly among Friends to our comfort.

The 22nd we had a meeting at Hampton, and, though much dulness and flatness of spirit had prevailed upon divers, yet through the blessed attendance of the Lord's counsel and power, we had a profitable season. We went the next day to Dover to Friends' monthly meeting, and on the 24th, being first-day, we were at the meeting again, where some sober people were gathered with Friends, and the power and testimony of Truth was sweetly manifest among us through divine favour.

The 25th we travelled through a long dismal wilderness, to a town called Wells, being desirous of having a meeting there, which was held the 26th. But the people were very shy of Friends, through the crafty and false insinuations of the priests, who nevertheless did not appear while we were there. We lodged at an Inn that night, in our way to York, at which place we also inclined to have a meeting; and the 27th, with much endeavouring, we got liberty, and had a little meeting. Several people came in and sat quietly, others came about the house, but seemed afraid to come in; yet it pleased the Lord to own us, and to open in the word of life, so that divers appeared much satisfied, and were loving to us. We came that evening to J. Morrill's at Kittery, and on the 28th went down by water, near the mouth of Piscataway, and had a meeting at a place called the Point, with a considerable number of people, no Friends living thereaway; and the glorious gospel, both in doctrine and living power, went over all; many were affected

with Truth, and the name of the Lord was magnified.

The 29th we had a meeting at the town called Portsmouth, in an Inn, where abundance of people gathered, and were in general very attentive and sober. The Lord's glory and heavenly testimony arose and prevailed over the hearts of most present, many of them freely confessing it was the truth which was declared; and we were truly comforted in the God of strength. We went that evening to Kittery, and on the 30th came back to Hampton to the quarterly meeting of Friends which began that day, and we had a good season in the love of God, among the ministers and elders.

The 1st of the fifth month, being first-day, we had a very large meeting both of Friends and many others, and the Lord was pleased to magnify his own power and testimony in divers respects, greatly to the help and edification of Friends, and satisfaction of the people generally; and he had the praise of his own work, who is worthy forever. The 2nd I was at the meeting for business, where I stayed, a part of the meeting, and was opened in divers weighty exhortations, and to recommend to Friends more particular care, [respecting] some hindering things which were creeping in among them, that they might watch in their respective places against the corruptions of the world. I took my leave of the meeting, and rode to the burial of a Friend's wife, whither a great number of people came who had never been at a Friend's meeting before; with whom the Lord gave me a blessed time, to their great satisfaction, and to our comfort. And then went to the Grove, about five miles further, where many people came, and there also the word and way of life was livingly set forth, and they staid with great attention.

The 3rd we got up early, and rode thirty-four miles to a meeting beyond Piscataway River, where we had a blessed season in the life and power of God to preach the Truth; and several of the people were deeply affected with it. We went that night to Francis Allen's in Kittery, and the 4th had a meeting in Newichawannack, at a Friend's house; to which came several other people, though greatly afraid on account of the priests; yet the testimony of Truth in the love of God, went freely forth among them, and divers were tenderly affected.

The 5th we were at Friends' meeting at Dover, where we had a good opportunity, the life of Truth, and divine part of religion was earnestly recommended and prevailed; and the slothful, idle, and remiss were warned and admonished. The 6th we had a meeting at Cachecy, at Ebenezer Varney's where many of the neighbouring people came in, and staid with great and solemn attention, to hear the everlasting gospel declared, whereunto the Lord furnished us in his living power, and truth was exalted to general satisfaction, blessed be the Lord God forever. The next day we visited several Friends' families, and on the 8th, being first-day, were at Friends' meeting again, where abundance of the country people were gathered from all parts thereabout, and the Lord was pleased to own us with his living presence, and opened our hearts in the things of salvation in many respects, which went forth freely to the meeting in much plainness, and living demonstration, to the establishment and information of many souls; some were convinced of the Truth, and brought to taste of its goodness, who I hope will continue to walk in it. It was a day of good service for the Lord, through his gracious help, who has the glory of all. The 9th, being about to depart from this place, many Friends came to see and take leave of us, with whom we had a heavenly bowing time, in the life of Truth, which was plentifully with us, greatly to our comfort, and uniting our hearts in the fellowship of Truth. We parted with many Friends there, and others accompanied us to Stretham, where a meeting was appointed at a Friend's house, to which divers of the neighbouring people came, who were much strangers to Truth; we had some service among them, and came away with true satisfaction, in the peace of the Lord our God.

The 10th we had a large meeting at Amesbury again, which greatly tended to our comfort, to encourage the living, and to awaken some sluggish, unfaithful professors, and to the winning upon the hearts of many of the youth. Some of the neighbouring people seemed much satisfied, and it was a time of good service for the Truth, in the Lord's power, and through his help.—We lodged that night at Henry Dowe's, where, in the evening, the Lord gave us a blessed edifying season, in his humbling love and power, to the help of the family and our comfort.

The 11th we had a meeting at Newberry, wherein the Lord greatly owned us in his love and counsel, for the spreading of Truth, and to the solid comfort of Friends in general. On the 12th we had a meeting at Ipswich, with a sober, innocent woman Friend, her children, and some of the neighbours, together with several Friends who accompanied and met us here, and had a satisfactory season among them. The 13th we were at a large meeting at Salem, where the Lord opened many close and weighty things to Friends in the sense of the life of Truth, tending to their growth in righteousness and preservation in the life and substance of religion, and helped me to discharge my spirit faithfully, and to a great degree of inward liberty and comfort; blessed be his holy name for ever.

Finding some engagement remain, and revive upon my spirit towards Dover again, I could not be easy without returning back; therefore leaving my companion, and having another Friend with me, we rode to Dover on seventh-day, though it was extremely hot weather, and we had several large ferries to cross, and got to John Kenny's in good time. On the 15th, being first-day, met with Friends who were abundantly glad of my return, divers signifying their expectations of my coming again; and the Lord was pleased to give us a good and confirming meeting, much to the help of many, especially of some tender spirited people, who had been reached by the love and power of Truth when we were there before.

The 16th I had a large and prevailing meeting at Oyster river, in the power and goodness of the Lord, wherein many hearts were affected with reverence and worship to the Almighty; but I believe the evil spirit was disturbed, and stirred up a woman to make a jangle and clamour against the truth and Friends; but not being able to show any thing from Scripture, either against what was delivered there that day, or against us in any thing, which I desired her to make appear if she could; the people generally blamed her, and would have had her been quiet, for Truth prevailed that day in many minds. The 17th I went to a meeting I had appointed at Spruce creek, where divers soberly inclined people came, much strangers to the Truth and its doctrine, and the Lord gave us a good season, in the ability of his power. Several of the people were very tender, and I believe some will be gathered, ere it be long, to the knowledge of the Truth.

The 18th I visited some Friends' families, and on the 19th had a meeting at Andrew Neal's in Newichawannack, which was made, in the extendings of divine favour, a good season, to the help and comfort of many, both Friends and some strangers. The 20th I had a meeting in Cachecy at Joseph Estis' near the priest's house; many of whose hearers came in, and several were much affected with the life and doctrine of the gospel, which I had to bear testimony of, and the truth gained ground to our comfort and the glory of God. We went up to Thomas Hanson's that night, to be some encouragement to the family to keep their places, and their trust in the arm of the Lord, the sure defence of his people, it being at that time strongly reported that the Indians were on the point of commencing hostilities against the English, and the people were generally gathering to garrisons, this country being almost a frontier that way. We had a good season that evening in his house; there were two young women present who had been convinced where I was some few meetings before, and they were very tender and humble, with some other young people who came in, so that it was a profitable edifying season, in the sense of strengthening life from the Lord God. The 21st I was at Friends' monthly meeting, where many Friends gathered, and it was a good, confirming time; the love and goodness of Truth being very near, both to help the truly needy, and the stirring up of the unfaithful and negligent.

The 22nd, being first-day, I was at Friends' meeting at Dover, where gathered abundance of people of many sorts, and our blessed and never-failing Helper was graciously regardful of his own work, and owned us with his power, both to inform the unlearned, to warn the rebellious and negligent, to strengthen the travailers, the babes, and the tender; very humbling impressions having been made upon many young people thereaway. We had some precious sweet seasons in the extendings of the life of Truth that evening among Friends in some families.

The 23rd I came to Hampton, accompanied with many Friends, and had a good settling and reviving meeting, in the sense of divine love, and parted well, and near one another. The 24th I had a large and blessed meeting at Haverhill, at Robert Peasley's, and took leave of Friends thereaway, under a weighty and tendering degree of the love and life of Christ our Lord. The 25th, after some time of weighty exhortation, and tender salutation to the family and children, which was a comfortable season, blessed be the Lord our God forever, I set out towards Salem, and had some service at an inn by the way, to declare the Truth and the way of its working; of which the people had never heard so much before, and seemed glad of the opportunity, and I was comforted in the love of God, which was with us sweetly.

The 26th I was at Friends' meeting at Salem again, not finding I could pass easy by it, though I thought I had been clear before, and the Lord gave us a good time, to the refreshing of many, and his great name was glorified. The 27th I had a meeting in Lynn at a Friend's house, at the request of some of his neighbours; it was a good open time, in the love of Truth, which flowed towards some, in clear doctrine and sweetness, but close and humbling warning to some deceitful professors; some good impressions were made on several that day.

The 28th I came to Boston, and here met with my companion again. And on the 29th, being first-day, we had two meetings; likewise another on second-day, and again on third-day, in Friends' meeting house there. To all these came a considerable number of soberly behaved people, especially to the two latter; and Truth's testimony went forth freely, and

seemed to have considerable influence upon several of the younger people particularly, and on some of the young priesthood. There were but a few Friends in the place, and some of those few not what they ought to be in their conversation. We laboured to have them together select from other people, in order to advise them to be more wise, and to have more regard to the truth and their own good; and we hope it may be of some service to them, and to the truth, and the comfort and strength of such poor hearts among them who love the truth, and seek the honour of God. But abominable pride, envy and hypocrisy prevail still higher in that place, more and more incurring the Lord's displeasure, which will certainly come upon them, as an armed man, sooner or later, except they seek a place of repentance in time.

The 1st of the sixth month we left the town, and came to William Chase's, jr., at Swanzey, and had a meeting there the day following; which the Lord was pleased to own, and bless with his presence and counsel, to our great ease and Friends comfort, and the Lord's name was magnified. The 3rd we had a meeting over the river at Nesannet, to which several people, not of our profession came, and we had a profitable season, the people appearing much satisfied. The 4th we had a meeting at some distance from hence, where the people were much strangers to Friends and truth, yet they seemed satisfied with the doctrine and the testimony of it. The 5th, being first-day, we came to Portsmouth on Rhode Island, where the meeting was very large, and through the Lord's goodness was made a helpful season, the life of Truth prevailing over all. The 6th we came to Newport, and spent some days among Friends there, and went to the week-day meeting at Portsmouth again, which proved a time of much ease to us, through the free opening of life, and ability of Truth, which greatly prevailed, and revived many hearts to the praise of the Lord Almighty. The fifth-day of the week we had a great and humbling meeting at Newport, under the merciful attendance of Divine power, which opened us both in warning the loose and self-lovers, and extended relief and help to the upright and tender; and information to others not of us, pretty many being present that day on account of a marriage. The sixth and seventh days were partly spent in visiting Friends, some widows, and some sick, and went to Conanicut in the evening.

The 12th we went to Kingston in Narraganset to a yearly meeting, which continued first and second days, where many Friends, and abundance of wild, airy, insensible people were gathered from divers places, though many of them have long been willing to hear Truth declared. The Lord's goodness and mercy abounded towards them, and raised his own testimony among us into great dominion, for the help and warning and winning of many; and to build up the honest travailers in th holy faith; so that the Lord God of mercies blessed the opportunity, and his holy testimony gained ground in the judgments, and in the hearts of the people, to his glory and praise, who is worthy for ever. We lodged one night at William Robinson's, and the other at Thomas Rodman's, where we had a precious time with several Friends.

The 14th we returned to Conanicut, and the 15th had a meeting, to which many of the people of the Island came, among whom the Lord opened our hearts and mouths in dread and terror to the loose, and the rejectors of the cross of Christ; many of them having been a convinced people; yet healing goodness and fatherly love ran sweetly towards such as were in want of help; and it was made a graciously edifying season. In the evening we came over to Newport, and on the 16th we were at the week-day meeting there; for my heart remained under a deep travail and suffering for the Seed's sake, some hurtful things having crept in among Friends on this island respecting vain, worldly liberty, which was a great obstruction to the current of Divine love, that gathers into, and maintains in unity. In this meeting the life and wisdom of Truth greatly prevailed, many hearts were bettered, and holy strength, I believe, was gained by several, to watch and war more diligently against that spirit which leads towards the world, and the death and darkness of it.

The 17th we went to a meeting at Tiverton on the main land, where abundance of Friends and others were gathered; and the Lord blessed the time with his presence and holy help; and divers not of our profession seemed much satisfied with the doctrines declared; we parted under the blessed sense of the good will of God, and I believe many holy resolutions were renewed that day, through divine goodness prevailing.

The 18th we returned to Newport again, visiting several Friends in our way, to comfort, and on the 19th were at both forenoon and afternoon meetings, which were very large, most of the Friends on the island being there, and many other people; and the Lord God of all power and mercy was near and among us, in wisdom to divide the word according to many states, making it a precious and blessed season, to the help of the lovers of Truth, and warning of the unruly and disobedient. Our hearts were set at liberty in his life, to our great ease and discharge from this part of the country; and we had to part with Friends, and the gen-

erality of the people, in much nearness and true brotherly respect, with humble hearts before the Lord, who was so graciously near and good to us many ways, and his glorious name was magnified, which is worthy for ever. We now being at liberty in spirit to leave these parts, set forwards the 20th, early in the morning towards Long Island, accompanied by many Friends, and came over the two ferries to the Narraganset country, and came to Westerly to John Richmond's, where we had appointed a meeting some time before; which was made a time of great comfort and dominion in the goings forth of the life and testimony of Truth.

The 21st we came to New London ferry, and meeting with a person who was willing to carry us over the sound the next day, we lodged at an inn, and on the 22nd took boat and had a fine easy passage, and got ashore early in the afternoon, and rode up to Southwold. The 23rd we came to John Hollock's at Scatanakit, and the next day had a meeting there with a few Friends and others who came in, amongst whom the Lord's goodness and counsel reached forth, to our comfort, and their help. We came away that evening to Bethpage, and to Westbury the 25th, to Friends quarterly meeting which began that day, and continued the 26th, which was first-day, and the meeting was very large, it being supposed there were present near a thousand people; and the power and testimony of the gospel of salvation extended freely towards them, and prevailed over many hearts to the glory of God.

The 27th we went to Sequetauge, and had a meeting with a few Friends and some other people, which was a pretty open season: we came back to Bethpage to Thomas Powell's, and had a meeting there that evening; and the 28th we went to a meeting at Cowneck, which was very large, and the Lord made way for his own name and testimony, so that many, both Friends and others, were humblingly affected therewith, and praised the God of all mercies. The 29th we were at Friends' monthly meeting at Westbury, and had some good service among them, in the going forth of the love and counsel of Truth. We went to Flushing that night, and the 30th crossed the ferry to the main land again, to a meeting at Mamaroneck, and had a profitable season, in the extending of heavenly love and counsel towards a poor negligent people among them. Hereby I was pretty much eased, and the 31st we went to a meeting at Benjamin Haviland's in Rye woods, where pretty many of the several persuasions were gathered, and the Lord favoured us with his love, and helped to declare the Truth to the conditions of many of them. The meeting was of service to divers, blessed be the Lord our God for his presence, and helping us to discharge ourselves faithfully from place to place, to the stirring up and encouragement of many; so that we now found ourselves clear of those parts, and of New England in general.

The 1st of the seventh month we came over to Long Island again, to Samuel Bowne's, visiting several Friends in our way, and on the 2nd, being first-day, we were at the meeting at Flushing; and though divers things seemed to have crept in among Friends there, to their hurt, and which obstruct the prosperity of truth; yet the Lord helped to give due portions in dividing the word to the profit of many different states, and we were made truly near to the living. The next day we visited some Friends families, I hope to profit in the goodwill of Truth; and on the 4th we had a large and precious meeting at Oyster bay, in a barn where most of the chief of the place, and several justices of the peace were present, and the Lord's powerful testimony prevailed in the hearts of many of the people, and I belive the Truth will again be exalted in that place. We returned that night to William Withers's at Westbury, and on the 5th had a large and comfortable meeting there in the establishing blessed life and love of Truth, wherein we took leave of Friends thereaway, and came that night to John Rodman's at bay side.

The 6th we were at the monthly meeting at Flushing, where many Friends were met, and the Lord our God was pleased to favour us with his presence and power, to declare many profitable and weighty things among them; tending to stir up and engage Friends in doubling their diligence and care to discharge themselves faithfully, in example, and in zeal for the glory of the name of the Lord; and it was a blessed time, to the help and humbling of many. We parted with Friends in love and the nearness of the heavenly relation, and lodged at Samuel Bowne's, where also we had a precious time with many Friends, who came in there that evening. The 7th we came to New York, and had a meeting the same evening. There are but few Friends, but a pretty innocent people; with whom, and some others who came in, we had a good and strengthening opportunity, in the love of God.

The 8th we came over a part of Long Island, and Staten Island, to Woodbridge in East Jersey, and on the 9th, being first-day, we had one meeting at Friends meeting house, and another at Rahway river, at John Shotwell's; both which were favourably owned by the Lord of mercies, and his power and blessed testimony extended in a comfortable manner to us, and the help of many; blessed be his glorious name for ever.

The 10th we had a meeting back in the woods at John Lane's, where a considerable number of people came in, and we had a good opportunity to declare the truth among them to satisfaction, and came down to John Kinsey's at Woodbridge. The 11th we went over the ferry at Amboy, and the 12th had a very large meeting at Shrewsbury, wherein the Lord was pleased to open many things through us, tending to gather the strangers, and to build up the convinced in the power and counsel of the holy Truth, much to our ease, and the confirmation of some in the way of righteousness, and the Holy name was magnified.

The 13th we went to Manesquan, where a few Friends live, and had a meeting with them, to which several other people also came; and through the merciful help of the power of Truth, we had a seasonable open meeting. The next day we set out for Burlington, in order to be at the yearly meeting there, being accompanied by many Friends, and were the 15th at the meeting for ministers and elders, which was the beginning of the yearly meeting for the province of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. The public meeting began on the 16th, and continued by adjournment three days, and the fourth for the affairs of Truth among Friends; all which were not only very large and orderly, but were greatly favoured with the weighty and glorious power, and humbling presence of the Lord our God, much to the comfort of Friends, and a heavenly visitation to many others. The business of the meeting was managed in the peace and wisdom of our heavenly Head, to Friends great encouragement, and renewing of true zeal: we parted under a sense of the love and favour of our gracious God, whose glorious name was prais-ed and magnified, who is worthy forever.

The 20th we came to Philadelphia, to the week-day meeting, which was large, there being a marriage solemnized that day; and on the 22nd went down to Chester, in our way towards Maryland, we being not yet clear of that province. The 23rd being first-day, we were at Concord, where Friends from many parts gathered; the meeting was very large, and the Lord's power and holy testimony, in many weighty respects, extended freely and largely in a prevailing manner. The next day we visited several Friends' families, and the 25th had a meeting at Kennet, which was large, and through the Lord's goodness was made an edifying season. We had a large meeting also at John Smith's at Marlborough, the 26th, where through the blessed favour and help of divine power and wisdom, we had a precious and profitable meeting.

The 27th we had a meeting at Newgarden, which was large, and also mercifully favoured with the presence and power of the Lord Almighty, whose holy word of wisdom and counsel was freely opened among us, to the great comfort and help of many hearts. And here we took our leave of many Friends from several parts, in the living sense and true nearness of the love of Christ, our holy Head, with praises to God, for his goodness and mercy.

The 28th we had a meeting at Nottingham, which was likewise large, and was made a blessed, strengthening, and edifying time, and the testimony of Truth prevailed amongst those who were not of our Society. The day following we crossed over Susquehanna into Maryland, and the 30th, being first-day, we were at a meeting at Bush river, where there are but a few Friends; but many of the neighbouring people came in, and we had some good service amongst them.

The 1st of the eighth month we came down near Patapsco, to Jonathan Hanson's, and on the 2nd had a meeting with some Friends who live thereabout, and several other people; and through the merciful attendance of the help of Truth, we had a good time; though we found a great want of zeal and faithfulness to the truth among the professors of it thereaway; yet some are honestly concerned, and the Lord is mindful of his own work and the good of his heritage.

On the 3rd we had a meeting up the river at Charles Pierpoint's, a pretty tender man, under some convincement, and his wife also, with some friendly people thereaway. We had a good opportunity among them, in the reaching forth of the gospel love; and hope the Lord will prevail in his visitation, to gather in and build up a people to bear testimony to the truth thereaway. The 4th we came down to Henry Hill's, near South river, and on the 5th had a meeting there, where several friendly people were gathered, and the gospel spring livingly opened towards them, making impression upon some; and we were comforted in the Lord our gracious helper. We got over the river that night, and came to West River, to Ann Galloway's. The 7th, being first-day, we were at Friends' meeting there, where pretty many people gathered from divers places, and the Lord our God was pleased to open our hearts in his power and holy counsel, to their help; and we were concerned to stir up and warn against several hurtful practices which were creeping in among them, and in discharging ourselves we were filled with the peace of God.

The 8th we had a full and pretty open meeting at Herring Creek, to our satisfaction, and were helped to deal plainly, in the love of Truth, with Friends there, and we parted in a

comfortable degree of nearness of spirit, through the merciful extending of divine regard. The 9th we had a meeting at the Cliffs, where there is a good body of honest, religiously minded Friends, with whom we had an open, and a solid comfortable time to our satisfaction, and their encouragement in the way and service of Truth. The 11th we took boat, with many Friends in company, and went over the bay of Chesapeak, in our way to the approaching Yearly meeting on the eastern shore, which began at Treadhaven the 13th, being seventh-day, and held till the 4th of the following week for public worship, and the affairs of Truth among Friends. Great numbers of almost all sorts of people came thither, and the Lord God was pleased to open the glorious testimony of Truth, and the way of life, in his mighty power; and the word of wisdom prevailed in a good measure, both upon the hearts of many of the people, and to the great encouragement of the tender; and also to the alarming and rousing up the indifferent and negligent. Their business was managed in much peace and amity. They were also stirred up to more diligence in plain dealing, and care in divers respects, which was gladly received by many, and the Lord's power and love crowned our meeting to our mutual joy and comfort, and his glorious name was humbly praised, who is worthy forever; for it is he who doth whatever is well done. After we had taken our leave of Friends in the love and peace of God, we went that night to the widow Pitts', and the next day up the country to Chester, where we had a meeting the 19th, and the 20th came to Cecil and had a meeting, which was a good edifying season, in the free and gracious extending of the good will of God, much to our ease and satisfaction, many of the people in those parts having long been in a poor lukewarm and indifferent state.

—

From hence he wrote the following letter, to a Friend lately convinced in New England, and his wife, who was at times under some concern of mind on account of religion, though then professing among the Presbyterians. It is worthy of the perusal and consideration of those who would indeed be truly religious; viz:

Near and loving Friend.—As true brotherly love and tender well wishing, have been often renewed in my heart towards thee, thy wife and children, since I left you, so of late I have been mindful of you so often that I wanted much to write a few lines to you, and am glad of the present opportunity of sending to let thee and thy wife know that I retain an affectionate remembrance of you, in a measure of Divine love, wherein I salute you. The tender desire of my heart and brotherly advice to you, according to the apostle's exhortation, is, that it may be your care and hearty labour to draw near, and feel after sensible access to the living God, the fountain of living water, and I may be positive he will draw nigh to you, to your inward comfort and relieving satisfaction; to the enlargement of your understandings in things appertaining to life and peace, and to build you up by degrees, in the experience of his salvation, and of that redemption which the Father, in and through the power and spirit of his dear Son, Christ Jesus, hath offered to the children of men.

For as the great mischief brought upon mankind, and upon Christians, so called, in particular, by the adversary, has been by drawing into a disregard to the pure God, who is a Spirit, and from the feeling sense of Divine favour, and into a separation from his living presence and inward consolation to the soul; so the great and blessed advantage which is offered to mankind, and of which the Lord Almighty would make them partakers, through his Son, is to draw them nigh to God again; that through faith in his invisible power, they may become witnesses of help in themselves to war against and gain victory over the lusts of the flesh and the world, and by degrees over all that unfits for inward access and a sense of acceptance, in measure, in his sight. For this many souls are in travail; and that the way may be opened which leads to the holy mountain and table of the Lord indeed; which, though it is through a baptism into death to corruption, and an exercising and refining which is unpleasant to the creature, yet the end is to prepare the hearts of people to draw near feelingly, and to approach to him that is invisible, with acceptance. And while this access and acceptance in the Father's sight is not in a certain measure attained to, the very life and marrow of religion and worship is wanting, both in regard to pleasing God, and to our own true solace and edification.

Wherefore, my friends, my heart cries for you, and begs of you, that your chief concern from time to time, may be to seek the Lord God, and draw nigh to him through the spirit of his Son, given in measure to all to profit with; and he will certainly be mindful of you, and draw near to you, to your sure help and comfort, and will, by degrees, rend the vail, and take away the covering which hath been over every heart. The departing from the divine appearance or manifestation of God in the heart, through his spirit, whereunto the Lord Jesus and his apostles directed and gathered the true believers, in order that they might be born again, and preserved to his praise, who called them; I say, the going from

this has been the cause of losing the sense of his pure love, and life, and comfort therethrough to the soul, and of departing into forms and modes, of splitting into various sects, contending and striving one with another about names and shadows of things: men's human apprehensions and interests having become too much the rule and bottom of many people, and a feeding upon words and performances without life, which occasions both great barrenness of heart, and want of godly conversation.

And it is a certain truth, that if ever men return aright to God, they must return through the spirit, and to feel his quickening power, to give the soul light, and life, and ability to fight the good fight of faith, and to war against the enemies of their own hearts, as well as to perform acceptably the duty of worship and obedient service, which we owe to the great and living God.

And blessed be his name forever, he is nearer to hear the bemoanings of our needy souls, and to afford them relief and access to his holy life-giving presence, than many are aware of; who yet are seeking abroad, and would gladly have the privilege of disciples of Christ without self-denial, or coming under the restrictions or discipline of the crucifying power, and cross of Christ the Lord. This has been the case of many of us, who having tasted of the terrors, and in part, of the mercy of the merciful Father, we cannot but wish well for others.

My friends, I am unexpectedly opened to spread these things before you, for your serious consideration, in a measure of the love of Christ, desiring your present and eternal welfare; and I pray call to mind that encouraging expression of our Lord, that those who denied themselves of any thing for his name, and the gospel's sake, should have, in this life, many fold, and hereafter, life everlasting. And of the fulfilling thereof, he has in measure made many witnesses; blessed be his name forevermore. I hope and believe, that he hath also given you some earnest hereof already, and will yet make you experimental witnesses more largely, as you give up to follow him faithfully, to your inward joy and comfort; though, as the followers of the Lamb in the regeneration, you may also have to wade through near and pinching strippings and tribulations of various kinds. Yet, again, I cannot but invite and encourage you to draw near to the Lord, and he will assuredly draw nigh to you, and become your Shepherd, and you shall not lack. The arm of the Lord of hosts be your leader and feeder, your shield, your buckler, and may he cover your head in the day of battle, for great is the wrath of the dragon against the return of the Church, and her coming up out of the wilderness, or bewildered state, that she may again enjoy her ancient beloved, her Redeemer, her head and husband. Thus, under a solid degree of divine love, which extends freely towards you, I tenderly take my leave of you, and remain, if I never see you more, your truly loving friend,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Maryland, the 20th of the eighth month, 1722.

From Cecil, (continues the Journal,) we went the 21st to Duck Creek, to a half year's meeting, to which many Friends accompanied us from Maryland, and divers came from other places, with some other people; so that it was a large meeting, and continued two days: the Lord was pleased to own us with his living presence, and the opening of the treasury of his wisdom and counsel, both to other people and to Friends; tending to rouse up the negligent, and to encourage the honest minded. This meeting helped much towards our discharge thereaway, and the great name of the Lord was glorified, who is worthy forever. That day I was seized with an ague-fit, which continued upon me violently till night, nevertheless I was enabled to go through my service and travel.

The 23rd we came down towards Lewistown, to visit some poor Friends thereaway, and the next day had a meeting at Cold Spring, seven miles from the town aforesaid, and a satisfactory time with a few Friends in that part; though the return of my ague rendered travelling unpleasant and difficult, being very weak and ill. The 26th we had a meeting at Motherkill, which we had given notice of as we went down; wherein the Lord of mercies mightily favoured us with help to declare the way of life, to warn the indifferent, and to encourage the honest-minded: and it was a particular time of mercy to that people, whereof we were humbly glad, and the Lord, who favoured us with his help through all our exercises, and enabled to go on faithfully in his service, was praised. We came to Timothy Hanson's, at Little Creek, after the meeting that night, and the 27th, being first-day, were at Friends' meeting there, and though I was much indisposed, yet Divine goodness owned us, and we were helped to bear testimony to the blessed truth, which prevailed amongst us to our comfort, and the glory of God.

The 30th we had a meeting near George's Creek, at Friends' meeting house, where many Friends met us from several places, and Divine goodness was pleased to favour us with a profitable time, to the stirring up of the loiterers, and giving relief to the honest hearted travailers. The 31st we visited a sick Friend to mutual

comfort, and went back to John M'Cool's, at George's Creek, at night.

The first of the ninth month we rode to New-Castle, and had a meeting with Friends there, wherein the Lord was pleased to manifest his power and wisdom, much to our ease, and the help and comfort of many. The 3rd we were at the monthly meeting at Centre, wherein Truth opened a door for some service in several respects; and the 4th, being first-day, we were at Chichester meeting, which was large, and a good awakening time, to the honour of the Holy name. The 5th we got to Philadelphia, the quarterly meeting for the county being then to be held there; wherein we had some good service among Friends, to mutual satisfaction and help in the cause of the Lord Almighty.

Being now pretty clear in our spirits of that part of the country, save some weight which remained upon me relating to this place, we staid about two weeks here; and through hard travelling before, and a deep exercise of spirit attending me in this place, I was much weakened, yet the Lord was pleased to open in his holy power and wisdom, and to support with ability of body; so that we had many open and relieving meetings with Friends in the city, (and others who came from divers places to take leave of us,) whom I was moved both to warn in the word of life, against many hindering things growing among them, and to exhort the elders to be diligent in example and true zeal for the Lord; whose merciful hand likewise extended freely towards, and prevailed among the youth; and the honest travailers for the prosperity of Truth and righteousness, were much encouraged and strengthened.

The 9th, having had a good seasoning opportunity in the evening before with many Friends at our lodging, and a blessed open time in supplication with the family and some others, we took our leave in the love of God, and went down by land to Chester, accompanied by many Friends; the next morning we took leave of them and Friends there, and went on board the ship called the Globe, bound for South Carolina, which had been before me most of the journey; we sailed down the river, and next morning went ashore at Newcastle, and had a precious open meeting with Friends there, in the love of Truth. The 22nd we went on board again, and set sail for Charleston, to which place we had a safe, though somewhat slow passage, and got well thither the 16th of the tenth month, being the seventh of the week, and were at meeting on first-day, with the few Friends in the place, some moderate people coming in. The Lord mercifully owned us, and gave us a good time among them; though the main part of the people in that country seemed a careless, dark people, in matters of religion. We likewise had several meetings in other parts of the country, wherein the Lord opened freely in his power and wisdom to declare the way of life and salvation to the people. We had also divers meetings in Charleston; and though there are but a few Friends thereaway, yet there were some with whom we were comforted, and to whom our visit was of service. Divers of the people, and some of these the chief of the place, were also somewhat reached by the Truth, and were very loving; but many seemed much above the true Christian simplicity.

When we had laboured there about two weeks, and had many meetings during that time, and finding our spirits clear to leave the place, we took our passage for Barbadoes, and taking our leave of Friends in much nearness and tenderness of spirit, went on board the 28th, and set sail for Barbadoes, and were favoured greatly with the Lord's presence and peace. We had a good passage, and landed well at Bridgetown in four weeks, and were gladly received by Friends there, and lodged at John Oxley's. We had many meetings at Bridgetown, and in several parts of the island, both among Friends, and others not of our profession, who seemed glad of our visits. But the decay among Friends in this place, through giving way to the spirit and friendship of the world, and going from the cross of Christ, seemed to make the way more narrow for the testimony of the gospel of salvation to go forth with the desired success among other people. Yet the Lord God of mercies was near to us in his love and power for our comfort and help; and extended very largely and mercifully towards all people, the professors of Truth particularly, in order to awaken and to repair their decaying, as also to feed and strengthen the few honestly religious minded: so that we often admired the Lord's goodness, and magnified his holy name.

When we had laboured upon the island in the love of God about two months, both in meetings for worship, and in divers meetings for the care and discipline of the Church, in that counsel and ability of Truth wherewith the Lord favoured us, and bore up our spirits under and through much affliction of soul, for the sake of the cause of Christ, about which many were grown careless; and now finding our spirits easy and clear of that service, and seeing the way opened for our return to England, by that Holy hand which drew us from our habitations, we took leave of Friends in much love and comfort, recommending them to the name of the Lord. On the 29th of the first month 1724, we set sail for England, and the 31st of the third month we came abreast of Portland, the first land we made, and on the

1st of the fourth month, meeting with a boat at sea, we hired her to carry us to the isle of Wight; the next day we got to Portsmouth, and took post horses for London, where we came the 3rd in the morning, being second-day, and got to the meeting of ministers, the beginning of the yearly meeting 1724.

Of this visit to America, he gave the said yearly meeting the following relation, viz:

We* first acknowledge in humble reverence to the Lord Almighty, that he mercifully favoured us, with his love and countenance, very often upon the sea, and guarded us thereon from unreasonable and wicked men, into whose hands some fell very near us, and brought us safe to Virginia after a moderate passage. We then entered upon our service in visiting Friends, and went towards North Carolina, having many large and open meetings among Friends and others also.

We came back again from hence into Virginia, and had meetings in many parts of it; and in several where there are few or no Friends. In both these provinces we found great willingness in many people to hear the truth declared, divers of whom appeared very loving and tenderly affected. There seemed likewise to be a comfortable openness among the youth, the offspring of Friends, in several places, and rather a growth among some of the elder, in a religious care: yet not so much among either, as might have been hoped for and expected from the labour, which in the love of God hath been many ways extended towards them; yet divine mercy still reaches freely to them, and in some places there is an increase in righteousness, and truth is in good esteem: but in others, the love and friendship of the world occasion a decay.

In Maryland we found there had been great loss, by the decrease of many of the elders, and of the more zealous and concerned Friends; yet there are in several parts, some who are hopeful and religiously disposed among the younger, and others who are left, though too few there are of these. A love of hurtful ease and vain liberties has prevailed to the prejudice of some, and hindering the work and honour of Truth. There appears nevertheless, some openness among several of the neighbouring people, and a gracious extending of divine love to them, as well as the helpful hand in heavenly wisdom towards Friends in several respects, greatly to our mutual comfort and satisfaction.

In Pennsylvania we found an enquiring openness in divers parts among people of several professions; some were convinced of, and we hope received, the truth in the love of it. There is a large body of religiously minded people among Friends, who are growing up in a true care for the honour of truth; though these are mixed with many earthly minded, and some loose libertine people, who occasion much exercise to the right minded: yet the Lord's goodness and care are near and over that country, and his truth prospers in it.

In the Jerseys, Long Island and New York governments, there is a considerable number of Friends, and in some places an hopeful openness among other people. We travelled diligently through these parts, and though vain liberties in some, and too great carelessness and indulgence in others, have stained or obstructed the progress and dominion of the work and beauty of Truth; yet the visitation of heavenly good will and tender love, with desires to help, is very evidently and freely extended, in order to repair and build up in righteousness. There are, however, some honestly concerned Friends thereaway, among whom we had a satisfactory labour, in the fresh visitation of divine power and love.

In Rhode Island and the government belonging to it, and New England, we had many meetings, and close labour, but in the whole, much to our satisfaction. There is a considerable body of Friends in several parts of that country, and we believe in many places, they are rather increasing in the knowledge of the power of Truth, and in stability and righteousness and faithfulness to it; and although some hindering and wounding circumstances have attended in divers places, yet there is a tenderly concerned, valuable people thereaway, both elder and younger. We had many meetings among the neighbouring professing people; in some places, but few were willing or dared to come in, but in others we had very large ones amongst them, especially towards the east of New England, and several, we hope, were effectually reached by the power of Truth, and received and joined with it in humility and gladness. In some parts a very comfortable, tendering visitation prevailed upon many of the youth among Friends. We laboured very diligently, through the ability received, in most parts of this country, and took leave of Friends in solid hope, on account of the Lord's work, and much love and heavenly peace in ourselves, with holy thankfulness to the Lord Almighty, the great helper of his devoted servants.

Then returning back towards Pennsylvania, we had some comfortable service thereaway, and Friends were encouraged and strengthened in the Lord. We sailed from hence to South Carolina, and laboured there some time in the service of the gospel, having meetings with the few Friends there, and among other

*Himself and Laurence King his companion.

people. The Lord our God was with us to our comfort and help, though the generality of the people seemed but cold and very indifferent about true religion. There are but few Friends in these parts, and but very few who seem to love Truth in uprightness; yet some there are who thus love it, and retain the simplicity thereof in a good degree: these were very glad of our visit, and we were much comforted together in the Lord: the people were also generally very loving and cheerful towards us.

Finding our spirits easy and clear of these parts, we sailed to Barbadoes, having the favour of a safe and ready passage, and through the nearness of merciful regard and divine life and goodness to our spirits, a season never to be forgotten, blessed be the Lord for ever. Friends received us with gladness, it having been long since any Friends from England had visited them. We had many meetings, both among the professors of Truth and others in this island, which were to the comfort of the living amongst them. Many other people seemed glad of the visit, and behaved soberly and respectfully. But a loose, lofty, and irreligious spirit or disposition, has too generally prevailed upon the inhabitants of that place, and to a sorrowful degree has obstructed the spreading of Truth, and has even brought on a decay or diminution of the number of Friends: yet there are a few in several parts of the island, who retain their integrity to God, and who love and are concerned for his honour. The Lord was pleased to own us with his help and wisdom, to divide the word aright, in warning and stirring up the unfaithful, and with encouragement and comfort of the lovers of Truth; and indeed also to publish the Gospel doctrine by way of information to all: so that we were sensible the day of love and mercy from God, was yet freely extended to many in that unworthy place. And now growing easy and clear in our spirits, of our service in those parts, and our way being open for England, we took our leave of Friends in the love and peace of our heavenly Father, and had the renewed favour of a safe and good passage to England.

And one thing I think good to add, having often remarked it; that though it fell in our way, rather in an uncommon degree, to lay open and testify against the corrupt grounds, ways and practices of the hireling and man-made, pretended ministers of Christ, of our time, in several countries and societies; yet the people heard with unusual patience and thoughtfulness, in general, and we also passed quietly through all our journey without any of them appearing or offering any disturbance or disputation: which we were thankful for, believing it to be of the Lord's goodness and wisdom, and his invisible dread, which prevailed and will prevail in the earth: to him, the support, defence and rich rewarder of his people and servants, in awfulness of soul be ascribed all glory and pre-eminence, with fear and praise, for ever.

From Barbadoes he wrote the following Epistle to Friends of Dover meeting, in New England, viz.

Dear Friends:—Since I was with you, my spirit has often turned towards you, in the movings of true and near love, and in tender, fervent breathing, for your being inwardly sustained, strengthened and encouraged in an humble dependence upon the pure and invisible arm of the Lord Almighty, and in a due devotedness of soul to follow him with full purpose of heart. I have wanted an opportunity to manifest my remembrance of you in a few lines, which I hope I may have from hence, and herewith extend my dear salutation, in that pure engaging love of our gracious God, whereby he hath been pleased to visit and overcome many of our souls, and through the operation of the spirit of judgment, which he hath graciously mixed with unspeakable mercy, he hath prepared many hearts, in measure, to draw nigh to him, and to be made partakers of his living soul-engaging goodness and pure life, giving us an earnest of eternal comfort.

And oh! my near Friends, elder and younger, who have been thus mercifully followed, and waited over in long suffering, and humbled in degree by the inward touches of the love and favour of the Lord God of blessings, my heart groans within me, that it may continually be your and all our care, to labour with due watchfulness, to walk humbly before him, to feel after his living power, and to bear his yoke resignedly and cheerfully; that thereby we may be crucified to the world, the evils and hurtful friendships of it; and with due patience, cast our care upon him, with resolution to follow him wherever, or through whatsoever he may be pleased to lead us; for he is God, and besides him there is no Saviour, nor healer of the sick or wounded soul, nor any that can lead to durable and certain blessing, either here or hereafter. Sure I am, his eye of mercy in tender love is over his children in all states and in all places; and He is, and ever will be a rich rewarder, and sure friend in times of need, to those who give up all to follow his reproofs and requirings, not having, or thinking any thing too near to part with for the sake of his favour: such will often have cause to say, their lot is fallen in a good land.

And oh that none who have tasted of pure love and divine sweetness in their own souls,

as a spring in a dry place, may ever give way to the discouraging enemy again, who is busily waiting to hinder, and turn whom he can aside from the narrow way, which alone leads to life and salvation. And as this is satan's aim, so he hath many methods of working, either by insinuating, that an easier way may do, or begetting discontent, and setting the creature into uneasiness, in the time of its inward travail and pain, or to look abroad, and to watch for occasion; and then he darkens the mind, the heart hardens, and the beauty and excellency of the law of God is lost, and so for ease to the flesh and present pleasure, there is a drawing back and back; and in this staggering condition satan has prevailed to persuade, that all which the soul hath seen and felt, was but a mistake, and proceeded from some other cause; and thus have some heavenly visitations been slighted, to the great and miserable loss of many; which I sincerely pray may never happen to any more in any part of the world.

And my soul humbly begs of the most gracious God, that if any have been hurt in their minds through unwatchfulness, after the pure way of life hath been cast up plainly in their view, by giving room to any weakening consultations, that he may be pleased mercifully to renew a day of winning love, and cause it to arise upon such in the purity of its brightness, in their very souls; so that they may clearly discern the wiles of the enemy, and see a way open to turn to the Lord effectually, and become sensible witnesses of his mercy and salvation; so be it; so be it; amen.

And, dear Friends, you of the elder rank, I tenderly entreat you to be diligent, and careful in walking and in watching for the renewal of your strength and capacity, to approve yourselves in all things, the Lord's faithful followers and servants, ordered in divine wisdom. And as you are bent in care to be prepared to give up your accounts with joy, the spring of life and wisdom will be opened to you from time to time, to help you to watch over all the family under your eye, and to walk before them steadily, and to their help and encouragement.

And may the young people all watch against the many enticements to corruption, and to liberties, which unfit for divine favour and love coming in upon the soul. A stain or an hurt is soon received, but a recovery or restoration is not to be obtained, but through sorrow and difficulty in divers respects, as I am persuaded there are among you young people, who have from certain experience with sorrow to testify, upon whom a gracious hand from on high hath taken hold, in mercy and loving kindness; which I hope will never be forgotten by you. And through some of those who have been thus visited, and touched in heart by the finger of God's love, if they keep near to the Lord in true reverent submission, I believe he will appear and work, and make them instruments to show forth his salvation, to the praise of his glorious and powerful name; and to call to others, in the name of the Lord, to come and taste how good he is.

Dear Friends, my heart is often, as it were among you, in the one spirit of life and righteousness, and is strongly engaged in sympathy, and travail for your growth in faithfulness to the Lord of mercies and salvation; whom, as you duly regard, he will surely be a spring of blessing to you, and a sure hiding place, whatever comes upon the ungodly and forgetful, whom he will certainly visit in displeasure.

I am sweetly opened in spirit towards you at this time, in the extendings of immortal love from the great fountain, the relief of the truly needy in all ages, the staff and strength of true depending souls still, where ever they are, and however exercised, blessed be his holy arm forever. And though I seem easy, without expecting ever to see you again, yet you are near me, and I think I cannot be unmindful of you, and shall long and hope to hear well of you. Thus, with tender entreaty, that you may all make a right use of, and put a true value upon the day and time of the Father's love, I commit you to the all-sufficient word of life and truth, and remain your near friend and brother in the Truth,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Barbadoes, the 18th of the twelfth month, 1723.

Before he set sail for England, he found himself engaged to visit those who professed with us in the other islands, with the following epistle, which he entitled,

A brotherly salutation, with some Christian exhortations, to the professors of Truth in Antigua, Anguilla, Jamaica, or thereaway.

MY FRIENDS.—It having fallen to my lot, through the moving of the word of life, to visit many parts of the American countries again, in the service of the gospel of Christ; and being here on this account, tender and brotherly care hath sprung in my heart towards you also, though I do not see a way open in the Truth to visit you in person, being drawn in Spirit towards Europe again. But still a living openness is in my heart to visit you with an epistle, wherewith also reacheth my hearty and true brotherly salutation, unto all who know and love the truth as it is in Jesus, and manifested

through the Spirit inwardly; and with tender entreaty and advice, that you all carefully feel after, and wait upon the Lord, for the renewing of inward strength, and the experience of his living power arising and working in you, even the redeeming, sanctifying power of the Father and the Son, to quicken your soul, and enable you to serve and worship the living God acceptably; who is the alone sure fountain of true comfort, the all-sufficient helper of his people, and the compassionate reliever of the poor and needy souls, in all countries and conditions, and is worthy to be trusted in, obeyed, and magnified forever.

And I pray you consider, that it is certain, the end and tendency of the visitation of the Lord, through his blessed light and Truth, by Jesus Christ appearing inwardly to the children of men, is to bring from man, and to turn people to himself, to be taught of him, and so to be established in righteousness. Whosoever thus in heart truly turns to and takes counsel of him, waiting diligently from time to time, to hear his instructions, and to feel his power to help to cease from evil, and whatever he manifests to be disagreeable to his holy will; and to learn to come up in doing well: all such are, and will be regarded in merciful compassion from on high, and the mighty Arm will be stretched forth both to feed and help on, through all the disadvantages that may attend them.

And it is also certain, that whatever privileges any may outwardly enjoy, none can grow rightly, or be preserved in the way of life and peace, but as faith is kept in the invisible power of God, and diligence in waiting for a renewed sense of life and light in the eternal word of power, to open counsel, and give ability to do his will, and to confess the Son truly, as our Redeemer, before men. Wherefore, I again earnestly entreat and exhort, in the bowels of the Father's love, you, whose understandings are thus in a good measure opened, often to labour carefully to draw near the Lord in spirit, in humility and patient fervency, with hearts resigned to follow him fully; and assuredly he will draw nigh to you, and feed your souls with food from his own never failing treasury.

But my heart is loaded with a sorrowful concern and travail on the account of some, who have been long fully persuaded concerning the way of Truth and righteousness; and have been often very sensible of its holy reproofs, in order to reclaim them from the evil of their ways, and from the corrupt and vain practices and friendships of the world; and yet continue to live in, and comply therewith; slighting the reproofs of Truth, rejecting the instructions and offers of divine help through the grace of God; because of the narrowness of the way of life.

Others there are, who have at times been inwardly affected by the life of Truth appearing to their illuminated understandings, and have joined with the lovers of it for a time; yet have grown weary, and ashamed of the cross of Christ, and the simplicity of Truth; and so have hearkened to the whisperings of the old enemy, and his enticements into vain liberty and carnal ease, wherein some have settled again, building up what they had in part destroyed.

Some also may seek to excuse or justify their doings, by observing either real or supposed mistakes or evil actions in others, and so have grown hard if not envious: I say, respecting some such people, my heart travails in pain, that they may seriously consider, and come to see their condition in the day of mercy; and to such of them as may see these lines, oh, take warning—take warning, while light and reproof from the God of mercy are yet at times visiting your souls, in long suffering and merciful regard, waiting to quicken you into more faithfulness, and devotedness of heart, to follow him, and to confess the truth before men, to bear the yoke of Christ, and to learn of him, that you may find rest and peace to your souls forever.

And know ye, you who slight and turn away from the pure truth, and deny or reject the cross of Christ, for the sake of present ease or pleasure, and who choose the broad way, that your very insides in every part are seen, and noted of the Lord; your ways are marked by the righteous Judge, and a time of terrible awakening is before you. The Almighty will assuredly turn your carnal ease, vain rejoicing, and foolish grandeur, into bitter mourning and lamentation, if you do not turn at the reproof of Truth, and with its instructions, in a day of the merciful striving of the Lord's witness with you in your own hearts; which, as a servant of Christ, and your soul's true friend, I tenderly entreat, and faithfully warn you to consider, and lay duly to heart.

And you, my Friends, who have escaped, or have been preserved in a good measure from the evils and corruptions of the world, through obedience to the Truth, be diligent in labouring to improve the divine gift committed to you for that end; so that none of you, through neglect thereof, though you may have the denomination of servants, may at the conclusion be cast into everlasting weeping and sorrow, with the slothful servant. And also remember the pleaders of excuses, mentioned in the parable of Christ, who having been invited to the marriage, and called to the supper, made their several allegations for not coming; which, though they related to things lawful, yet drew upon them the woeful determination, that not

one of them should taste of the supper. For, although the great Lord be long-suffering, and bears long with the carnal reasoning of the children of men in several respects, yet he will be found to be a God of justice and judgment, as well as mercy, and will recompense those who will not be prevailed upon to obey the truth, but continue in unrighteousness, and the vain sensual lusts of the flesh, with tribulation, anxiety and wrath; while glory, honour and peace will be the portion and enjoyment in eternal life, of all the sincere followers of the Lamb of God, though through many sorrows and humbling fears.

Wherefore, lift up your hearts, you honest-minded, in reverent hope for the renewed appearance of divine life to your travailing souls, for it is truly reviving, and is the one fountain of true joy, encouragement and strength to all the children of God, in every part of the earth. Walk circumspectly, be diligent and careful in meeting together, such as conveniently may, or sit down together in the name of the Lord, to wait upon him, if but two or three in a place; it being the promise of Christ himself, and will forever be fulfilled, that such he will favour with his presence, in all places, whether in greater or in less congregations; and this is the life and substantial edification of living souls, which truly qualifies to worship acceptably. And wherever coolness or neglect herein is given way to, or continued in by any who are convinced of the truth and the way of worshipping the Father in spirit, by inwardly waiting for divine and spiritual food and relief, there weakness in religious concerns, and dulness respecting duty towards God, always follow, and the way and precepts of Truth become wearisome. The enemy of souls furnishes with one excuse or another for such indifferency and declension from necessary care; and so darkness gradually creeps into the heart, and a danger of stumbling, some on one thing, some on another, increases from less to more, till great and lamentable falls sometimes happen, which may prove utterly destructive in their consequences. Yet the destruction of such, is altogether of themselves, for the Lord Almighty hath offered sufficient help for all states and circumstances, however disadvantageous, through his grace and Truth; yet will he be enquired for, and waited upon by all, that they may be made experiencers of his salvation. Oh! good is the Lord, worthy to be feared, waited upon, and obeyed faithfully for ever, saith my soul, in the immediate sense and view of the free reachings forth of his powerful arm of salvation, healing and nursing goodness; especially towards humbly concerned hearts, that are sincerely desirous to be helped to grow up obedient children to the everlasting Father, which I humbly beg may become, and continue all your and the whole family's care, in true sincerity, to the end.

And here I would have concluded these lines, in the love of truth, and that plainness and sincerity wherein is the truest friendship; but one thing yet bears weight with me to propose to your serious consideration, viz: What is the chief cause or end of your settling, and continuance, where I am sensible many disadvantages attend you in respect to religion? If it be under an apprehension of some inward restrictions to bear testimony to and for the truth amongst that people; then, I pray consider, and be careful to live so near the truth, and a truly religious zeal, in faithfully following the heavenly light, and instructions thereof, that you may be lights indeed; and keep in due moderation and justice in managing your affairs. Be careful to order yourselves, and your youth, who have any, so as to walk according to the simplicity and plainness of truth; thus will you keep out of, and bear testimony against the vain ways, words, fashions, and corrupting friendships of this world. How else are you like to be really of service, or examples to others in the way of truth, or capable of showing forth that redemption, which there-through is offered from God to the degenerate world, or justly hope for his countenance inwardly, or his blessing to attend your affairs. Yet, if this be your inducement, and is from time to time accompanied with this godly care, whatever be the effect or event respecting others, the Lord's care will be over you, his gracious ear will be open to the cry of your needy souls, and he will show himself to be your Shepherd, and you will not lack.

But if the chief motive be a regard to present or temporal interest, it is not reasonable to hope for or expect the privilege of his holy countenance upon your souls, or success other ways. It happens too often, that those who are chiefly under the influence of present views, become indifferent with respect to a true concern of heart, and so give way to a halting and mixing with worldly liberties in conversation, and become rather a reproach and cause of stumbling to others, who may be awakened to some religious thoughtfulness, and look towards those for encouragement; but I hope better concerning some of you in particular, though I thus write. Nevertheless, there is great danger of coming to loss in the best respect, and more especially concerning your offspring, who have their education and converse with and among those who too generally are not only strangers to the truth and its simplicity, but many of them wholly over-run with vain, wicked, and corrupting conversation; so that, what you gain for yourselves, and for them, may be an occa-

sion of strong temptations to those who follow the sight of their own eyes, into wicked and sinful practices, which lead to a woful and miserable end at the last; and whether parents be clear of their blood, may be questioned.

These things have stood much in my way, in my deepest thoughts respecting Friends, particularly on these islands; and I am inclined to recommend them thus to your consideration, though far from designing to put an unnecessary consternation upon any honestly concerned travailing soul, that is waiting in fear and care to know the Lord's counsel and ordering in such weighty things. But I would have all stirred up to such a necessary concern of spirit, that you may be helped to live, and to do whatever you do, to the glory of God; and so may have the comfort and blessing of his divine favour, and that he may be your ruler and king; and in becoming so, he will assuredly save, preserve, and gather his humble subjects to his heavenly kingdom in eternal life, where all sorrow is at an end, and the wicked cease from troubling any more. This my spirit is renewedly engaged to travail for on your behalf, and the whole heritage of God, as for my own soul; that his great and glorious name may be renowned through the earth, as he is worthy, worthy, for ever.

Thus having discharged my spirit of the exercise which hath grown upon me towards you, and according to my understanding, in the way which truth hath opened, in true sincerity; I take my leave in the extendings of the love of Christ, wherein I remain your true and real friend,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Barbadoes, the 23rd of the first month, 1723-4.

Soon after his return from America, in the same year, he visited Friends in Ireland, of which journey he left the following account.

Having been under a weighty concern for some time to visit Friends in Ireland, and perceiving my way to be opened for that service, about the 27th of the fifth month, 1724, I set forward and went by Sedbergh, and was at Friends' monthly meeting there, and the next day at Preston, near Kendal, at the burial of an ancient Friend. From thence I went pretty straight to Whitehaven, staying one night with James Dickenson. On first-day we had a meeting within the walls of the new meeting house which was building there; and the Lord's power and testimony prevailed among a very large assembly, greatly to our satisfaction and encouragement.

I got well over to Dublin the seventh-day following, being the 8th of the sixth month, towards which place I found my mind rather pressed with some weight of concern, so that I could not hasten from it. I staid two first-days, and had several other meetings with Friends, wherein the hidden virtue and power of Truth enabled to bear a plain and faithful testimony for God, to the help of the upright and my ease; especially the latter first-day, in both meetings, my heart was opened in the power and doctrine of the gospel towards Friends and others, and the name of the Lord God was glorified.

My spirit was then easy, and I set out for the north parts first, and went to Drogheda, several Friends accompanying me. We had a meeting with a few Friends there in the evening, and rode the next day to Rathfriland, near which place we had a meeting the 19th, where several of the neighbouring people came in, and the Lord gave us a good time, the love and clear testimony of the gospel reaching forth to our comfort.

The 20th I had a large meeting at Lurgan, wherein a close searching labour became my lot among Friends, which ended indifferently well to my satisfaction.

The 22nd I had a meeting at Monallen, and went to Lurgan again that night. The 23rd at Ballinderry meeting, which was very large, both of Friends and many others of different professions; and the Lord's power and gospel testimony livingly and freely reached forth among them in much plainness and authority, much to my satisfaction and ease of spirit; and the great Lord and helper of his servants had the glory and praise of all. After this I visited two ancient Friends, Thomas and Tobias Courtney, with whom I was comforted in the love of Christ.

The 24th I had a meeting at Lisburn; the power of Truth owned us to Friends and my comfort and help.

The 25th and 26th I had meetings at Antrim and the Grange, and the 28th at Colerain, where, besides Friends, pretty many people of other professions came into the meeting; the power of Truth opened my heart and mouth amongst them in much plain dealing and honesty, both for the clear information of the people and warning to some loose ones, as well as comfort of the few upright-hearted. After meeting we walked about a mile to visit a poor ancient Friend, to some profit in the love of God. The next day I came back to Ballynalee, to a men's six weeks meeting, for the care of the affairs of the Church in that part, and the 30th was at a public meeting for the worship of God, where several other sober people came in: we had a good time in the love and powerful extending of the arm of Truth;

the upright in heart were strengthened and encouraged in the Lord.

The 31st I had a good, seasonable, and edifying time with Friends at Dunclaudy, where also were several other sober people, towards whom the gospel reached freely, and had some impression.

The 1st of the seventh month I had a meeting at Ballynaroan, and a prevailing sweet season among some tender people; and another the day following, at Redford, near Charlemount, to a good degree of satisfaction.

The 3rd I rode to Ballyhagen, and had a meeting there, where the Lord's power was plentifully with us, and the gospel testimony spread in a prevailing manner, warning and awakening the indifferent, in consolation and holy encouragement to the well minded, and the glorious name was magnified.

On the 6th I was at two very large meetings at Lurgan, and through the goodness and help of the Lord it was made a profitable season to many: my spirit was truly eased, through faithful dealing with the forgetful and lukewarm; and in a free extending of a planting and relieving ministry, which the Lord gave me that day; through which labour I was much eased, my duty being discharged in that part of the nation.

The 8th I had a little meeting with some few Friends and several other people, at Castlefin, and went to Coothill that evening, and lodged with Terrence Cayle, who, with his wife, are of the native Irish, yet had received the knowledge of the truth, in the love of it, and I hope will continue to grow therein. The next day I had a pretty good open meeting with Friends and divers others; who were very sober and attentive, and seemed very glad of the opportunity.

The 11th I went to Oldcastle, to a meeting there, where we had a good and profitable season in the prevailing of divine love, to the help of the people, and on the 13th I was at Friends' meeting at the Moat. A large and good meeting it was, in the living authority of Truth, to the comfort and help of many; and the Lord God of goodness and mercy was glorified.

The next day I went with several Friends to Bally-murry in Connaught, where a meeting had been settled some time; and on the 15th had a pretty open helpful meeting there, in the reaching of the love of Christ, yet in much plain dealing and faithful warning to keep to truth, that so they might be blessed.

The 16th I had a meeting with Friends and some other sober people at Walterstown, and the Lord's power and testimony prevailed comfortably, and his name was glorified.

The 17th I went to the Moat again, where we had a large and blessed helpful meeting, in the extending of divine love and wisdom; and another at Lismoiney the day following with Friends, and several civil people came in.

The 19th I rode to Birr, and had a meeting there, and went that night to John Ashton's, where we had a meeting the next day, and many of the neighbouring people came in; and the Lord was pleased to own us with his living and powerful presence, freely opening the word of life; and we had a precious pure, helping, seasoning time with several Friends, who came in again that evening; ever blessed be the heavenly arm, which is the alone true helper. The 21st I rode to Woodhouse, not far from Cashell. We had a little, but blessed meeting at John Bowles' the 22nd, and the day following another at Joshua Fennel's, at Kilcommon. The 24th I had a pretty large and good meeting at Clonmell, with Friends and some sober people; and another the 25th at Youghall, where the mayor of the town, and many others besides Friends came in, and the power and testimony of Truth, through the Lord's goodness prevailed, and it was made a good season to many.

The 27th, being first-day, I was at two large and powerfully helpful meetings at Cork, in the free extendings of the wisdom and life of Truth, very much to my ease and comfort, and of many others; and the 28th I was at their men's meeting, where I had some service for Truth in several respects, to the help of Friends in the affairs of the Church.

The 29th I went to Skiberreen, and had a powerful, precious meeting, in the free reachings of the gospel life and doctrine towards the few Friends there, and many neighbouring people who came in. The 30th I came back to Castle-Salem, and had a merciful season in William Morrice's house, in the free goings forth of a visitation of divine love towards him and his family, and came again to a meeting appointed at Bandon.

The 1st of the eighth month I had a large meeting at Kinsale, of many sorts of people, wherein the living, humbling power and gospel doctrine mercifully prevailed over many hearts, to mine and Friends' true gladness; and the glorious name was magnified. The 2nd I went to Cork again, where we had a precious, edifying and satisfactory meeting, to our true comfort; in the sense whereof, we took leave of one-another, and with several Friends I came to Mallo, and the 3rd to Limerick; where, on the 4th, we had two large and precious meetings, in the free extendings of divine love amongst us, to the help of many. On the 5th we were favoured with a strengthening, helping opportunity before the meeting for business began, it being the province meeting, which was carried on peaccably, with proper concern, and Friends parted comfortably. On the 6th I was

at Friends' week-day meeting for the town, for which many Friends staid, and divine power, and heavenly virtue and counsel sprang up and spread among us, to our encouragement, reverently to trust in and follow the Lord God of mercy and salvation, whose glorious name had the honour, worthy, worthy, forever.

The 7th I had a meeting with a few Friends at Tipperary, and some other people who gathered with them; but it seemed a cold place as to religion. I went from thence to Cashell, where, on the 8th, I was at a marriage of a couple of Friends, and the Lord was pleased to open his gospel doctrine, and lift up his own power in an eminent manner, to our great gladness and satisfaction.

The 10th I had a meeting at Knockballymagher, pretty much to our comfort; and the next day was at two meetings at Mountrath, wherein several weighty things were opened and declared in the life and power of Truth, to the help and establishing of Friends in the way and practice of righteousness.

The 12th I went to Ballynakill, and had a serviceable meeting there that evening. The 13th, returned to Mountrath, to the burial of a Friend, where I had an open solid time in declaring the Truth among a large number of people, who were in general attentive and sober. The 14th I had a large and good relieving meeting, through the Lord's goodness, plentifully extending to the comfort of the honest, and close warning in divine counsel to some earthly, wrong spirited persons there. That evening had another meeting with some Friends at Barrycorrell; the 15th, another at Athy; the 16th, at Ballitore; and went, the 17th, to Catherlough, where the province meeting began that day. The Lord our God, the sure helper of his people, favoured us with his holy presence, in a weighty, strengthening manner, to our great comfort. The affairs of Truth were managed in diligence and the peaceable spirit of the gospel. I lodged that night at Gregory Russel's, where we had a precious time in the evening. The 18th, being first-day, I had a large, weighty, and heavenly meeting, and Friends parted in much comfort and warmness in the Truth, through divine favour. I went that night to Samuel Watson's, at Kilconner, where, on the 20th, I had a pretty open meeting with Friends, in the love of Christ.

The 22nd I had a large and edifying meeting at Waterford; and the 23rd I went to Ross, where I had a meeting with a few Friends, and some other people who came in, though but a poor, hard place. The 25th I was at a monthly meeting at Lamb's town, pretty large and solidly profitable, though with some heavy and close labour amongst Friends, because of divers things being out of good order; yet the love and power of God mercifully reached forth amongst us, and his name was glorified, to whom all is due.

The 26th I had a meeting at Wexford, and the 27th, another at Ballynacarrick, which was a very close, searching, warning time; yet healing to the upright, and it was made a good season. The 28th I had a meeting at Cooladine, which was a pretty helpful time to our comfort, but with close warning to some stiff necked people; the 29th, another at Ballynaclare, and the 30th, another at Askinthynny, where the Lord gave us a precious comfortable season in the free goings forth of his awakening power and love, which much healed my deep travailing soul, and his pure name was glorified.

The 1st of the ninth month I had a large meeting at Ballycane; the 2nd, another at Wicklow. The 4th I came to Dublin, and was at a blessed meeting with Friends there the 6th. On the 7th the half-years meeting began, which continued four days, and the Lord our God graciously favoured us therein, by owning and helping with his powerful presence and wisdom, greatly to our comfort, and Friends parted in peace and heavenly nearness, with living praises to the Almighty.

—

Whilst he staid at Dublin, he wrote the following lines to Friends of Wensleydale meeting, viz:

My near and dear Friends, who love truth itself, and want to be what heaven would have you, I beg of you all remember, It is I, saith the Lord of old, that will build and plant; it is he, and no hand else, that can do for souls, what right minds want. And he sees everywhere, both those who live upon something else, without the sensible enjoyment of him, (who dwell often, nay much in dry lands,) and the truly hungry, pained souls, whom nothing else but the renewedly working, and secretly feeding, strengthening power and hand from heaven, can satisfy. Oh! these criers and followers on in humble steadiness for heavenly help, heavenly bread and water, from the hand of the Almighty, all-seeing, and graciously tender Father; these, indeed, will be helped, and will grow in certain feeling and redeeming knowledge. And thus must every degree of the Lord's family, old and young, wise and less-knowing, be led, and nursed, and taught, and fed, and grown in the one root, the one life, and in the one subjection, where peace, harmony, oneness of heart, and the helpful running of the one healing virtue is indeed witnessed. Oh! elder and younger, feel

after it, stoop till it runs through you, and then you will worship the Fountain, and grow in care; first, and above all, over your own spirits, and then, in true care in the Lamb's spirit, over and towards the household. And yet the sword and hand of the Lamb of God, and saviour of souls, must be known, both inwardly, and lifted up by the servants of Christ, in wisdom and zeal against unrighteousness, and the many products of Esau's mountain; the unbridled, fleshly will and affections of man, which too many among the Lord's people would gladly have mixed among the plants of righteousness, and would have vain liberty, and darkening carnality saved alive. This is the cause of death reigning over some, instead of life; and the rebellious, self-saving, unfaithful, turbulent house of old Saul, rather grows stronger in some than the house of David, the confiding and humbly devoted man. Well, my near and truly beloved Friends, a pure, bright openness is over me, towards you at this time, beyond my expectation, and leads me thus, in the love of him who appeared in the burning bush, in order to open a way for deliverance and help to Israel, and whose loving, helping hand hath been, and is extended towards you, for the building of you up in righteousness, and in the pure feeling sense of his saving health. Oh! he is merciful and long-suffering, watchful over the needs of all the living, and in particular is mindful of the poor and low, yet fervently concerned hearts, even to the very least and weakest, the most humbled in true fear, amongst the whole household. Oh! hasten to draw near him, and seek his face, that you may be prepared for him to shine upon you; for in his presence there is life and sure help, and true welfare; and that you may thus fare well indeed, is the desire of your true friend,

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

On the 12th of the ninth month, (continues the Journal,) I had a meeting with Friends and several other people at Ballyhays, to pretty good satisfaction. The 13th at Timahoe, and went, the 14th, to our dear friend, Thomas Wilson's at Thornwell. The 15th I was at a large and solidly edifying meeting at Edenderry. The 17th at Kill, and the 18th again at Edenderry. The 20th at the Moat, and the 22nd had a meeting at Jacob Fuller's, to good satisfaction.

The 25th I was at Friends' monthly-meeting at the Moat, much to our comfort and strength in the Lord; and had a meeting that evening at Lismoiney.

The 27th the province meeting began at Edenderry, and continued for the affairs of truth and public worship three days, which the Lord was pleased to make a glorious heavenly and strengthening season to Friends, and reaching to many others, and the most holy name was glorified. That evening and the next morning I was at Thomas Wilson's, where heavenly life and goodness very humblingly and sweetly overspread my soul with many Friends, uniting us in a near manner at our parting from one-another.

The 30th I went to Dublin, not knowing then but that I might go readily for England; but some heavy exercise grew over my spirit for several days, and my way was blocked up at present for England, (though I had some good opportunities with Friends at Dublin,) and under this mournful exercise my heart opened towards some places in the north again, and also towards Newport, &c., in Connaught, which I had seen little of before; and in giving up in my heart to go, my mind was set at liberty in living sweetness again; and our friend, Benjamin Holme being there, and inclined to go that way, we went the 7th of the tenth month to Droghada, and had a meeting there that evening, several Friends being with us.

The 9th we had a large and pretty open meeting at Rathfriland, in the inn where we lodged; and the 11th we went to Lurgan, where the province meeting began that day, and continued two more. Several services fell in the way here amongst Friends and the neighbouring people, towards whom the Lord was pleased to open my mouth in his power, fully to my satisfaction and comfort in coming thither at this time.

The 13th, in the evening, we had a very large and good time among the soberly inclined people at Warren's town, in F. Greer's house, where we lodged; and the 14th we went to Lisburn, and had a precious open meeting that evening with Friends and many of the town's people.

The 15th we went to Newtown, a place where not any of our Friends lived, and had a large meeting in the Session's house; the people generally, were very civil.

The 16th we had a very large meeting in the Court-house at Belfast, to our great satisfaction, the people being unexpectedly loving; there were no Friends in the place.

The 17th we came back, and had a meeting at our ancient Friend, Tobias Courtney's, and another large, precious meeting at Lurgan that evening, much to my ease and comfort.

The 18th we went to Ballyhagan, and had a good little meeting there that evening with some few Friends, at Thomas Greer's near Charlemount.

The 19th I set forward with Benjamin

Holme, and some other Friends, towards Connaught, and the 29th, being first-day, we rode to Inniskillin, and that afternoon got the liberty of the Court-house, and had a large, good meeting with the people of the town, no Friends living near the place. The 21st we rode to Ballyshannon, and got a little meeting of the town's people in our inn that night, and the next day got to Sligo, and had a meeting there the 23rd, in the Sessions-house, the sheriff and several more of the people being very loving.

The 24th we rode to Ballina, but had much trouble on the way from the waters; it being a very rainy season, and we strangers to the road: but very providentially for us some men came into our way, just before we came to a bay on the seaside, so that we had them to guide us over the sands, we riding to our horses' bellies, and often deeper, above a mile, which we could not safely have done without their assistance. We found no Friends here, nor many English. The 25th we went to Castle-Bar, and got the 26th to Newport, where there are a few Friends; we staid here several days, and had three large meetings in the Court-house to our satisfaction, through our Father's divine help, many sober people coming in. We had some good service most of one whole day among the few Friends there, whom we left in a good degree of nearness in the love and covenant of God, to whose heavenly teaching and help they were recommended. The 30th we came to Gershom Boate's at Dunmore, and had a good prevailing season that evening, in the free extendings of the gospel towards some civil people who came to our meeting.

The 1st of the eleventh month we came to Mary's town to Gershom Boate's, jun., and had a good and large meeting of Friends and others the next day, and some good service with the families in the evening.

The 4th we had a peaceable and blessed meeting in Athlone, many of the people, and the chief of the town came in, and were very tender; for the power and love of God were plentifully shed abroad among us to our comfort. The 5th we had a meeting at Jacob Fuller's, a powerful and blessed time in the free reaching of divine love to Friends and many others; and a seasonable good meeting at the Moat the next day, and the day following a large and heavenly meeting at Richard Holme's, among many other people, to general satisfaction; and another that night, to comfort and good service in the love of Truth, at Lismoiney.

The 9th, we went to Henry Fuller's, at Ballitore, and had a large and comfortable time in the Father's love with some Friends there that night. The 10th, we went to the Province meeting at Castledermot, which held two days, and Friends were helped in the Lord's service together, and parted in comfort. We came back to Ballitore, where we had a large meeting in the evening.

If a journal of the remaining part of this visit was by him kept, it is either mislaid or lost, but the following extract of a letter written from this place, to a relation in Yorkshire, dated where the journal breaks off, will in part supply the deficiency; to which is added an affectionate memorial of his fervent regard to the Friends of his own particular meeting, from the same place.

Dear Cousin, G. M.—In fresh and near love my dear salutation often and now reacheth to thee and mother, with all my near and dear friends about you; though under pain of heart that I am unexpectedly so long detained from you; but the free assurance [is] renewedly [extended,] that the heavenly Hand and holy living power engageth me here for the good of souls, and helping to build up the house for the praise of the King of righteousness.

When I wrote to thee in the ninth month, I thought I should have been with you in the tenth month; and came to Dublin, not knowing but I might leave this nation. But in the way a load of sorrow and weight grew upon me, and for the most part of two days I was exceedingly distressed, till life sprang, and set several parts of the nation before me, both among Friends and others; and I was freely given up to turn back again, yea to go wherever truth required. Many Friends had said, they could not but admire, if I went then away, and rejoiced at my being thus turned about. I had written again to thee at that time, but I had sent some account to my Friends at the quarterly meeting at York of my stay, from whence I conclude you heard where I was. I have travelled very closely during a month, with great toil; but satisfied as much as I could wish, that I was in the Lord's counsel and work. I and three other Friends were seven days and nights, and had meetings among other people, without coming to any Friend's house, and travelled hard, having in that time rode near 300 miles in almost constant rain, which hurt my health; however the glorious name of the Lord was with us, and was magnified.

"When I had nearly gone through this service, instead of being able to look towards home with cheerfulness, there seemed like darkness to stand betwixt me and England, and my heart is still drawn another way, and to go through the other part of the nation again;

which I dare not omit, or turn my back from, come what may. For truth still seems to open a door for my labour, wider and wider, both within, and to those without; so that I have now no expectation of seeing you before the middle of the first month. I hope to let thee hear farther from me when I get somewhat more discharged, and able to look homewards, or otherwise. I rest this day, which is more than I have done for many weeks, yet am now pretty well in health, only somewhat low at times, when I think of home, and my unexpected long stay from you and my poor dear children, for whom my bowels yearn in love and tender care, that they may be sober, and seek to fear and love the Lord, and in so doing fare well; and thus may you all fare well, farewell. I am thy loving friend and cousin, JOHN FOTHERGILL.

P. S. Thou mayest let Friends see the few lines inclosed, viz.:

To Friends of Wensleydale monthly meeting in Yorkshire.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Although it is ordered that I am very unexpectedly detained from you so long, yet holy Goodness hath been and is pleased to favour with renewed confirmation, to my full satisfaction, in the daily attending my low and deep travailing soul with living light and help in his presence, both for daily food and qualification for the Lord's service. Herein you are often truly fresh in my near remembrance; both many particulars who are, I hope, waiting inwardly in heart for pure heavenly ministration; and also in a general way. Deeply is my soul often engaged in prayer, that heavenly help may frequently spring in your souls, and encourage you secretly, and engage your hearts for the cause of the Lord in every respect, and that you may, both elder and younger, male and female, be encouragers and helpers one of another in the ways of righteousness and true blessedness. And oh! my near Friends, that you may all thus labour in heart and soul, and feel after the springing of immortal life; to look to, and follow the drawings of the pure love of the Lord God, the Redeemer, the succourer, the strengthener of all the true and honourable servants, young and old, in all ages. So will your hearts be disentangled from the hurtful, weakening affections towards visibles of all kinds, and will be gradually brought into more dominion in several respects, and so will you grow both in the knowledge of heavenly favour, and in quiet trust in that invisible, living power, which is the sure comfort of the righteous, in and through their unpleasant, heavy places, and which leads to sure blessing every way. And I pray mind the work and business of the Lord's house and family, in the Lord's time, with due diligence and faithfulness, in your several places. So may, and I believe will, both ability and peace, and holy engaging comfort from the living Rock of all the righteous generations, be often with you; and you will often fare well, and be nearer and savourily helpful one to another. And thus with these few poor lines, freely and very nearly reacheth my dear salutation to all the living amongst you, I remain your near friend and engaged brother for the help and building up of all the Lord's children and people, to the glory and praise of the Lord God of mercy and salvation, worthy to be trusted in and followed fully for ever. JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Towards the end of this year (as a short journal informs us) he visited some of the south parts of England, travelling with great diligence through Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, to Birmingham, having meetings in his way, as also at this place, to his solid satisfaction. From hence he went through Worcester, into Gloucestershire, and to Bristol, where he was at several meetings and of the last two, being first-day, he notes that "they were large, and the seasons weighty, in the attendance of the gospel-power; the holy testimony whereof was exalted, and prevailed over corruption and vanity to the comfort of the upright, and the discharge of his spirit in a great degree, and the name of the Lord God was humbly praised and worshipped."

He went from hence through Bath into Wiltshire, having meetings in his way; and at Lavington an evening meeting, to which came many sober people of the town, among whom the Lord opened his heart and mouth, in the gospel testimony, which went forth freely towards them, and to the encouragement of the few Friends in that place. At Broomham meeting, where he was on a first-day, many of the neighbouring people came in, as well as many Friends, and the Lord favoured the time with his power and holy presence, and exalted his righteous testimony over all. From hence he went to Devizes, where he had a large meeting that night, to which several of the more considerable people of the town came, and behaved soberly; and the doctrine of the gospel spread over all with weight, to general satisfaction, and the glory of God, who alone is worthy, and whose power, he adds, sustained my bodily ability, through much extremely spending labour thereaway, in a wonderful manner.

After this he had a meeting at Melksham, which he mentions as a close, plain-dealing season; also at Calne, Charlcott, Chippenham,

and Corsham; which last, he observes, was very large, Friends from many other meetings being there; and I was opened, says he, and helped to preach the gospel in its own power and counsel, which through divine goodness prevailed, to the help and reviving of many, and to my great ease of spirit in that part of the country, having been much exercised under a weighty sense of a lukewarm, earthly spirit among the many professors of Truth thereaway; yet the Lord rose against it, to the awakening of several to more religious fervency.

He went from hence to Marshfield, Deadmartin, Hullington and Tedbury, at which places he had meetings which were pretty profitable and satisfactory. At Nailsworth he was at two meetings, which were pretty large, consisting both of Friends and other people of different professions, and the power and testimony of the gospel arose amongst them, to a good degree of satisfaction. From this place he went to, and had meetings at Painswick, where he had a blessed strengthening time, through heavenly goodness and mercy; and so to Cirencester, Slow, Camden, Bridgenorth, and Shrewsbury. At Namptwich in Cheshire he had a meeting at an inn, which was an open time, in the free spreading of the gospel, among many sober people, in the love of God. After this he had meetings at Newtown and Franley in the same county; from thence to Wooldale and Hightown, at both which places he had satisfactory meetings, and got to York the 24th of the first month, where, says he, Friends were truly comforted together, in the power and love of God, which attended the meeting for our help in his service. From hence, he adds, I returned home, with peace and true satisfaction through the Lord's favour, whose holy and great name had, and hath the praise, who is worthy to be feared, served and magnified for ever.

Whilst he was upon his late visit in Ireland, he received an account of the dangerous indisposition of one of his *sons, in whom, though he was not then twelve years of age, such indications of solid piety and prudence above his years, had appeared, as to render his life very desirable, and on this account the more afflicting to his father; who nevertheless was enabled to reply by letter, that though he had all the tenderness and affection of a parent for his child, yet being satisfied he was from him in the counsel and service of the Lord, he must submit all to divine disposal.

In the year 1726, having performed the several services then before him, and finding himself at liberty to engage in his temporal concerns, he began house-keeping again, and applied himself with diligence and alacrity in the care of his family and business. Yet not so as to neglect a due attendance of meetings, both for worship and discipline, being seldom absent whilst disengaged from other public service, and from the monthly and quarterly meetings for his own county; often attending those of the neighbouring counties likewise, as well as the yearly meetings in London.

In the year 1727 he married Elizabeth Buck of Netherdale, a person of grave becoming deportment, and suitable age; with her he lived in great affection and tenderness the remaining part of his life, she surviving him not much more than a year.

The next account that we have of any public service, is a visit to Friends in Wales and the south of England, of which we have the following relation.

Being drawn in spirit to visit Wales, and some other parts southward; in the fore part of the second month, 1732, I began my journey for that end, and went by Manchester and Chester, and so to Bala in Wales, where the yearly meeting for that dominion was held this year. Great was the concourse of people, who in general behaved civilly, and were very attentive to the testimony of Truth, which was livingly declared by many Friends in the free movings of the power of Truth that mercifully attended and assisted Friends in the several services of that meeting.

From thence I went with John Goodwin, to his house at Escargoch, and was at the meeting there the day following, being first-day, wherein Truth prevailed to Friends' comfort, and the help of some; divers of the neighbouring people then present being under some convincement at that time.

From this place we travelled through a mountainous country and difficult roads to Llandewy in Cardiganshire, to Thomas Evans', and had a little meeting with a few Friends thereabouts the next day, and went after meeting to John Reese's in Caermarthenshire; but a fair happening to be near the place, we could not have the meeting before the day following, when we had a good little meeting with Friends thereaway in the morning, and then rode pretty fast to John Bowen's, to a meeting which had been appointed there before. The day following I travelled into Pembrokeshire, and came to

* William Fothergill. He died not long after of a tedious and painful illness, which a peculiar evenness of temper, often tendered and encouraged by a sense of divine regard and heavenly support, enabled him to bear with exemplary patience and resignation. Many of his affecting expressions are still remembered by those who were then with him; as well as many instances of his care and fear, during the time of his health, not to offend the Almighty; the sweet influence of whose awful presence, seemed often to be upon him.

James Lewis's house, not far from Redston, from whence we went the next day to Haverfordwest. Here I staid till the fifth-day following, and had several meetings with Friends, wherein, through the help of Truth Friends seemed somewhat roused up in the way of their duty, to their profit. From thence I came to Jameston, and had a pretty good meeting there, and took my leave of Friends of that county.

On the sixth-day I came to Laghorn, where there are but few Friends, yet had a good opportunity amongst them and several others who came in and heard the testimony of Truth with appearance of gladness.

The next day came to Paul Bevan's at Swanzey, and the day following, being first-day, was at two meetings there, wherein the power of Truth prevailed and gained dominion, to the help of many, and the Almighty was glorified.

From thence I came to Trivereeg to John Bevan's, and next morning had a little meeting there, and went that night to Elisha Biddle's at Pontipool, where I had several meetings to our help, through the Lord's owning of us, blessed be his name.

The next first-day I was at Shire-newton, where there was a pretty large meeting, which, through the help of Truth, seemed to be of service. The day following we crossed the Severn and got to Bristol, where their yearly meeting was begun, and it pleased the Lord of all our mercies eminently to own and help his people, greatly to our comfort, and the exaltation of his own testimony, which seemed to make impression on many hearts, and the glorious name of the Lord our God was magnified.

I staid several meetings after this in the city, much to my satisfaction, and from thence went to the quarterly meeting for Gloucestershire held at Thornbury, which was large, and the power and goodness of the Lord was graciously extended among Friends, to the comfort of the honest-hearted, and for the stirring up of the negligent amongst them; for divine counsel and virtue were strongly with us, in the love of God.

I went that night to Sudbury, and next day to a meeting at Melksham in Wiltshire, where the blessed Truth, and its own testimony, arose and prevailed to our encouragement.

The next day I had a large meeting at Charlcott, and another that evening at Calne, which the Lord manifestly owned, and made truly helpful to the upright in heart, as well as awakening to the dull and earthly minded.

The next day I had a meeting at the Devizes, where the presence and help of the Lord was truly comfortable, and confirming in a dependence upon him, to the praise of his own name.

That evening I rode to Marlborough to a meeting appointed there. The number of Friends there is but small, and they are weakly in religion; yet help reached towards them in the love of God.

From hence I went to Newbury, and the day following, being first-day, had two meetings pretty much to satisfaction, and there seemed reason to hope, that Friends there, who had formerly been hurt, may yet recover in a religious mind, and become a good meeting.

The account of this journey breaking off here, and no other mention of it occurring in any of the papers he has left, makes it probable, that he went from hence to the yearly meeting at London pretty directly, and was prevented by other occurrences there from continuing it to his return home.

He attended the quarterly meeting at York, as was usual with him, when disengaged from other services, and went from thence to Scarborough, where he staid some time, it being the spa season, and many people of note then frequenting it.

The year following he was engaged to visit some of the southern parts of England again, and has left the following account of it, viz.:

In the year 1733, a fresh concern came upon me to visit some of the south and west parts of England, and the time to set forward seemed to be in the latter part of the ninth month. I accordingly left my family the 20th, and was at Leeds, Wakefield and Hightown, and to Bradford, where my friend Benjamin Bartlet, being under a concern to go with me, was making ready for the journey, and on the 30th, we set out for Sheffield, where we staid first-day, and then went pretty directly into Warwickshire, where we had meetings at Badgley and Wigginsal, and on the seventh-day got to Birmingham; where on the day following we had two large meetings, which were preciously attended by heavenly power, much to the comfort of the living, and tending to rouse up the negligent to our great gladness in the Lord.

The 2nd of the tenth month we went to Wolverhampton, and that evening had a meeting with the few Friends in that place, to which came many soberly behaved people, towards whom the love of God extended much to our comfort.

The 3rd we had a meeting at Dudley, wherein Truth owned us to the help of Friends; and the 4th we went back to Birmingham, to a burial, which was attended by a large number of people; and through divine favour, it was made a time of profit to many.

The 5th we went to Stourbridge, and the 6th to Broomsgrove; at both which places we had

meetings; and on the 7th to Worcester, where on first-day we were at two meetings, to pretty good satisfaction; as also a comfortable season in the evening, with a pretty many Friends, who came to see us, at John Corbin's.

On second-day we went to Evesham, where on the day following we had a meeting with Friends, and rode that night to Tewksbury, and had a meeting with Friends there that evening, which the Lord was pleased to attend with his power, to our great encouragement.

On fourth-day we went to Gloucester, and had a comfortable little meeting with the few Friends there that evening; and another at Nailsworth on fifth-day. The next day we had a meeting at Slattenford, where Friends from divers places met us, and the Lord was pleased to comfort and encourage our hearts together, in the blessed sense of his living power.

On seventh-day we came to Bath, and had two meetings there next day, and rode to Bristol the third-day morning to the meeting held there that day, wherein we were favoured with the sense of ancient and divine help to our comfort. We staid at Bristol a week, and had several meetings there, one of which was very large on account of a burial; through all which opportunities the ancient power and presence of the Lord owned and strengthened us, and the Lord God was magnified.

The 2nd of the eleventh month we went to Portshead, and had a pretty large and profitable meeting. On fifth and sixth-days we had meetings at Sidcot and Bridgwater; and from hence to Taunton, Minehead, Milverton, Wellington, Spiceland, and Columpton; in all which places we had meetings, and some profitable seasons in them.

On first-day we were at a pretty large meeting at Exeter, and the next day had a good time, and some good service with Friends there in their monthly meeting for the affairs of the church. On third-day we had a meeting with Friends, and some neighbours that came in at Abbot Caswel, and another next day in the evening at Totness. On fifth-day we went to Kingsbridge, and had a comfortable meeting with Friends there; and another on sixth-day in the evening at Hulyton, to which came several sober people, with whom we had a good opportunity. On seventh-day we went to Plymouth, and on first-day had two remarkable meetings there, through the powerful working of Truth. On second-day we went to Germains in Cornwall, and had a blessed meeting with Friends there that evening. On third-day we went to a meeting at Liskard, to which many Friends came from distant places, and the Lord helped us graciously to our comfort. On fourth-day we had a meeting at Looe, where the Lord's power and wisdom plentifully owned and relieved our souls, and much encouraged Friends.

On fifth-day we went to Austle, and had a large and helpful meeting there, through the arisings of divine power, tending to establish in the faith, and in the practice of the gospel. We lodged that night at Samuel Hopwood's, who went with us on sixth-day towards the Lands-end; near which place, at Sennan, we had a large and open meeting on the first-day following, and then came back to Penzance to a meeting that evening, to which came many of the town's people. On second-day we had a meeting with Friends thereabouts at Market-Jew, and came that night to Falmouth, where on third-day we had a meeting with Friends, which the Lord our God greatly favoured in the powerful extendings of gospel life and wisdom for Friends help in a saving manner. On fourth-day we had a meeting at Key, where some other people came in, and Truth was pleased to own us, and open us towards them, for their true information, and the comfort of Friends.

On fifth-day we went across the country to Warebridge, on sixth-day to Port-Isaac, and had a good meeting with Friends, and a pretty many soberly behaved people, through the free extendings of the virtue of the gospel. We lodged at John Scantlebury's, who went with us on first-day morning to a place called Dennis, where we had a glorious and precious meeting in a field, with many hundreds of people who were met there, and behaved with remarkable sobriety. We afterwards rode to Austle to Samuel Hopwood's, where we had a good opportunity with several Friends who came to see us that evening.

On second-day we came to Milton, and had a good little meeting with Friends who live thereabouts; another on third-day at Collington, and went on fourth-day to Oakhampton, where on fifth-day we had a meeting, in which the Lord favoured us with his living presence, and enabled us to publish the testimony of the gospel among some sober people of the town, who came in; and for the help of Friends, who had been exercised by a wrong and dividing spirit, which had ensnared some of them, and particularly a man and his wife, with whom, and some others, we had much labour after meeting.

On sixth-day we came to Exeter, and on first-day we had a large helpful meeting, in the love of Truth, to the humbling and true benefit of many. On second-day we were at their monthly meeting for the affairs of the church, where we had some service, in the continued merciful helpings of Truth. On fourth-day we had a meeting at Chard, of which previous notice having been given, several Friends met us

there from divers places; and that night we had a large and weighty meeting at Ilminster. On fifth-day we had a large and baptizing meeting at Long Sutton, through the merciful prevailing of gospel power; and another in the evening with Friends at Somerton. On sixth-day we went to a meeting at Glastonbury, which was pretty large, and an edifying season, in the prevailing of the power of Truth, and the Almighty helper had the glory.

On first-day we were at a general meeting at Puddimore, to which some sober people came, as well as pretty many Friends, and Truth extended comfortably towards them. On second-day we had a pretty large meeting at Shipton Mallet, with divers sober people besides Friends, and the love and power of the Lord our God were amongst us.

On third-day, we came to Froome, and had a meeting there in the evening, which was very large, and of various professions, many of whom attended to the testimony of Truth, which ran freely among them; and we were much eased in that meeting, and comforted in the Lord.

On fourth-day we came to Bradford in Wiltshire, and had a meeting with Friends there, and lodged at Joseph Hull's where several Friends came to see us, and the Lord gave us a good season together that evening.

On fifth-day we came to Tedbury, and had a meeting there with Friends, and some others who came in, to our comfort, in the sense of divine mercy and regard extended to us.

On sixth-day we had a meeting at Cirencester in the evening, which was to our satisfaction; as were likewise two meetings which we were at on the first-day following at Shipton.

On second day we went to Benjamin Kidd's at Banbury, and the next day to a meeting at South Newton, where Friends from several other meetings came, and the Lord our God mercifully favoured us, and gave us a blessed opportunity together.

On fourth-day we went to Warwick, where we had a meeting among Friends, truly to our comfort, in the prevailing of the Lord's power. We came to William Gulson's at Coventry that night, and the next day had a large meeting there, wherein the love and power of Christ gloriously prevailed, and the Lord our blessed helper had the honour, who is worthy for ever. On sixth-day we had a meeting at Nuneaton, where many sober people came, and the gospel of salvation was extended freely towards them, and had a comfortable impression on many hearts. We came back to Nathaniel Newton's at Hartshill to a meeting on the first-day, where many people from distant parts were gathered, both Friends and others, and the Lord opened the testimony of the gospel of salvation, through faith in his name, in a precious manner; and we parted with Friends in a near sense of the love and power of God, and to his praise.

On second-day we set out for the north, visiting several Friends by the way, and came that night to Derby.

On third-day we visited some who were lately convinced in that hard town, with whom we were comforted, and left them in hope. We came that night to Breach, expecting to have had a meeting there that evening, but the intended notice had failed; so came to Chesterfield, where we had a meeting on fourth-day, wherein the arm of the Lord our God reached mercifully for the help and building up in the most precious faith, to our gladness and comfort; though we were very sensible of a loss to the meeting, by reason of several Friends being absent.

On fifth-day, being the 6th of the first month, we came to Bradford, being both well, and in true love and nearness one to another.

Among the papers containing an account of this visit, was the following epistle to a quarterly meeting which they were prevented from attending in person, viz.:

Dear Friends,—Although we had once a desire and hope to be with you at this meeting, yet now it is otherwise ordered; nevertheless some concern rests with us to send you a few lines, in a near and encouraging salutation, in a sure sense of our Father's love to you all, who have been born of incorruptible seed, by the humbling workings of the power of the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever; and who have a careful concern at heart to be nourished and quickened by its fresh springs of life, which is the light of men, in a religious sense, through all ages. We hope and believe, there are such among you, who of necessity must often be under deep affliction of spirit, both for the sake of our professed brethren, and especially for the honour of Truth, and the peace and welfare of the church.

And deep longing is in our souls, and we accordingly with earnestness advise, that you all may seek rightly for the powerful influences of this blessed and incorruptible seed in yourselves, so that you may be born of it, into the heavenly relation and union, by that divine Word which ever lives. So will you become spiritually minded, and partakers together of that one life, which hath made the Lord's people one in heart. By, and in the light of this divine life, the faithful have received a true understanding and sound judgment, and are likewise preserved in oneness, both of judgment and practice, in confessing Christ before

men; for God is one, and his way is one for ever.

On the other hand, many amongst us, suffering the earth, and flesh with its by-ends, to cover or load the divine seed, or its appearance in their hearts, know not what it is to be born of it, and so come not into the heavenly relation and brotherhood, nor to be witnesses of the one life arising in, and leavening their hearts and spirits into true godliness; nor what it is to become walkers in the light in the one way and one practice, to the glory and honour of the one faith and order of the house and family of the one true and unchangeable God.

Oh Friends! that you may be prevailed with to apply yourselves to consider these observations duly in yourselves; and be helped to seek the power and life of the word, and to wait for and walk in the one heavenly light, so that you may know it more and more, and be baptized into the true oneness, and may follow the one everlasting High Priest to your own unspeakable comfort.

But you may remember, some of the ancient professed believers were so negligent and unhappy, as to continue in the carnal mind; and so divisions were amongst them, and various selfish and pernicious practices; some esteeming persons more than Christ the Truth, which, though they were such as had been rightly prepared and sent in his name for their gathering, was highly offensive to God. As the same cause will produce the same hurtful effects, we entreat you, our Friends, even through the county, both elder and younger, in order to avoid and to be helped out of these inconveniences and the danger of greater hurt, seek after, and wait with due diligence to feel, the power of the word of life to fill your hearts, and also for fresh arisings of the pure humbling life and light thereof, so will you become a more living people, and much more truly religious and zealous for the Lord, yet in that wisdom which comes from the Lord Jesus Christ, the one head of the true church; and your eyes will be opened and kept open, and your ears too, to see and distinguish the true Shepherd and his voice, from the alluring, enticing, seducing stranger, both respecting the gain and the liberties of the spirit of the world; and concerning that crafty, self-seeking, contentious spirit, which hath captivated some in divers places, to their hurt and shame already, as well as in a sorrowful degree in some other parts, to the scandal of religion. This spirit, and the deceiving endeavours to sow discord, and scatter into by-ways for its own honour and advantage, without any true regard to the honour of God, be you all warned and stand clear of, lest any should become instruments thereby of more hurt and confusion, than yet hath been amongst you.

Thus have we endeavoured to discharge ourselves towards you, in the certain sense of the love and good-will of God, which hath not only opened our understandings and hearts on your account in divers respects, but seemed to point out this way to discharge ourselves towards Friends of your county: and that it may be more generally seen, if you be willing, send copies hereof to them, which we desire; and remain your truly loving Friends in the sincerity of the gospel of Christ our Lord and Saviour, and law-giver.

The 9th of the 12th month, 1733–34. JOHN FOTHERGILL. BENJAMIN BARTLET.

In a letter to a Friend, dated from Port Isaac, upon this journey, he gives the following account.

My health is sustained mercifully, and holy help afforded to live and labour in the service for which I am drawn hereaway; in a manner which occasions reverent bowing of soul before the Lord, and revives my faith in his name, who hath, as it is his due, the praise of all. Though it is a time of great lowness hereaway, respecting that dominion, which Christ should have in the hearts of his people; yet the Father's love in mercy often strongly runs, and in part prevails to the comfort and joy of the truly inward. The searching piercing labour, at times makes some impression, giving to hope, that it will not be quite in vain. However, the arm of the Lord is working and helps the truly honest, whereof we have a share of rejoicing in him, and holy thankfulness for his humbling help from day to day; and my heart is deeply reverent at this time in mentioning divine mercy herein. We have been through one side of Somersetshire, most of Devon, and at the Land's-End in this county. We expect it will be near three weeks before we get through Somersetshire, from whence we propose to go homewards pretty readily. J. F.

About the year 1733 his second son Thomas Fothergill, died in the twenty-second year of his age; of whom, our father has been often heard to say, that he never once displeased him. And as he had feared God and honoured his parents from his youth upwards, so he felt his dissolution approaching without terror, and departed in innocency and peace. And so manifest was the religious awe that was upon him, both in meetings, and in his general conversation, as often to impress the

beholders with a sense thereof, and to excite some that were less regardful of their duty in this respect to more diligence.

After he returned from this last visit, he was not any long time together absent from home. He visited nevertheless many of the neighbouring meetings, and was often concerned, by letters to advise, both such of his children as were not under his immediate tuition, also many particular persons, as well as some monthly and quarterly meetings, to mind the day of their visitation, and humbly and steadily to seek the Lord and his Truth; and so was he often the written means of assistance and encouragement to many in their religious duties. As some such letters have been preserved, that were written about this time, we thought it not improper to insert some extracts from them in this place, viz.:

Dear Son,—It is not unpleasant to have necessary occasions of writing to thee given me, because I doubt not but to hear from me is very acceptable. And as a degree of divine love, I believe, tinctures my spirit, both in remembering and writing to thee, I hope there may some helping encouragement attend it, and profitably affect thee in the best sense. As a longing or desire hath been begotten, and some tastes afforded thee in the Father's goodwill, he will not neglect though he suffers a plunging into sorrow, and doubt of getting rightly along, to attend, in order to keep best care and pursuit necessarily vigorous, and secondary things in their places; which is the safety, beauty and true riches of men. For heavenly care leads to a quiet and balanced living and walking here on earth; a favour and privilege of unspeakable advantage, and which multitudes deprive themselves of, by giving their chief, and many almost their whole application to seek terrestrials; and so want the stay of all stays in needful times. Thus near love and care in my heart, ceaseth not to prompt me to desire and long for thy right improvement, which I am still given renewedly to hope will be granted.

My true salutation attends thee under a continued desire that thou mayest often reverently and duly keep in mind, from whom all lasting good comes, and whose addition to our endeavours, gives the valuable improvement; and that labouring to walk and act in steady regard to, and hope in God, will bring the most holy quiet, and serenity of mind at home, and gain the most truly honourable regard abroad; and at the same time help to walk safely on the sea of glass, to which this world may be well compared. Wherefore look carefully to Truth, and the beauty of its simplicity, and thou wilt have to behold the reeling chaffy spirit and ways of this world, rather with an eye of scorn than love, and be thankful that thou art in measure already gathered and set above it. And it will be good to consider also, that though diligence is a great and necessary thing, and in seeking divine favour the most profitable, because therein is all treasure, both for time and eternity, and there is certainly a blessing from God on the truly diligent; yet it may likewise be necessary to remember, that the race is not always to the swift, but patience, with the exercise of faith in the hidden arm of power, brings to see great things many ways. Thus, dear child, may the hand of the God of the living be with thee, and guide thee in his counsel, and to his praise, is my earnest longing for thee.

Thy lowness and doubtful style, on the greatest account, affected me nearly, yet hath not been very painful to me, because every birth, of divine appointment, is attended with present uneasiness, and sometimes in a very heavy manner. The sense of the dangers and difficulty, though sometimes it swells to a discouraging degree, yet hath this effect with the honest; it improves fear and care, with earnest and humble diligence, in walking mindfully, and breathing the more hungrily after the succour and stay of the invisible hand, which delights in doing his children good, and feeding them yet with seeming shortness of measure, and without that despatch of the work which the creature would have. It requires time to learn necessary patience, and what it is to live by faith; wherefore, dear son, as a wise man hath exhorted, with all thy getting, get understanding. I accordingly entreat thee, to seek principally after improvement in acquaintance with the sanctifying hand, and to learn the way and the end of its turning; and also that stillness is required, when we see that no hand but the Lord's can open the way, and bring the longed-for help. Yet that help and salvation is to be looked for reverently and hopingly; and in so applying on our part, the Lord our gracious God doth and will delight to regard, and work so, that his arising may fill the soul, and engage it in present gladness, and strengthened faith in his arm, and renewed trust yet to travel on. Thus his gracious workings bring forth praise and holy admiration, to his great and mighty name, wherein alone is that salvation, and those riches, that are good for all.

May the feeling knowledge hereof, and an humble hope and trust to be guided and balanced by the invisible Holy one, guard and stay thee, through the unsettling struggles that may attend thee. For betwixt the converse and pursuits of the unmortified world, however polished by human endeavours, and the earthly nature in ourselves, with the gilded appearance

of penetration, comprehensiveness of reasoning and finesse, of many among the more learned part of mankind, and the little, low, yet pure and powerful seed, which at times makes itself known indisputably, yet hides itself again; creatures are liable to dangerous tossings; and good beginnings, ideas, and desires of God's own begetting, have unhappily miscarried, and instead of coming nearer the experience of salvation being as walls and bulwarks about them, in a quiet habitation; too many, for want of carefully looking towards the true port, have been gradually, by one wave after another, carried off to sea again, and ship-wrecked in the loose, unbottomed conceptions and interests of this world. Wherefore cleave close, I pray thee, to the immovable Rock, the spiritual appearance of the Father and the Son, in whom is all might, and all sufficiency; and I fully believe he will be thy God, thy Saviour, thy Shepherd, to lead and feed thee, thy shield and exceeding great reward. Amen. The best love is fresh upon me towards thee to my comfort; and hath drawn me thus to make these observations for thy caution and encouragement in the best pursuits.

As my mind hath been concerned in much affectionate care on thy account, and sometimes a lively hope hath affected my soul with comfort, that thou mightest become a man for God, and so to walk in his fear, that he might be pleased to manifest his gracious care over thee; so I am under both humble and anxious desires, that thou mayest watch against the pollution of the lying vanities of this corrupting age, and the spirit of the world; being well and thoroughly assured the divine Being requires it at our hands, and is only well pleased with those who walk uprightly before him, and are truly afraid of, and therefore steadily strive against, leaning to any thoughts or practices that are contrary to the divine mind, either in greater or in lesser matters. They have the easiest work of it, who are the most duly resolute in early time, and firmly stand and walk according to understanding; whereas bending a little here, and a little there (for which excuses will be ready at hand, but of the evil one's preparing) and yielding and leaning aside, always weakens and enslaves, and renders that dwarfish, which the Lord of all power would make strong, healthy and sound, and able to walk in his way with alacrity.

In the year 1736 he made the necessary preparations for his third and last visit to America, which had been before him a considerable time. From the short minutes he kept of it, we have transcribed the following narrative and interspersed such epistles as have come to our hands, that were written in this journey.

An exercise having been upon me some years to visit the churches in America once more, it now became weighty and clear before me, that the proper time was come for the performance of that service. I therefore prepared myself for the journey, having the concurrence and near unity of my friends, and left my dear wife and family the 17th of the second month 1736, and went to Leeds, and had several meetings amongst Friends, in my way by Manchester, Warrington, through a part of Cheshire, Staffordshire, and by Coventry, Alesbury, Jordans, and so to London. Having many good meetings, in the sense of the love and power of truth amongst Friends, in many places.

After some weeks stay with Friends at London, in the labour of the gospel, under the merciful assistance of the power and love of God, my spirit being clear and at liberty, and a ship being ready, I went on board at Gravesend, in the ship called the Jane, bound for Philadelphia, the 9th of the fourth month, and set sail the next day.

Whilst the ship was under sail towards the Downs, he wrote the following epistle to Friends of the yearly meeting in London, held in the fourth month, 1736, viz.:

My dear and truly beloved friends and brethren—Apprehending myself brought under engagement in spirit, to visit another part of the world in the service of the gospel, and believing my way in the truth now open thereto, I am deprived of being personally with you on the weighty occasion and service of this meeting, which the love of truth and its cause and the comfort of the true brotherhood have often drawn me to attend. At this time it would have been desirable to me as a man, yet a holy content is wrought in me, in a living sense of his love and presence, who I apprehend has ordered it otherwise, and hath so graciously and abundantly filled my heart, and dwells upon me, in looking towards you in this ensuing yearly meeting, that I cannot easily forbear writing these few lines as a little means to recommend my dear and near salutation in the engaging, uniting, and strengthening love of the one everlasting Father and most gracious Shepherd, who is mercifully near and willing to teach and feed his humble and obedient followers, and who I pray and hope will be wisdom, strength and uniting life unto you, and more and more lead you and reign amongst you all when together, and in all your particular lots. For which end I humbly and earnestly be-

seech and entreat you, dear friends and brethren, look to God, look to divine help daily and carefully; and oh! that that ancient apostolic testimony and everlasting gospel truth, the natural man receiveth not, or perceiveth not, the things of God, neither can he, because they are spiritually discerned, may ever be duly remembered and considered by all of us. These words surely, the things of God, are of an extensive import and signification, and directly relate to our thorough salvation, the enriching of our souls, and rightly informing our understandings, and enabling us for the true service of his house from time to time. These things being, in divine wisdom, declared to be only spiritually discerned, I cannot with safety as I apprehend, but request and entreat you my brethren, carefully to consider this doctrine, which often bears much weight with me, and is attended with comfort under renewed certainty that the Lord is well pleased with an humble and honest care in this respect. Wherefore my beloved friends, let this my farewell entreaty be accepted, so as to induce and encourage you to improvement of diligence in the unchangeable duty of waiting upon God, for spiritual feeling and divine help, a practice absolutely necessary for and through all ages. So will our strength to see and practice and labour truly, be yet certainly renewed in particular and in the general, to the comfort of the flock of Christ, the more winning example to them without, and exalting the glory and honour of the Lord our God, and Almighty helper. His rich love and pure healing presence so overcomes my spirit in thus reaching towards you, that it is difficult for me to write and not wet my paper, and in its divinely uniting, sweetening, strengthening influence, my soul worships as at the most holy footstool, and in the nearest and strongest covenant saith to you, farewell, who am your nearly affectionate friend and brother, truly craving to be in your remembrance.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

10th of Fourth month, 1736.

We (continues the Journal) arrived safely and well at Philadelphia the 6th of the sixth month, having an easy good passage, and more especially so, because of the favour of the lively sense of the divine presence being often renewed, under which my soul humbly worshipped God, who is worthy for ever.

I lodged at Israel Pemberton's, but staid not long thereaway, finding my mind most drawn to hasten towards Maryland and Virginia; and set forward the 14th of the sixth month, several Friends accompanying me to John Richardson's, near Christine creek; and from hence to Newcastle, Cecil, and so over Chester and Choptank rivers, having several profitable meetings in the way. And not far from the banks of this last river, we had a meeting in a forest, at one Jeremiah Jadwin's, amongst a people little acquainted with the doctrines of truth; yet pretty many gathered there, behaving with sobriety and attention, and the power of truth came into dominion amongst us, much to our satisfaction. After meeting we lodged with Richard Cooper, a loving, generous old man, and a person of note in that part of the country.

The 1st of the seventh month I had a meeting at Little creek, from whence many Friends accompanied me to a meeting at Motherkill, which the loving-kindness of God very mercifully regarded, and gave Friends comfort in his presence, amongst a poor unfaithful people.

On the 4th we had a meeting at Lewistown in the court-house, which was a pretty open profitable season. Also on the 5th at Coldspring, and another in the evening at Charles Dingy's, both to good satisfaction. From hence I set out for Virginia, and notice having been given in the country, we had a pretty large meeting on the 9th near Swansgut, a little within the confines of Virginia, which was to good satisfaction in the assistance of truth, though I had the ague then upon me.

On the 10th, as soon as I could bear to ride, Edward Mifflin and I set forward, and came that night to Paul Crippin's, a Friend near Muddy creek, where formerly a meeting had been settled; but by gradually mixing with the spirit of the world, and so into marriages with others out of the way of truth, the elders being dead, the youth turned their backs on truth, and the meeting was quite dropped. I had no freedom to appoint a meeting there, and so set out the next day towards Neswaddacks, where notice had been given of our intention to have a meeting the next day, which was the first of the week. The meeting was held in the meeting house where formerly there had been a pretty number of Friends, but now they are nearly gone, through the love of the world, with its enjoyments and liberties; so that a meeting is hardly kept there; but a pretty many of the neighbours gathered, and we had a meeting, which was comfortable to me, in my faithfulness to the Lord; though they seemed to have but little sense of God, or the operation of truth; for indeed a cloud of carnal indifferency appeared to me to have overspread almost all that part of the country in an uncommon manner.

From hence we set out for the yearly meeting on the Western shore, but by the difficulties we met with in crossing the bay, one day of it was over before we arrived. We had however two days meetings with a solid reli-

gious body of Friends there, and a pretty many others, whose behaviour was sober and commendable. The Lord our God was pleased to bless the opportunity with his presence and wisdom to the satisfaction of many, and his holy name was glorified. We visited several Friends hereaway, and then went towards Carolina, having meetings in divers places, one especially near Perquimans-head, which was large and satisfactory; and another at a new meeting-house near Perquimans river.

On the 25th I went from hence towards Pascotank river, and was at a meeting of Friends there the 26th, which was made in good measure comfortable, to God's honour, to whom it is due. Though I was exceedingly weak, by reason of a very sharp return of the ague, which came upon me the day before, yet on third-day following we had a meeting up the river at Amos Trueblood's, chiefly consisting of other people, which, in the Lord's help, was much to our satisfaction. I had likewise a meeting at Little river, and another up the same river, though very weak in body.

The 1st of the eighth month I got to Perquimans, where the yearly meeting was held for North Carolina, and began that day; it was pretty large, but I was scarcely able to sit the meeting, through the violence of my disorder. On the 2nd the meeting was still larger, and I was enabled to declare the truth, in its own ability and wisdom, to the help and comfort of the upright; and the power and love of truth tended much to season and fit Friends to transact the affairs of the church, which were that day brought before them. The meeting ended the next day, but I was too much indisposed to attend it.

On the 4th I set out for Virginia, full of peace, though very weak, and the next day had a comfortable meeting at Thomas Newby's, with some Friends and other neighbouring people. Also the day following another at L. Buffkin's, which was pretty large and comfortable. Through the Lord's goodness, my indisposition now began to wear off, and I was enabled to travel with more ease. On the 7th I had a meeting near Joseph Pleasants', where through divine mercy, which was graciously amongst us, we had a good season. I staid here visiting Friends in their families in the neighbourhood two days, and on the 10th, which was first-day, was at a meeting not far off, and had a merciful and livingly edifying time that evening, with several Friends who came to see me, with Joseph Pleasants' family.

The 12th I went over Nansemond river to Western Branch, where I expected to have had a meeting that day, but the notice had failed; so I staid at Abraham Rix's till fifth-day, and went to the monthly meeting for church affairs, which was large and peaceable. From hence I went to a meeting at Rasco Neck, and came up near Western Branch to a burial. The 17th I was at a general meeting at Western Branch, which was very large, and through divine favour a good time, my spirit being very much at liberty; and I was cleared of that part of the country. I then turned up the province to have some meetings with a few Friends that were gone to settle there, and had one the next day at Robert Rix's, another on the day following at John Denson's, and another on the 21st at one John Thorp's where we had a blessed time, through divine help, amongst a people who were nearly, if not altogether strangers to Friends and the doctrine of truth, who nevertheless behaved with sobriety and attention.

From hence I travelled forward, and had meetings near James' river, Appomattox river, and other places. The 1st of the ninth month had a meeting at Wyke Honnicutt's, amongst his neighbours and some Friends, to good satisfaction. The next day had a precious establishing time towards Friends, through the Lord's mercy, and to his glory, at a meeting at William Ladd's near Wain Oak, also at Curles, Black creek, and Swamp, and turned back the 6th to see Friends at a monthly meeting, where I took leave of many Friends of that part of the country in much love and comfortable nearness. Next day I went to Cedar creek meeting, where the truth much comforted me, and opened blessedly relieving and establishing doctrine to the people; and we had some good service among many Friends whom we went to visit. The day following we had a meeting at John Cheadler's, to which a pretty many people gathered from a considerable distance, and we had a good meeting; as also another good open meeting, where none that I heard of had been before, at one Thomas Warren's, who was under some search after truth and a sober man.

On the 11th I set forward through the wilderness, in order to visit a new settled country, far up in the mountains, and that night got lodgings at a friendly man's house in the fork of Rappahannoc river, and rode the next day over some high and stony mountains. The man who was with me as a guide, was a stranger to the way as much as myself, yet through the good care of our God we got over Shenandoah river to one Chester's who was very courteous to us, his poor circumstances considered, which was also the more acceptable, as I expected nothing but to lodge in the open woods that night.

The 13th we went to Abraham Hollingsworth's, a Friend, near Opeckon, and the next day, being first-day, I was at a meeting with

some Friends and divers others, at the meeting house near Alexander Rosse's. The 15th I came back to Abraham Hollingsworth's in order to be at a meeting the day following near Shenandoah river, which was held at Robert Mackay's the younger, and was pretty open and comfortable. On the 17th we had a meeting at Isaac Perkins's, to which came the greatest part of Friends of that new settled country, wherein the love and wisdom of truth appeared much to my ease, and their establishment in religion. The next day I had a good open little meeting at Richard Beeson's; and on the following, another with some Friends and divers others at John Smith's. On the 20th we crossed Potomac river, and travelled over that high ridge called the Blue mountains, and having missed our way, with great difficulty we got to John Baile's at Manoquacy, and were at the meeting there the 21st, and took leave of Friends thereaway. From hence we set out towards the head of Patuxent river in Maryland, and in two days hard riding we came to Samuel Plummer's, and travelled down towards Patuxent mouth, and had a meeting with a few Friends there on the 26th to our comfort. This is the lowest meeting in the province.

The 1st of the tenth month we had a meeting at Herring creek, and another the next day at West river, where truth opened me in a very close dealing and warning manner, to some loose people, as well as truly comfortable to the upright in heart.

On the 3rd we had a meeting near the upper part of Patuxent, and went that night to Gerrard Hopkins's the younger, where I had some service for truth; in showing how the youth were in divers respects departed from it into the spirit and ways of the world, and the unhappy consequences thereof in divers instances. We had a meeting next day at Elkridge, which was of good service, and another the day following at a Friend's house at Patapsco. From hence I went to Bush river, and had a meeting with Friends thereaway, and another at Deer creek, to some good satisfaction.

We got over Susquehanna river on the 11th, though with some difficulty, by reason of the ice driving down upon us, and went that night to Henry Reynolds' in West Nottingham, and on the 12th were at Friends' meeting there, which was large and solid, and had a precious opportunity amongst them. After this I went forward towards Philadelphia, having meetings at several places, as at East Nottingham, London Grove, New Garden, Kennet, Newark, and Chichester. The last was pretty large, many Friends being there from divers places; from whence I went home with John Salkeld, and on the 22nd got to Philadelphia, and the day following was at Friends' week-day meeting, where we were graciously favoured with heavenly help, much to our comfort. I staid thereabout till the first-day following, when the Lord was pleased to bless us by his power and love, much to our humiliation in his presence, in three public meetings.

The 27th I set out again into the country, and had a meeting that day at Plymouth, and a large one the day following at North Wales, (it being their monthly meeting for business) wherein we were comforted together; and also the next day at Perkiomen, which through heavenly help was a truly good season. The 31st I had a comfortable meeting at Maiden creek, and on the 2nd of the eleventh month another at Oley with Friends thereaway, which was much to my ease, and the comfort of the upright-hearted. I had meetings likewise at the Furnace near Manatawny, and at the Great Swamp, which truth made a truly good time to many; also at a place called Plumstead, and a large one at Friends' meeting house near Buckingham, and from thence I went to Wright's town and Falls, at which places I had a large and truly edifying meeting. I had likewise meetings at Trenton, Burlington, and Bristol, to which Friends came from several distant places.

The 16th I was at Neshamony meeting, which the Lord of mercy and all power gloriously owned to the comfort and help of many; and his mighty name was worshipped. We had another meeting that evening at Adam Harker's, where I lodged, much to the edification of the living. The 18th I had a meeting at Byberry, and the day following another large and profitable meeting at Abington; from thence I went to another at Horsham, and crossed the Schuylkill into Chester county, was at Calne meeting on the 23rd, being first-day, and so to Uwchland and Goshen, where through the Lord's goodness, we had a large and precious meeting; and another the day following in the Valley; also at Radnor and Newtown. From hence I went to a meeting of ministers and elders at Haverford, where on the first of the twelfth month, a general meeting was held. The next day, through the help of Truth, we had a precious opportunity at Springfield, the day after at Darby, and the next at Merion, which was large and edifying. From hence I went with some Friends who came to meet me, to Israel Pemberton's at Philadelphia. On the 5th was a quarterly meeting of ministers and elders; the 6th being first-day, I was at three meetings, wherein divine regard very comfortably owned and helped us. The 7th I was at a quarterly meeting of business for the county, which was large and peaceable;

and on the next day at the youths' meeting there, which through the gracious goodness of the Lord, was made a blessed time to many.

I left the city on the 9th, and had meetings at Chester and Middletown, and was at the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders at Concord, where I staid over the first-day, and also the meeting of business for the county the day following, which through divine goodness were large and edifying.

The 15th I was at the general meeting at Providence, which was large, and a heavenly time. The 16th I had a meeting at Birmingham, which was large and solidly profitable; the next day at Bradford, and the day after at London Grove, where many Friends from other meetings met me, and the Lord our God was pleased eminently to own and bless our meeting to our comfort and joy in his holy presence. From hence I went to Sadsbury and Laycock, where I had meetings, and another on the 23rd, in my way to Calne, at a Friend's house, which was made through divine goodness, a very edifying time to Friends, and many of the neighbours who came in: no meeting of Friends had been held there before. I returned from hence to Philadelphia, where I staid near a week, and had some satisfactory service in divers cases.

The 1st of the first month, 1737, being third-day, I had a meeting at Germantown, from whence I went over the river into the Jerseys, and had meetings at Woodbury creek, Pilesgrove and Salem, which last was large and edifying, through the love and wisdom of Truth. The next day I had a precious meeting at Alloways creek, and the day following another at Greenwich, wherein heavenly help in divine favour was blessedly with us, and the name of our God was magnified.

The 9th I rode to Cape May, and the next day had a comfortable meeting with some Friends at Richard Townsend's, also the day following a pretty large and edifying meeting with Friends near Jacob Garrison's. The 12th we crossed the river, and the day following had a large meeting, and an open precious time in the love and power of the gospel, at Great Egg Harbour; as also another pretty large meeting higher up on the shore, at Robert Smith's the day following. That night we passed over a dangerous marsh and river to Little Egg Harbour, where on the 15th we had a meeting with Friends thereaway, to our true comfort. From hence we passed through the wilderness to John Estaugh's, near Haddonfield, and on the 18th were at a quarterly meeting there, wherein the helping hand of the Lord was with us to his praise.

The 19th I went to Philadelphia, and was at a meeting of ministers and elders, in the beginning of their half-year's meeting for the two provinces, which continued two days, and was eminently owned with the helping power and presence of the Lord. The half-year's meeting being over, I staid till the monthly meeting for the city, where I had some service for Truth, and comfortable satisfaction. I then went into the Jerseys, and was at a large meeting on the 27th, being first-day, at Haddonfield; another at Chester on the day following; and a large and weighty meeting near the widow Evans' that evening.

The 30th I went to a meeting near the Falls, in the county of Bucks, where a marriage was that day solemnized; and divine power and goodness owned us, greatly to our comfort. I came back the next day, and was at the meeting at Burlington, which the Lord was pleased to bless with his love and powerful appearance: and his holy name was humbly worshipped and glorified.

The 1st of the second month I had a meeting at Rancocas, worthy of remembrance; and the 3rd a great meeting near Mount Holly, wherein Truth opened and prevailed in a strengthening manner. The next day I was at Burlington monthly meeting, which was much to our help in the Lord, and our great encouragement in his service. The next day I had a meeting at Old Springfield, and on the day following near Upper Springfield, which was large and a profitable season.

The 7th I was at a large monthly meeting at Chesterfield, wherein the power and love of God eminently appeared amongst us. The next day we had a meeting at Mansfield, and a blessed open meeting the day following at Bordentown, among a soberly behaved people. The 10th being first-day, I went to Stony Brook meeting, and on the 12th had a large meeting and a precious open season amongst a mixed people at Allentown; and another the day following at one Moses Robins's, where a considerable number of people of other societies gathered, and we had a good time with them. The 14th I went to a place near the sea shore, called Good-luck, where the day following I got a meeting among the people thereabout, and went to a place called Squan, where notice being spread among the neighbourhood, of a meeting to be held the next day, we had on the 17th a large and helping meeting, through the gracious assistance of the Lord our God. After meeting I went near Shrewsbury, and the 20th had a meeting at Middletown in a Baptist meeting house, among some soberly inclined people of several professions, which was to good satisfaction. That night I went to Shrewsbury, and had a meeting there the next day, and another not far off the next, which the Lord our God owned to his own praise. I staid amongst

Friends hereaway till first-day morning, and had a very large meeting at Shrewsbury again, and went to William Hartshorn's, and had some service in the family that night, in the love of truth, to good satisfaction. The 25th I was at Friends' quarterly meeting, which was large, and a precious season; next day had another great meeting, chiefly among the youth, and set out that evening on my way to Woodbridge, where I had a meeting the 28th, and another at John Shotwell's the next day, where a considerable number of people gathered, among whom I had a good opportunity.

The 1st of the third month, I had a meeting at Plainfield, and went from thence to Long Island, and to New York, where I had also a meeting, and another on the 4th at Newtown, in Long Island, to which came several well disposed people, and the Lord made it a precious time. The next day I was at the monthly meeting for business at Flushing, wherein Truth was graciously with us, to our comfort. On the 6th I went over the Sound to West Chester, intending to have had a meeting there that day, but the notice had failed. I visited several families of Friends, and having appointed a meeting there that day week, went to Rye woods, near which place we had a large meeting the 8th, being first-day; another the day following at North Castle, and the next day another at Horse Neck in Connecticut government. The 11th I had a meeting at Whiteplains, where there are but few Friends, but many of the neighbouring people gathered with us, and the love and power of Truth were very comfortably amongst us. The next day I was at Friends' monthly meeting near that place, where most of the Friends thereaway gathered, and many other people likewise; and in the heavenly opening and assistance of Truth, we had a blessed season together.

The 13th we had a meeting at West Chester, according to appointment, and went afterwards to Samuel Bowne's on Long Island, who had accompanied me this week. On the 15th, being first-day, I was at the meeting at Flushing, which was large; from hence I went towards Cowneck, and had a meeting; and a large one the day after at Matinicock, which was made to many a solidly helping, and establishing time. I had meetings likewise at Oyster Bay, Westbury, and a precious opportunity in the enlargement of the life of Truth at Bethpage.

The 24th I went to a meeting at Sequetauga, where the good arm of the Lord was eminently with us to our comfort, and the help of divers. The next day I was at Friends' monthly meeting at Westbury, which was large, and affairs well conducted: and the day following went to a place called Rockaway, where we had a meeting in a barn, and the Lord of all our mercies was graciously mindful of us. We went after meeting to visit a woman Friend, in a weak low condition, with whom we were comforted in the sense of the presence of Truth.

The 27th we went to Flushing, John Bowne being with me, where the yearly meeting for these parts began, and continued four days, part for worship, the rest for the affairs of the church; the public meetings were very large, and the goodness and mercy of the Lord God owned them, and enabled us in his service to the help of many, and exalted his own everlasting gospel testimony, and his glorious name was worshipped and magnified.

The 31st several Friends set out with me towards Rhode Island, though I was now in a poor, weak, spent condition, as to bodily ability, and capable of travelling but slowly, the weather being exceeding hot, yet I was measurably supported with inward help and hope in the arm of the Lord's all-sufficiency. We passed through Connecticut government, and came to James Perry's, in the Narraganset country, and the 5th of the fourth month, being first-day, were at Kingston meeting, and the day following at a monthly meeting there. On the 7th I had a meeting on Conanicut Island, where some Friends met us from Newport, and we were favoured with a comfortable time, in the prevalency of divine goodness, and got that evening to my brother-in-law John Proud's, in Newport.

On the 9th the yearly meeting began at Portsmouth, and a large precious meeting it was. I returned to Newport, where the yearly meeting continued, and held four days, the assembly being large and peaceable, and at times comfortable in the arisings of the mighty power and love of God, who had the glory and praise. The 15th I had a large and edifying meeting at Tiverton, and lodged at Joseph Wanton's, where we had a good little meeting that evening. The next day I had a meeting at Seconnet, and a large one the day after at Acoaxet. The 19th, being first-day, I was at Cushanet, where we had a large and good meeting, in the Lord's merciful help; as also at Aponyganset, Rochester and Succoneset. From thence we went down to the water side, and went on board a sloop with many other Friends, and got well over to Nantucket the 23rd, and on the 24th the yearly meeting began there, which was large, and continued four days, to true satisfaction, and the name of the Lord was glorified.

The 28th I went over the Sound again, but passed the night in an open boat, and got into Bass river, near Yarmouth, the next day, and had a meeting in Plymouth the day following, where no Friends live, nor had there been a

meeting there for nearly thirty years; many of the people came to it, and Almighty goodness mercifully owned us, and enabled to preach his everlasting gospel, much to the people's satisfaction, who behaved very civilly.

The 1st of the fifth month I had a meeting at Pembroke, and rode that evening to Boston; and the 3rd, being first-day, went to the quarterly meeting at Hampton, where many Friends and others gathered; the next morning Friends transacted the affairs of the church, and had a public meeting afterwards. The Lord our God was graciously pleased to own our assemblies in his power and wisdom, to his own glory, and much to the edification and comfort of many souls. On the 5th I had a meeting at Stretham, which was an open blessed time; and another large one the day following at Cachecy, to good satisfaction.

On the 7th I had a meeting at Dover, to which Friends in that part of the country generally came, and also many of the Presbyterian people, who heard of my being come to those parts again (having in a former visit to this place, had good service for the Lord in these parts) and we had a glorious powerful meeting in the name and love of God, which was great among us that day. I lodged at John Kenny's, where we had a precious opportunity with many Friends that evening. The next day we had a meeting at Portsmouth, in the court-house, to which the people flocked in great numbers, and behaved soberly; and the power and doctrine of truth had impression on many hearts. On the 9th I had a meeting at Hampton, and another the day following at Amesbury, which was large, and through divine help, a glorious and strengthening time to the honest minded, profitable to many I hope, and not to be forgotten.

I had a meeting the 11th at Haveril; and the next day a large and solidly profitable meeting at Newbury, many of the people coming in, and confessed to the truth. The 14th I had a large meeting with Friends at Salem, and another at Marblehead in the townhouse next day; wherein the Lord's power, and the doctrine of the gospel, prevailed among the people to their help. I went to Lynn that night, and had a large and good establishing meeting there next day.

The 17th I came to Boston, and had two large comfortable meetings there; many people came in, and behaved soberly; also another the day following to good satisfaction, and in the evening most of the Friends there, gathered to a Friend's house, and we had a meeting, which I believe was profitable; and here I took my leave of Friends in these parts.

The 20th I was at the week-day meeting at Mendham, and went from thence to Uxbridge, where we had a meeting, and another the day following with a few well-inclined people at Ralph Earle's. From hence I went to Shrewsbury, and had a little meeting the next day at Lancaster, with some who professed to be Friends; and from thence I returned to Mendham, where I was at a pretty large meeting the 24th, and had some good service with a few Friends in the evening. On the 26th I had a large meeting at Wainsoket in Providence woods, but found many of the people very little acquainted with the power and baptism of Truth, yet the Lord God of mercies opened my heart, and enabled me to labour, I believe, to some of their advantage, as well as to my own discharge in the Lord's service. The next day I had a pretty open, serviceable meeting at Shanticoke, though carnality was prevalent among them; and on the day following another at Greenwich, indifferently satisfactory, through divine help amongst a barren people. I staid at Thomas Fry's, a generous, friendly man, though not of our community, who had also some good children. The next day I was at Warwick meeting, and the following at a yearly meeting at Providence town, which was large, and to some satisfaction.

The 1st of the sixth month I had a large and pretty good meeting at Smithfield meeting house, through heavy and faithful labour, in divine help; another the day following at Ebenezer Woodward's in Taunton, and the next day at Swanzey which was large on account of a burial, and satisfactory in a good degree, though the pure life of truth seems to be low thereaway. From hence I went to Free town and had a meeting also at Sandwich, which was pretty large; and on the 9th I had a meeting at Mannimay, among some friendly people, which was much to our satisfaction; and at Bass-pond the next day, and one the day following at Rochester.

The 12th I had a large meeting at Ponyganset, and the 14th being first-day, was at a yearly meeting for worship at South Kingston, which held two days, the meetings being large; and the name of the Lord was humbly magnified on our parts. The 16th I had a meeting at John Richmond's in Westerly, a great and blessed time in the love of God; and another the next day at John Mumford's. After this we came down to the ferry at Conanicut, but could not get over till the day following, and went to the meeting at Newport, where on the 21st, being first-day, we had two very large meetings, to which many Friends came from distant places to take leave of me, and the Lord of all our mercies was pleased to open my heart and mouth largely amongst them in his power and counsel; and we parted with comfort in his love. In the evening I had a blessed

time with some Friends of the town, in the melting love and sense of the pure presence of our heavenly Father, who had and hath the praise and glory for all his mercies and gracious help. Next morning we took a near and affectionate leave of one another, and I set out for Long Island, and landed next day at Oyster pond point, and came to the upper part of Southwold that night, and lodged at an inn, where many of the neighbourhood flocked in, and we had a serviceable meeting with them.

The 24th I came to a Friend's named John Hallock at Setawket, where we had a meeting next day, and came that evening to Bethpage, from whence we went to the quarterly meeting at Westbury, which began there the 26th, the meeting for ministers and elders being held that day, and a large public meeting, and another for business the day following. The 28th, being first-day, there was a mighty concourse of people, and the Lord our God made it a precious time, in the help of his wisdom and glorious power. The next day we went to Thomas Pearsall's where divers Friends coming to visit us, we had a meeting that evening; another at Cowneck the day following, and got to the monthly meeting at Westbury on the 31st.

On the 1st of the seventh month I had a large and good meeting, through merciful and heavenly help, at Flushing, it being also their monthly meeting; and the next day another at Newtown; and one in the evening at Richard Hallet's, at whose house I lodged; and there took leave of many Friends of that Island, in the love and power of the Lord our God. I came to Woodbridge in East Jersey the next day, and on the following was at the meeting there; and on the 5th at a blessed open meeting at Elizabeth-town, where no Friends live, and that night came back to John Shotwell's. The next day we went up the country to a place called Whippany, where a few friendly people live, with whom I had a precious and comfortable little meeting, and the next day another with a few Friends at Lebanon; and so to Bethlehem, Wright's-town, in Pennsylvania, and Middletown; at which last places I had large and solidly profitable meetings, and took leave of Friends there, under the sense of the power of truth. From hence I went to Frankford and had a meeting, and came to Philadelphia that night. After staying the week-day meeting next day, I went over the river Delaware, in order to be at the quarterly meeting for Gloucester and Salem, which was held the 16th. On the 17th I returned to Philadelphia to the yearly meeting, which continued several days, and through the merciful attendance and blessed help of divine Goodness, it was made a glorious, comfortable, strengthening time, and peace and unity appeared eminently amongst Friends. Of this meeting he gives some further account in a letter to one of his sons, viz.

As to myself, I am, I think, somewhat miraculously supported, and am in good health pretty generally, and expect I may be so discharged, respecting the continent, as to be free to go towards Barbadoes in about two months. The yearly meeting at this place ended last night; it was exceedingly large, and, upon the whole, generally acknowledged to have been very edifying, and helpful in divers ways and very much to my ease and humbling gladness in the Lord our God, and never-failing helper. Friends in general are in a good degree of harmony. My heart is nearly affected with the best of love towards thee and for thee, that nothing short of rain from the divine presence may satisfy thee, for this is what only prepares the most acceptable sacrifice, a broken and contrite spirit, wherein is true light and durable joy. Thus farewell, farewell, saith thy nearly affectionate father, to the best of my capacity in every respect which I hope thou art, and often will be, profitably sensible of. J. F.

On the 22nd of the seventh month (continues the Journal) after the yearly meeting was over, having some concern remaining with me towards Maryland, I set out for the Western shore, and went that night to Chester, and had meetings at Bush river, near Patapsco, and at West river; where I staid at Joseph Galloway's about two days, visiting several Friends' families thereaway, and was at the meeting again on first-day, which was pretty large.

The 4th of the eighth month I had a pretty large meeting at the Cliffs, wherein truth solidly owned us, and enabled me to labour much to my discharge of that part of the country. Next day I had a meeting at Herring creek, and took leave of Friends there, returning again to Joseph Galloway's.

On the 6th I set out with some Friends for the bay, in order to be at the yearly meeting near Choptank river, and got well over. On the 8th, being first-day, the yearly meeting began, and continued five days, some of the meetings being very large; and the power and testimony of truth comfortably prevailed among the people, to the true satisfaction of Friends, and the Almighty name was magnified. After the yearly meeting was over, I had a meeting at Tuckahoe, and a pretty large open meeting near Choptank head, among some people who made little profession of Truth, yet the love of God extended freely towards them, wherein we rejoiced.

On the 16th I was at a large meeting near Little creek on Delaware river, it being their yearly meeting, and continued two days, many

Friends and others were present, and the blessed Truth owned us, mercifully prevailing to our comfort, and the Lord our God had the glory. After this I had meetings at Duck creek, George's creek, Newcastle, and a pretty large one at William Shipley's at Wilmington, also at George Kissen's, Kennet, and New Garden; at Concord, Providence, and a large heavenly meeting at Goshen. I went from hence to North Wales, and was at two meetings there, wherein divine Goodness was manifested to our comfort, and the holy name was honoured.

The 31st I was at a monthly meeting at Abington, which was large, and on the 1st of the ninth month had a meeting at Horsham, which was greatly to my discharge, and the comfort of many. The next day I had a meeting to true and great satisfaction at Trenton, and another the day following at Burlington, in order to be fully clear of that place. After this I had a meeting with Friends at Bristol, and the next day was at three large meetings at Philadelphia, being first-day. The next was their quarterly meeting, and the following a general meeting, mostly of youth, which was made, through the goodness and help of Truth, a precious establishing opportunity. I staid that week in the city, and was at the meetings as they fell in course, and the first-day following was made truly satisfactory and comfortable.

On the 14th I had a meeting at Fairhill, wherein divine wisdom and power very eminently dignified the opportunity to our joy in the Lord. The next day I went to a general meeting at Chester, which was very large and satisfactory; and we parted in true love and nearness in the love of Christ our Lord. On the 20th I had a large meeting at Salem, and was at the quarterly meeting there the day following, with good satisfaction; as also the next day at the youths' meeting, which was large, and made thoroughly satisfactory in discharging me of those parts.

The 23rd I had a blessed meeting with Friends at Pilesgrove, and the next day was at a general meeting at Haddonfield, wherein the Lord our God graciously owned us, and blessed our meeting, giving us to part one from another in a living sense of his love and power; and his glorious name was worshipped and praised. I came that night again to Joseph Cooper's, and the day following to Philadelphia, where I staid till the 8th of the tenth month, and had divers great and heavenly meetings; and after a very open and solidly edifying meeting, I took leave of Friends there in much true love and nearness in spirit, and heavenly unity in the Lord.

I then took passage for Barbadoes, in company with a native of Berytus in Syria, about sixty miles north of Jerusalem, who being oppressed by the Turks, and stripped of his possessions, had been obliged to several European princes for indulging him to ask the benevolence of their subjects. I had some satisfactory conversation with him, which induced him to be very affectionately courteous to me, and was I believe of some service to him in a religious sense, though we could converse very little but by an interpreter. We had a safe passage, through some very stormy weather, and landed in Barbadoes the 9th of the eleventh month, 1737.

From Barbadoes he wrote the following epistle to Friends on the Eastern shore of Maryland.

Dear Friends—In the extendings of the love of Christ the great and blessed Shepherd of the Lord's flock every where, am I concerned to remember you, and stirred up to write a little to you, as a tender and brotherly salutation. I earnestly entreat you all, carefully and weightily to consider, that the most necessary concern and work of our day here, certainly is to seek for the experimental knowledge of reconciliation to God the Father, through the obedience of living faith, in the name of Christ, and the renewing of the Holy Spirit: and so to live, walk, and labour in and with our heavenly talent or gift, that we show forth and promote the righteousness and purity of the blessed gospel day, as lights to the world, but most immediately and directly so, to those of the same profession with us.

And I am fully satisfied, that the gracious regard of Almighty Goodness is afresh extending towards you, in order to help you, both to own and to live more comfortably in the dominion of Truth in yourselves; and to enable you in the life and wisdom of Truth, to be more serviceable in your families, in the Society you profess to be of, (so lamentably decaying in your parts) and also to the neighbourhood. For if the redeeming power and sanctifying life of Christ, the one true and blessed Head and Shepherd, did but show itself and its heavenly effects suitably, through the more knowing and more active, or chief part of the Society, it is indisputable with me, that the Lord's work of gathering many to be living stones, and building people up a living house, in order and godlike beauty, would prosper, and recover strength and lustre among you. You would be helped to speak in one life, one zeal, and one language of wisdom, to the joy and comfort of the honestly minded, some of whom, though they may be at a distance in divers respects, yet are at times looking for Zion, but cannot see such beauty amongst her professed chiefs,

where they have expected it to appear, as to convince them, this is she.

Some others are lamed in part, and depraved in sense, yet are not quite dead, but are now and then awakened to see and feel something of their own dark and bewildered condition; who if they had proper light shown them, and were stirred up to look wherein they have turned aside (which it is your and all our interest and duty to be devotedly concerned for) some such I believe would yet be gathered nearer, would be restored in themselves, and would add help and beauty to the Lord's family. The mouths of those who mock and contemn the repairers, would, in the Lord's counsel, be stopped, or turn to their own shame and sorrow; and the seeming strength of the arm of such uncircumcised, would appear to be mere weakness, and like briars and thorns in the way of the Lord of hosts.

So dear Friends, brethren and sisters, be aroused into upright inwardness of application in soul, to have your own hearts searched by the finger or power of God; and that in love and virtue may help and lead you in faithfulness to labour in the work of the Lord, that you may be fully clear of the blood of all. I fully believe the blessed Master Builder and great Husbandman, will yet add a blessing to your sincere application, both inwardly for your own help, and to others; for his eye is towards you for good, and towards the work he hath begun in your parts.

And I beg it may ever be remembered, particularly by the more active for religion, either as ministers, or other helps in the government of the church, that exhortation, advice, or proposing the best of rules for necessary practice, are not likely to produce much good effect, if the tincture and savour of the spirit of religion and gospel power do not accompany such labour, and show itself in the life of such persons. This leads into, and gives dominion over our own spirits and tempers, and washeth from the defiling love and spirit of this world, with its corrupting friendships and selfish views, which have hurt many inwardly, if not slain and laid waste multitudes.

But oh! to humble, clean and enlivened hearts, the fresh feeling of the life of Truth revives faith under difficulties and discouragements, and gives both beauty, authority and room, and never fails to render people really useful, and helpers to repair and build up, according to the several talents received. Nor can any thing below this heavenly life, being felt and yielded unto, make any effectually useful; but weakness, and decay in practice will still follow and spread. For the carnal mind, and fleshly wisdom, though there should appear some outward strictness, will often find excuses for not doing one thing, and for doing another, as best suits present advantage or pleasure to the creature; and hence have come those numerous divisions, enmities, contentions, and variety of practices, parties, and evil liberties into the professed Christian churches, and in part amongst us as a people, under which you and the cause of Christ in your province suffer.

However, I am persuaded the Lord of heaven and earth is graciously mindful of you, of his cause, and of many poor, inwardly distempered, and lamed (by their evil lusts) amongst you, in order to extend help, and to make you helpers one to another, through holiness of life, and wise and living zeal. Therefore, dear Friends, be encouraged in labouring to live, to exhort, reprove, invite and provoke to love as occasion may offer, with Christian diligence, and without partiality. So will light yet break out from darkness, and the darkening, reasoning spirit of this world, will gradually be silenced, and the testimony of Truth, in its several ancient and holy branches, be again seen clearly, as they are the fruits of the life and light of the everlasting gospel; and will be borne openly and faithfully for Christ's sake. Thus you, as his children, will be abundantly more honoured and owned with his living, glorious, healing and strengthening presence. And so inward salvation, outward fruitfulness in righteousness, with fresh anointing, and raising up of helpful instruments for various services in the church, and the good of mankind, will yet again grow among you, to your joy and honour, and to the glory and praise of the unchangable, holy Lord God Almighty, ever worthy to be loved, feared, obediently trusted in, and magnified for ever. Thus, dear Friends, my soul longs for you, and for the Father's honour, and in his name salutes the living. I am your true friend, and an earnest seeker of your present and eternal good.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

P. S. If I have been very pressing and earnest with you, and not without danger of offending some, yet know ye, it is from a clear view that the Lord of heaven and earth, who sees all things and persons as they are in reality, is both willing and desirous to help and quicken you, and to repair his work and plantation among you in this province; and to water and dress it, that it may become both more comfortable in itself, and more beautiful. He therefore useth various means to encourage you to seek the Lord in good earnest, to know him to work in, for and with you, for that great end, to prevent greater desolations and forsaking, which are likely to overtake you, through the rebellious and negligent, to more scandal and sorrow of heart.

I am now clear, and beseech that you may

make proper use of this and all other favours, both in thinking of it carefully, and spreading it as may be judged necessary; and I seem rather moved with desire that this, or a copy of it may go to Friends over the bay. Though at present my hope seems weak of some, of their regarding any thing that may be for their effectual help, yet the unchangeable God, his holy Truth, and faithful labourers in his love and fear, will be clear, and have comfort in themselves from him whose ear grows not heavy that it cannot hear in any land or age; glory and thanksgiving be to his name for ever and ever.

Barbadoes, the 23rd of the Twelfth month, 1737.

All the account that remains of his visit to this island, and of his return, we believe is contained in the following letters to one of his sons in England, viz.

Barbadoes, 27th of the Eleventh month, 1737.

I was brought hither well about sixteen days ago, in thirty-two days from Philadelphia, yet do not find myself free to leave the place so soon; and therefore as a vessel is just going hence for London, I cannot well omit writing a little, to inform thee that I am thus far on my way, and easy in my hope and sense of the Father's favour. If this ship had staid two or three weeks longer, I should have been in hopes I might have left the island with ease; but I dare not, as it is. Yet it is questionable whether another will sail for England in less than two months, which is somewhat hard for me to think of, both in respect to the unpleasantness of the place, from the extreme heat, the small number of Friends, and the general remoteness of the inhabitants from religion. Though I am easy in resignation to all-wise disposal, and full of thankfulness, under the bending sense of the gracious extending of divine good will to many of the remote; and of fatherly, succouring encouragement to the few spiritually minded here. May rain from heaven bedew thy soul and understanding; and cherish and revive the Lord's heritage every where.

J. F.

Barbadoes, 12th of the Second month, 1738.

Nearly affectionate and careful remembrance of thee, induceth me to endeavour to let thee hear from me as often as I well can in this long absence, which wisdom hath seen good to order; under which, for that reason, I am humbly cheerful in reverent hope; and for the present we must submit to be yet longer separated than I expected, when I last wrote. No vessel hath sailed hence to any part of England, that I know of, nor is likely to do soon for London, so that I conclude to take passage in one bound for Lancaster, and which [may] set sail in two or three days; being now very desirous to be gone hence. Though I hope never to forget the merciful nearness and goodness of Truth to me here; both in affording the renewed sense of heavenly life, and in preserving my health. I cannot well add much, nor is much more in my thoughts at present; but may say, that though this is a poor irreligious place, yet both many of the people, and the few Friends here, are very loving and respectful; and I hope I shall leave the place with inward ease to myself, and reputation to Truth. From thy truly loving father.

J. F.

Lancaster, 2nd of the Fourth month, 1738.

Dear Son,—Hereby thou wilt understand, I am brought safe to my native land again, in which I very humbly acknowledge merciful Goodness and preservation, still engaging in love, fear and reverent trust towards the most gracious, Almighty Lord God, of whose goodness, power and mercy, there is no end. I strongly intended to have came by way of London, had any passage offered with a probability of my reaching the yearly meeting; but when this seemed unlikely to happen, I rather chose to come to this place, where I arrived last night, after a passage of six weeks betwixt land and land, but through very rough hard weather, for the season of the year. But I was always preserved quiet, inwardly easy, and steady in hope. I am pretty well in health, as well as easy and sweet in spirit; worship and praise be to the holy Author of all good. So with dear salutation in holy living love to my near friends (and there are many such) and to thyself, I remain thy ardently well-wishing father.

J. F.

From Lancaster he went directly to his habitation, which was then in Netherdale, Yorkshire, where he was joyfully received by his family and friends, with humble gratitude and reverence to that holy power which had through all preserved him to their comfort. He set out soon after for the quarterly meeting at York, which was large, and attended by divers Friends from several parts of the nation, who were truly glad of his presence among them on that occasion, which indeed was solemn and edifying in many respects, in a very eminent manner.

Whilst he was on this visit in America, he wrote the following epistle to Friends of the quarterly meeting at York:

Dear Friends,—In the solid sense of the uniting, heart-warming, strengthening, love and

life, in and through Christ our Head, Lord, and Captain of salvation, doth my spirit and heart very nearly salute you. You may be assured, though I am drawn by the Father of the living family, outwardly from you, who are the most near part of it to me, yet am I very often with you, in the union of the one heavenly power and engager of hearts for the health and well-being of Zion, and for her growth in that soundness and beauty, with which God would bless his people and family. For the prosperity of this great and good work, our gracious God hath gathered and baptized many spirits among you, into a deep and daily concern; who also suffer and mourn in soul before the Lord, when things and practices happen, and are fallen into, which weaken and stain, and wound particulars, and dishonour the cause and name of the Lord our God.

In this care and exercise am I still with you, who thus travail for the health and comfort of the flock of God, and for the help of the weak and unwise, that the name of the Lord may be magnified in the earth; and in this have we cause to hope and be encouraged, that divine help, in the sense of our Father's love and presence continues graciously to visit with renewed help, both to live and labour; and he with whom all fulness dwells, doth not forsake.

Wherefore, dear Friends, I tenderly entreat all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, to hope in the divine power and life which ever lives, and fervently to wait for the daily fresh anointing of it, from whence alone you, and all have, and ever must have, enlargement of life in yourselves, whereby to live; and of light, wisdom and strength, to act any way to good purpose in God's house.

I fully believe the spirit of the Lord will lift up a standard against the enemy, who is at work under various disguises, assaulting the work of the gospel, and will help the Lord's people to be more and more bright in life, and successful in labour. Be sure you be honest and true in your lots and posts, both when you are collected to act in a body, for the propagation of peace and purity, and the beauty of Truth, and to discourage the appearance and operation of the defiling and enticing spirit of unrighteousness; in which work, both male and female should be just and faithful to God, as well privately in families, as more publicly in the churches. And as you are thus faithful, you will be true friends to the younger and weaker, and to one another; but you cannot be so, if self and flesh, with its libertine ways, be sheltered and sought to be saved, rather than that the holy equal line and judgment of Truth should be extended, and have its straight way.

I particularly beseech you, my beloved sisters, to be encouraged and stirred up, humbly and with hope to seek the Lord, who will be wisdom and strength, of which all have need. And if you in faith and meekness seek the Lord for his help, you will be enabled to act more strongly, wisely and successfully in fulfilling your part of building and beautifying the house of God, to your own comfort and joy, in seeing the Father put his own image and life of righteousness more and more upon your sex, and the youth among them. And I am sure, if the brethren live in and to the life of religion, they will both be examples to you of diligence in life, in attending meetings, and in zealous watchfulness, to encourage the good, and to admonish the loose and disorderly; and will also put you forward, and strengthen you in doing your parts faithfully.

Thus, my dear Friends, do you seek divine help together, and also in your particular residences and services; and I am fully persuaded, the everlasting Father of all comfort, and of divine light and ability, will add a blessing to the cries and labour of his people, and make many instrumental to repair and recover decaying and lean places. But how is it likely that the lower, or more feeble outwardly, should do much towards so great a work in many respects, if the more knowing and strong, as creatures, should mind themselves, and their temporal affairs, more than the life of religion, and the concerns of Truth and righteousness?

And you younger people of that meeting and county, towards whom my bowels have often moved within me in the love of God, seek to have room made in your hearts for Christ, that he may reign in you, and be your Saviour and Shepherd; and he will yet more baptize you into death to vanity, and a sense of salvation, and make you a generation to his own praise; and from age to age the name of the mighty God may be great and renowned in the earth, and in that beloved county.

Thus my near Friends, my brotherly greeting in the good will of God the Father, runs to you in a manner which I hope many of you can feel, and be comforted and encouraged in the Lord and in his service, for he is good unto his people. And you may know that the good arm of Truth which drew me over the sea once more, hath mercifully helped and assisted to travel and labour with diligence, and often to my humbling comfort. I have now been at the most northern part of New England where any Friends live, and hope to be at Boston in about a week, where Friends are somewhat increased, and the people civil and courteous, as they now are in many, if not most other places.

J. F.

This epistle was dated at Hampton, in the east of New England, the 5th of the fifth month, 1737, and accompanied the following one to Friends of Wensleydale meeting.

My near and truly beloved Friends—Although it hath pleased the everlasting Father and blessed comforter of his people, to separate me outwardly far from you, by the engagings of his love towards the inhabitants of these countries, yet his uniting love and pure goodness hath, and doth often lead my spirit nearly to remember, and hiddenly to visit you, and run as it were among you from one to another, in a particular manner, and often to breathe for your edification in your meetings; and in such tender and divinely enlivened desires for your best help and feeding, that I could gladly have written something of a brotherly salutation ere now, if I could have sent it you when my heart was so opened. But I have been for some weeks, and am under a fresh nearness, and living, careful, well-wishing for you, and your prospering in the salvation of God, so that I just steal a little time to write, hoping to meet with an opportunity to send it ere long. And herewith freely reacheth a degree of the love of God, through my heart unto you, which love hath often affected many of us with earnest longing for the help and favour of its glorious Author and Spring. Through faith in him that is invisible, and an honest care to be subject to the operation of his humbling hand, we have been gathered into a heavenly and near relation, some nearer, and others at more distance or behind, according as the divine influence of the love and power of God in Christ hath been joined with, waited for, and cherished, in order that we might be thoroughly baptized and purged. As this heavenly hand and fan of God hath been kept under and longed for in fear, lest any thing in us should escape or get up again, that is offensive to that pure, all-seeing Being, the Lord's people's true nearness and oneness is increased.

My dear Friends, both elder and younger, who can read this language with humble hearts before the Lord our ever-living Rock and fountain of all good, be you encouraged humbly to hope in, and patiently, yet diligently to wait for more and more of this pure and winnowing salvation, and you will feel Almighty goodness and power to carry on the great work he hath begun in you, for he is well able. But where heavenly goodness is withheld from the soul, and where little or no pure access in holy stillness is experienced, there hath been a want of true and honest submission to the influence and sifting operation of the love and power of God, the one everlasting Father of the living; or an hiding of some idols, or falling in love with something which unfitteth for drinking of the heavenly wine; and thence comes coldness towards the purity of religion, and barrenness touching the inward knowledge of God and his salvation, unseasoned hearts, and unsavory language and conversation at times, more and more stupifying themselves, and sometimes darkening and dangerous imaginations are followed, which scatter into by-ways, through insinuations of the wicked subtilty.

Wherefore, oh my beloved Friends! I beseech you carefully and steadily mind, and diligently wait for and trust in, the invisible and incorruptible seed and power, which ever lives, is ever pure, and ever sufficient to carry on and perfect his great and glorious work of redemption; and is also well able to assist and furnish with wisdom and suitable degrees of ability, for every engagement and service which he leadeth unto; though we be poor, and often nothing but poverty and emptiness, as indeed we should be, till divine life and goodness spring in again, for which, quiet and awful attendance is our duty. Thus the holy Almighty workman will be with, and operate in his own family; and as we lean towards him trustingly, in pure desire to be helped to follow him uprightly, we shall not lack, nor ever be confounded.

Dear friends, my life in Christ, the one living Head all the world over, is often with many of you in a rejoicing manner, and in strong desires that you may all feel it more and more to wash and fill you, and so give you to drink into the one spirit of Truth and heavenly unity.

And the elder among you, while a little of day remains, may heartily seek to be redeemed; a great but absolutely necessary work, for time is but short to many. Let the younger carefully seek that true godliness, which the touches and winnings of divine love would incline and lead all to. For this is the only infallible way to blessedness here, and for ever; as also to be fitted for service every way, as well as to honour and true esteem among men. Thus may the love of God, and the power of his Christ prevail with, and fill you more and more. Amen. I am not discouraged from hoping to be favoured to see you and my native country again; divine love led me from you for the Lord's cause-sake, and hath been near to direct and supply with assistance, as much to my humble admiration and bowing my soul in thankfulness, as in any part of my life, and I believe to some service to others; the great Being of all power hath the glory, for he alone is worthy. And though I have been helped to travel very diligently, and to a good degree of discharge, yet so much is yet before me, that I expect not to see England in less than ten months, if my life be prolonged; but I am given

up freely to the Father's will, if he will but plainly lead and help. Now, in ever living and pure love, and strong desires for all your salvation and best of comfort, in and through free access to the Father of might and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, where we have also to worship livingly; I once more salute you, and remain your truly loving friend and brother to the living in Israel. J. F.

To these epistles it may not be improper to subjoin the following testimonials of his labours and travels in the ministry in those parts of America, in a certificate from Friends there to the monthly meeting of Richmond, of which he was then a member. It is selected from many others which he brought from divers places, as it seems to be the most comprehensive of the peculiar nature of his labours and services, viz.:

To our Friends and brethren of the monthly meeting of Richmond, in Yorkshire, or, where else this may come.

We salute you in the love and fellowship of the gospel. And whereas our worthy friend and elder John Fothergill, hath been concerned now in his advanced years, to undertake a third visit to these parts of America, in the service of the gospel; and with great diligence, sincere and hard labour, for the honour of God, the good of souls, and the discharge of duty, hath travelled through near, if not all the meetings of Friends in New England; in which service the Lord hath been pleased to own and enable him, in an eminent manner, not only to point out, and show to the children of men, their spiritual maladies; but also most clearly to direct, and movingly to invite, unto Christ the physician of value, for a sure and certain cure, greatly to the relief of the oppressed, and rejoicing of those who are concerned for Sion's prosperity. His deportment and conversation being also weighty and edifying, adorning the service and station whereunto the Lord hath appointed him; wherefore the faithful have dear unity with him, and sincerely desire his future preservation every way, that in the Lord's time he may be conducted home to you and his family in safety, with sheaves of peace in his bosom.

Signed at and in behalf of our Quarterly meeting held on Rhode Island, the 13th of the eighth month, 1737, by forty-six Friends.

In the year 1739, when the winter quarterly meeting at York, which he attended, was over, he set out for Norfolk; which county, part of Suffolk and London, had been before him some time, yet not so distinct and clear as he most loved; of which he gave the following instructive account in a letter to one of his sons, dated from Sutton in Lincolnshire, the third of the eleventh month, viz.:

Though I have been unusually long without writing to thee, both on account of having little material to advise of, and being under some uneasy uncertainty about my real duty respecting this little journey, which hath caused me more exercise by night and by day, than many greater. Not through my own unwillingness to go any where, if I may but be thoroughly satisfied of the Father's mind; but from a fear, whether Truth itself required, and drew to it, though it hath stood almost constantly before me much of the time since I have seen thee. But I longed for more clear, living engagement; that even after the time which seemed to be pointed out was come, I got not to a full conclusion till about three weeks before I came away. In this unsettledness I was backward in writing, and when I came to a conclusion, my time was much employed in leaving matters suitably. And thus I have been tossing in much fear and littleness, yet under, I think, an honest devotedness; and so have been long, in a sort, hid from thee, though I found not much necessity of writing, except to manifest my truly tender and earnest longing of soul for thee, and for thy help in the way of blessing, which, be assured, is continued as honestly as I am capable of. I may further inform thee, that I hope to reach Warwick next first-day but one, that county, and the upper or western parts of Suffolk and Essex, having most place with me. Meeting time being come, I must bid farewell, and am thy loving father. J. F.

After having visited the counties above-mentioned, he came up to London the beginning of the month following, and staid there in visiting the meetings of Friends in and about the city during several weeks, to the help and encouragement of many, and the faithful discharge of his duty. He returned by Uxbridge, Jordans and Wiccomb, at which places he had pretty large meetings, and to some advantage, though attended with deep labour, yet with humble gladdening help. From these parts he went directly home, where he arrived in health and peace.

He attended the quarterly meeting at York in the first month following, where his company was, as usual, acceptable; as his example was helpful and edifying, both in meetings and out of them.

Though under very great weakness as to health, he came up to the yearly meeting in London, in the year 1740, and it being the first after his return from America, according to the

general practice of Friends, and at the desire of his brethren, he gave a concise and instructive account of his last visit to those parts, the state of Friends, the increase of the Society in some places, and its declining state in others, with the causes which had most obviously contributed thereto. He observed, that as the elders of the people were preserved in freshness and zeal, under a diligent care for the growth of spiritual religion, truth increased, good order was preserved, the discipline kept up, and the youth in many places tender and hopeful. On the contrary, where those who were of the first rank, both in respect to age and situation of life, declined in their religious care; where the spirit of this world suppressed the tender desires after riches of a durable nature; there weakness, disorder and unfaithfulness, were too obvious, and a daily decay of real piety as well as of numbers, prevailed, to the grief of the honest-hearted, and the loss of those who unhappily suffered this corrupting spirit to take place. He pointed out in a clear manner, the different parts where these effects appeared, with that deeply affecting sorrow which pierced him, when amongst those whose conduct occasioned it.

This summer, being engaged in some little domestic affairs, he was not much abroad long together, though he attended several distant and large meetings in his own county; often remembering his absent friends and children with true affection, and manifesting his care for their truest interest; to one of whom he writes in the following manner; viz. "but above all, my longing is for thy spiritual access, and enlargement in the heavenly pastures, under the leading and putting-forth of the one heavenly Shepherd, which I still hope, as well as often humbly breathe for on thy account, being well satisfied of thy sincere desires; which if properly retained, and carefully cherished on thy part, I cannot but comfortably hope, heavenly help will mercifully regard; so be it. Amen."

In another letter to the same, dated the 27th of the tenth month, 1740, he has the following memorable expressions:

"I have been and am, through merciful favour preserved in usual health, and attended with best peace and comfort in our heavenly Father's goodness; though in the manifest appearance (as I have often looked at it in many months) of a severe threatening time of distress, in divers cases, to this nation; and if we be not quickened and excited hereby to diligence, in seeking to lay hold of eternal treasure, the love and favour of the blessed infinite Rock and fountain of all good, we shall be more inexcusable than others of mankind who know not so well and clearly where and how to seek happiness and refuge indeed; which I often inwardly long and breathe in spirit we may lay suitably to heart. But after this little hint of what is much with me, I shall take notice of some of thy remarks on thy late journey (into Holland and Germany) and first tell thee, thy account of those people called Menonists, and Moravians (as I suppose they call themselves) exactly agrees with my secret and settled idea of them both; for I believe both, and the latter especially have had, in some measure, their eyes opened; but they set man to work to form, and imitate religion, and to build without digging properly to find the Rock. Yet many from their pious intentions make a show for a time, and some good may turn out of it. But it is a matter to be lamented (as I have very often thought) that there should be, as it were an universal and continued propensity prevailing amongst the Germans especially, to run away into speculation; and thereby so many valuable springings, and glimpses of the heavenly day, should have yet brought no more durable fruits, in experiencing salvation in reality. But it ever will be true, No following Christ acceptably, without submitting to the cross; which hath always seemed to me to be the place, at which that country people in particular, as almost all nations in general, have miscarried. May the plough of God take more effectual hold amongst them, is my heart's desire. May this consideration strengthen thee in fearing and even loathing a sort of living and delighting in, or being at ease in, barren speculation, even of best things or principles; but be still more and more animated to seek daily bread from the everlasting Father's own hand, who will hear and answer in due time the sincere and patient, though hidden criers for it; and thereby such will grow in the living root, and bear fruit in due season, to the Father's praise and honour. I salute thee with this breathing fresh upon my soul for thee, which hath been often with me, when by my long silence I have seemed almost to have forgotten thee."

In the latter part of the year 1741, he visited Friends in some of the northern counties, travelling through the bishopric of Durham, and some parts of Northumberland, from thence into Cumberland and Westmoreland; of which journey, all the account that remains, is contained in the following letter to a relation, written soon after his return, dated the 6th of the ninth month, 1741, viz.

..... "I cannot lose hope, nor almost full expectation, but that the divine power, which can do all things, will one time or other mercifully help thee, if thou labourest in watchfulness and patience to look to him for salvation in true diligence, sincere resignation, and holy humble

trust; and that he will refine through various manners of dealing, and distressing dispensations, his beloved sons, whom he would make chosen vessels in his house. And with such an eye, I believe he hath looked upon thee, somewhat like as upon Jacob, when a stone was his pillow; yet the Lord of all power and majesty was in that place, though Jacob knew it not. And so have some others been made witnesses, that he in mercy and gracious goodness, was even working in and near us, when sometimes the heavens seemed like brass, and the earth like iron, and fear and sorrow surrounded: thus he hath, and will winnow and refine, and will show that none else can save; and yet that he forsakes not those, who would have no other God but him, the ever living all-powerful one, everlastingly worthy to have all our hearts, and to be trusted in, waited for, and praised for ever. A measure of his glorious love and mercy covers my heart at this time, and bows my spirit in humble worship to his most worthy name. But I cannot express like many others, according to my views, and must therefore leave what I have hinted for thee to gather the substance, as thou art capable. I am as well in health, through merciful support, as I have been many years, and was favoured with help from the best hand in the little journey through the northern counties, to as much humbling gladness in the Lord, as I have almost ever known; though we met with several afflicting cases, besides the common heaviness, or want of proper hunger, which is more or less almost a general hurt. I said we, above, for I had the opportunity of the good company of Michael Lightfoot most of the time."

—

He continued at home during the winter, except attending the quarterly meeting at York; but travelling now began to be very difficult and painful to him, from a constant and sharp disease, the frequent companion of advancing years, and the effects of an unwearied diligence in travelling.

In the spring of 1742 he found himself engaged to pay a visit to Friends in Oxfordshire, and after he had discharged this service, he came up once more to the yearly meeting in London, wherein upon divers occasions he manifested the same living, holy zeal, under the conduct of heavenly wisdom, for the prosperity of truth and righteousness, which had often been conspicuous in him on these solemn occasions. In the same year he visited Friends in Ireland once more: this concern had long remained upon him, as he expresses in a letter, as a debt to that nation. He left no farther account of this journey, than of the places where, and the times when he had meetings; it may however be remarked, that even at this time of life, and under great bodily infirmity, his care was as great as ever, that his ministry might be as little burthensome to Friends as possible; for it appears from the account he kept, that he was at upwards of sixty meetings in about eleven weeks, and travelled in the same space of time above 670 miles: he intended to have communicated to a Friend a more particular account of this visit, and of the state of Friends in that kingdom, but was prevented by indisposition, and other intervening services. The following passages from some letters written in this journey, will not perhaps be altogether unacceptable.

"My hands and thoughts (says he in a letter to a Friend soon after he set out) have been busy in hastening to discharge myself of this debt to Ireland, and I now hope for a passage thither, the first suitable wind. I am but in a low and heavy state of mind, and should be very doubtful of being helped to live and act properly; but that a grain of faith is preserved; which hath heretofore often staid my mind in patient waiting, till merciful supply of food and ability to labour again, hath been experienced from the all sufficient and only rightly relieving hand; and here is my center in reverent trust, where as we endeavour steadily to keep, duly attending for fresh help that we may be what we are, through the grace from on high, I believe we shall not be neglected or forgotten of the all knowing Fountain of every good thing."

In another letter from Dublin, to one of his sons.

..... "Through merciful support, I am as well I think, as when we parted, though as I ride in pain, more or less, it occasions some fear, but doth not much deject me, because hitherto I have been helped along through difficulties, in the Father's drawings, above reasonable expectation; and I am comfortably encouraged to hope in that supplying hand in every respect. Mayest also know, that as the time I had thought of came near, I became so loaded, that every domestic concern was almost uneasy to me: I came by Warrington and Sutton, but was forced to stay three days at Chester for wind; I had a good and easy passage, and came hither on third-day morning, to part of Friends meeting, to my own and some others comfort."

He staid here till after first-day, and then went towards the southern parts, and to Cork in about three weeks; and so to Mountrath, from whence he wrote the following account.

"I have kept closely stirring along and much employed to answer the end of my coming, as diligently and honestly as I know how; which

through continued merciful help and renewed supply, hath been hitherto as well, or rather better borne as to the body, as well as in the chief respect, than I dared to hope for. I am thus far thankfully easy on my own part, though through deep labour, and at times much sorrow; yet I am glad I am here, because of the blessed favour of help to pay this visit; and also in that I am sensible of the strong extendings of gracious regard to this nation, and even that the dead may hear, and be made to live.

I have been round the southern parts, and am now near the middle, going northward; and hope to be at Dublin at the half year's meeting, and have some expectation that I may be clear by that time to return.

Soon after he got home, he wrote to the same person, that "he was thankfully easy for gracious help, through his late journey, on divers accounts." And often said, "It was like removing a weight from his shoulders."

After his return, he continued much about home, visiting the neighbouring general meetings, and attending the quarterly meetings, as his health, which daily grew more precarious, permitted. The winter proving very inclement, it injured his health still more, and prevented him during great part of the spring from going abroad: his care nevertheless for the prosperity of Truth, was as fresh as ever, his own inward strength being graciously renewed, as he often expressed, with reverent thankfulness, to those about him, as well as occasionally to his absent family; for whose preservation and increase in divine experience, and steady patient progress in the path of humility and dependence, his soul was often most deeply engaged.

In the sixth month of this year he attended the general meeting at Pickering in the county of York, to which he got with some difficulty; but as he mentioned in a letter written on his return home, he was satisfied in the meeting and in himself for the journey. These meetings, which are held once a year, are commonly very large, and held in an open place, to which some thousands of the neighbouring people resort, and at this time many of them behaved attentively, though it is not always that so much can be said in their behalf.

He continued very weak during the winter of 1743, going but little abroad, and scarcely being able to converse much with Friends, who came to see him at home, without feeling great weakness afterwards, but his fervour of mind towards the best things decayed not, nor diminished in the least. About this time writing to a Friend, he says, "that though he was more than a little afflicted in body, yet he was not forsaken of the everlasting Helper." And soon after to the same, in the following lively and affecting manner, viz.:

"The Christian affection accompanying thine, affords me more comfortable satisfaction than I can describe, or thou canst well conceive; but it is to be considered as the merciful operation of the all-knowing, all-good and blessed power, bringing into a capacity of more helpful oneness and sympathy than bare nature can do, and humblingly strengthens both fear and hope in his arm, for help and preservation in his way, through what is yet before us here. In a renewed consideration, and a degree of the sense of his manifold mercies, and fatherly regard and succour hitherto, my heart worshippeth his name, and greets thee in love and living well wishing."

During this confinement at home, pursuant to a secret inclination of his own, strengthened by the request of his children and divers Friends, when health and opportunity permitted, he wrote that part of the Journal which the reader has been acquainted was finished by himself, and continued adding to it by little and little, till within a few weeks before his death. He got with some difficulty to the quarterly meeting at York, and was enabled to bear the fatigue, and long sitting in the meetings for business, beyond his expectation, as he intimated to one of his sons, in a letter written soon after; part of which it may not be improper here to insert, as it is another indication of his deep gratitude to heaven, and the holy awe, which accompanied him in all things.

"Thine, says he, was very acceptable, being accompanied with a relish of religious as well as natural love and nearness, which both comforts at present, and encreaseth reverent trust in and regard to the Almighty source of all our good and true help; who hath hiddenly, yet mercifully cared for us many ways, and requires our consideration as such, in order to encourage and instruct, in humble confidence, yet with watchfulness towards him, that he may be our Shepherd, through time, and his glorious name may be renowned here and for ever. Bear with me, dear son, in thus reaching towards thee in the living sense of his mercy; the staying comfort whereof is highly worthy of our secret notice, and sometimes our solid commemoration."

In the spring of 1744, he found himself engaged, though very weak in body, to see Friends once more at their yearly meeting in London, being accompanied by our ancient friend Boswell Middleton, for whom he had a singular esteem. He came by Sheffield, Mansfield, Nottingham, Leicester, and Northampton; at which places he had meetings with Friends to edification. His weakness rendered it difficult for him to bear the large meetings

for business, nevertheless he attended them, and under that exemplary, reverent watchful frame of mind, which rendered his company truly acceptable and serviceable.

He returned by Nottingham, where he had a meeting on first-day with Friends to his satisfaction, expressing in a letter, that "ancient holy help made the visit truly easing to him." From hence he went to his monthly-meeting, where Friends were glad to see him, and home to his family at Knaresborough, to which place he removed this summer.

Having rested a little at home, he attended the midsummer quarterly meeting at York, which in a letter written to a Friend soon after, he observes, "was large of Friends, as well as many others not so called; and more satisfactory and edifying, than sometimes at this season, the business being also transacted in a very amicable manner; and concludes, though my stomach will take but little food, nor always keep that little, which weakens the body much; yet I think, my better part is almost uncommonly supplied in divers respects, much to my comfort, and reviving of my faith in the heavenly influence, which is strength in weakness, and will be, where his only worthy name hath the praise."

About this time it came before him to visit Friends towards Bristol; and the circular yearly meeting at Worcester was particularly in his view, towards which places he set out in the sixth month by way of Marsden Height, and from thence into Cheshire, where he visited several meetings, wherein as he writes to a Friend, Truth helped and strengthened him to pay some debts, to his comfortable ease. From hence he came to Shrewsbury, where he had two meetings, and then passed into Herefordshire, where he visited Friends pretty generally; and concludes with observing, "that though in this journey his natural state was but feeble, and attended with divers difficulties, yet he was not doubtful but he should be assisted in mercy and favour, to discharge himself of the debt which had seemed to grow and remain upon him, the way he was going, to such a degree, as to return in holy quiet. And, says he, I ask no questions further, but to be helped to live to the ever-living Being, the little time he may suffer me to continue on this side of the grave." He was enabled to reach Worcester yearly meeting, and therein to bear a noble Christian testimony to the all-sufficiency of that power which had preserved, supported, and guided him in the way that was right and well pleasing, in degree, and is likewise able to do the same for all the children of men. From hence he went to Bristol and Bath, visiting the meetings of Friends in and near these places, and was helped to labour faithfully, and in much plainness among them, to his own great relief and humbling comfort, as he often expressed in his letters on this journey.

He left Bath the beginning of the eighth month, and travelled homewards by easy journies, having meetings with Friends as opportunity offered. He got home by the end of the month, but in great weakness, the weather, having proved unusually wet and cold, had greatly affected him; so that after his return he seldom got abroad, but continued visibly declining (and not unperceived to himself) during several weeks, sometimes with short intervals of ease; in one of which he wrote, "that he thought himself somewhat better, and that he might put on some time longer, and with less misery than he had endured the last two years: yet, says he, I may be mistaken, as my recovery is so slow, that in a week it is scarcely advanced perceptibly." And then concludes, "as I have no dependence on human assistance but from thee, nor any correspondence which affords me like comfort and satisfaction, I must beg thy frequent remembrance, and to hear from thee as often and freely as leisure will permit; and be assured, my hearty careful desire for thee, in every true good, not only is enlivened by the strong ties of nature and affection, but is more riveted and strengthened, by many a gracious spring of living goodness from the Almighty helper of his people, who have trusted in him and feared him. Thus, dear son, farewell, farewell, saith thy affectionate father. J. F."

With these affecting expressions ended a correspondence, which afforded the strongest satisfaction that any thing in this life could yield. The letter was dated the 15th of the tenth month, from which time he gradually declined till the 13th of the eleventh month following, when he peaceably expired; leaving to his family and friends the comfortable assurance of his being gone before, to enjoy that unmixed happiness which is the portion of those who prefer a conscientious discharge of duty to God, their families, and the world, though attended with labour, anxious care and solicitude, to all the false, though gilded pursuits which the spirit of deception throws in the way of mortals.

What happened in this interval was communicated in a letter, soon after his decease, by a person who attended him night and day, with the diligence that filial duty, and a just sense of his worth required, viz.:

"From the time he left Bath he felt himself gradually declining, and was very much indisposed when he got home. This he attributed to the coldness of the weather, and expected, a little rest and warmth might tend to his recov-

ery; but he sensibly declined ever after he got home, and more than he seemed to be aware of."

"He got to meetings during some weeks after his return, and his testimony was as lively and powerful as ever. He was confined within doors about six or seven weeks, and while he could bear to sit so long, the week-day meetings were kept in his house. In the last four or five weeks his old complaint, which had at times afflicted him extremely, abated very much, and he could sit or lie four or five hours, and this without much pain. He several times expressed his satisfaction and inward peace, in having performed his last journey, saying, his shoulders were a good deal lightened by it; and was reconciled to his grave, if he was now to be taken away; but should incline to write something more, by way of Journal, if the Lord saw meet to raise him once more. I was very attentive to his conversation, being never from him, but when I could not avoid it. When almost all other expressions failed, he was observed to repeat the following, in a very fervent and emphatic manner, viz.: "Heavenly goodness is near; heavenly goodness is near;" thus acknowledging to the last a sense of the Lord's presence. The last two weeks he slept almost continually, day and night, his memory and capacity being very much impaired. He was quite in a state of mildness, and the innocency of a child; and though it was satisfactory to see so much sweetness about him, yet it was at the same time afflicting to observe his strength and faculties exhausted. It was the only satisfaction I could then enjoy to do every thing in my power for one of the best of parents, and the worthiest of men, though sometimes the most cutting affliction I ever felt, to see him languishing, and at the same time not able to express his wants. The day preceding his decease he was restless and uneasy, but at last expired very quietly, without sigh or groan, about ten in the forenoon on the first-day, and was buried on the third-day following. We were favoured with the company of several worthy Friends from divers parts on this occasion, and indeed the time was solemn, and by some never to be forgotten; several lively testimonies being delivered, both on Truth's account, and to the memory of so worthy a man, who is gone from a series of pain and exercises, to receive the reward of his faithful labours." "A. F."

Though the following letters, are without date or superscription, yet as they may possibly fall into hands to whom they may be of use, it was thought proper to insert them. In giving admonitions of this kind, he was always especially careful, not to divulge to any the errors or faults he laboured to amend.

The first seems to be written to the Friends of a particular county, but as no address remains, it is left to those who are concerned to profit by it. It seems by the hand not to have been written long before his decease.

Dear Friends,—Being often brought under some nearly affecting considerations, respecting the state of the church in your county, it hath appeared to me, there are three things which are particular hindrances to the prosperity of Friends in the life and substance of true religion; which I am stirred up to put you in mind of with tender and brotherly caution. The first is an inordinate pursuit of the riches and enjoyments of this world; another, the want of honest care and zeal to keep clear of, and stand up against, that vile practice of clandestine trading, which is indeed but one effect of the cause already mentioned; another thing is, want of due care in all those who are active and concerned in managing the affairs of the church, to be such as truly fear God and hate covetousness; and such as feel reverently after heavenly help to act and judge for the Lord, and not for man. Wherefore, as I look upon a due and right concern upon Friends in this respect, to be greatly conducive to the church's good, its peace and building up in the holy faith; it is fresh and tenderly in my mind to entreat you all, carefully to consider, that the wise man's eye is in his head. And it is an everlasting certainty, that the right wisdom that enables any to act for the true good of the church of Christ, must be received from Christ the Truth, and the head of the church. And whoever seeks to be ordered, and to act in it, will always seek God's glory, and the suppression of every thing that is contrary to it, without respect of persons; and also to walk as ensamples to the flock in the practice of godliness and Christian self-denial. To be thus helped, the renewing of the Holy Ghost, the only true helper, is absolutely necessary to be carefully waited for; and thus would men's hearts and minds be loosened from the captivating fetters and bias of the earth, and so be rendered bright examples to one another, showing forth the effects of true fear towards God, in shunning every evil way. And so would that base part of robbery be avoided with just care, and testified against to the honour of the righteous principle of Truth, and the true peace and tranquillity of soul to such as desire it to be esblished. Thus would Friends in that country prosper in the saving knowledge of Christ abundantly more, and become more fruitful in righteousness, and more true way-marks to

the many enquirers for the way of salvation amongst you; the love and peace of God would more plentifully abound in you secretly, and unite you as professed children of one Father, which my soul reverently and fervently begs before the Lord our God, may become your joyful experience in an abundant manner; so will you farewell indeed, to the glory and honour of the divine name, which is worthy, worthy, for evermore. J. F.

A copy of a letter to a Friend in the ministry.

My Friend,—Some days ago, as I was riding alone, thou wast suddenly brought to my remembrance, and divers considerations respecting thee ensued, in true care for thee, for thy safety and comfort, and for the good of the cause of Truth; which considerations have made such impression on my mind, as to prevail upon me to commit them to writing. I question not but the love and power of Truth hath had a good degree of prevalence in thy mind for regeneration, and hath begotten love to the Lord's work in the earth, and some engagement at times to be active therein. Now, a sure way to grow right, is to have a true and watchful care, to feel and know certainly the first work, regeneration, to be duly carried on, to be crucified with Christ; and so pure love to Truth itself will grow predominant, and other loves be buried. Then a thorough care to attend with patience for certain, and intelligible requirings, and heavenly help, upon every occasion of acting for Truth, through which humble care, the divine hand filleth vessels more and more with food, with light and assistance to act according to his pleasure, to his honour, and the edification of the people in their several stations, amongst whom we converse or labour.

The further counsel which arose, and is with me, not from any uneasiness on any particular account, but for thy right help is, labour innocently to be and to do what grace would make thee, and lead thee into; and be content with its wages; for it gives or makes way for as much regard and freedom from men, as is meet for us. Have a care of too much talking and conversation; so we may better remember, that no inconsistency be observed in it, and there may be less occasion or room for sinking into unprofitable drooping or reservedness. I know it is also rather profitable, to be moderately concerned about some temporal affairs, with inward fear, till we become assured of a distinct requiring to leave it. J. F.

We shall conclude this account of the labours and services of our dear and honoured father, with some testimonies concerning him. The first is taken from the account given to the quarterly meeting of York, by the monthly meetings of Richmond and Knaresborough, to which he successively belonged; the purport whereof is as follows:

"That though he was born of religious parents, and religiously educated, yet he was made sensible in his early years, that neither tradition, outward regularity, nor any thing short of real inward purification of soul and spirit, would render him acceptable in the sight of the Lord. He therefore gave up his heart to him, who through the effectual operation of his divine grace, baptised and gradually purified his spirit, and prepared and fitted him to be a useful instrument in God's hand, and an able minister of the gospel of peace and salvation; to which service he was called, when but young, and readily gave up, not suffering the things of this world to take up his mind and time, but laboured diligently and faithfully therein from his young years, to the conclusion of his days.

"And as by the blessed teachings of the Holy Spirit, he grew in experience, both in the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, as also of the workings of satan in opposition thereto; so he was qualified, and often had to detect his snares, and to point out the way that leads safely to eternal rest; which he did with a holy zeal and fervour, becoming one who had a deep sense of the great value of souls, and the dangers they are environed with, in this state of probation, and of the awful majesty of the divine Being.

"He travelled much in this nation in the service of the gospel, in Scotland likewise, and Wales. He visited Ireland several times, and thrice he crossed the seas to America, in the same service, to the comfort and edification of the church, leaving seals of his ministry in many places. He had always a regard to the well approved practice of duly acquainting his friends, and having their unity and approbation; and was careful to perform the service required, with as much expedition as possible, choosing rather to suffer hardships, than to lose time, or be burthensome to Friends, even in the latter part of his life, when he was attended with great bodily affliction.

"His testimony was awakening, sound and edifying, delivered in the demonstration of divine authority; for he handled not the word deceitfully, nor endeavoured to please itching ears; but as he waited to be endued with wisdom and power from on high, so he was enabled to speak home to the conditions of the people. For he who cut Rahab, and wounded the

dragon, put a sharp sword into his hand against hypocrisy and wickedness, and against such as held the truth in unrighteousness; yet to the afflicted and those who were travelling toward Zion, he had often to administer both suitable advice and consolation.

"He was zealously concerned for good order, and the discipline of the church, and was remarkably qualified for the management of its affairs, being of quick apprehension, an extensive capacity and deep judgment; and could express himself aptly, copiously and strongly; and as he diligently attended both monthly, quarterly, yearly, and general meetings, so he was of very peculiar service in them, approving himself a wise and able counsellor, faithful and just to God and man.

"His conversation was exemplary; being humble, steady and sincere, doing the work of an evangelist, and making full proof of his ministry, in patience, temperance, vigilance, and fortitude, enduring afflictions and using even the necessaries of life with moderation. He was kind and assisting to his friends, pleasant and helpful to his neighbours, skilful and industrious in managing his temporal affairs for the benefit of his family, over whom he had a true paternal care; being a loving husband, an affectionate father, as well as a faithful friend, and a living minister, and acceptable to all sorts of people."

He departed this life at Knaresborough in Yorkshire, the 13th of the Eleventh month, 1744, and was honourably buried in Friends' burying ground, at Scotton near the said town, the 15th of the same month, aged sixty-nine years, having been a minister near fifty years.

The close and affectionate friendship that had subsisted between him and our worthy friend John Hayward, during great part of their lives, has engaged the latter to give the following testimony to his memory.

A Testimony concerning our dear friend JOHN FOTHERGILL.

"As the memory of good men should live, we find ourselves sometimes engaged to hand down to posterity our knowledge of them. And I have to say concerning our deceased friend, that in his public ministry he was a strength and comfort to my soul in my early days, as well as at many times since; and I doubt not but that many others have the same testimony in themselves to give concerning him. My judgment is, that he was a living minister, a man shunning applause, and always endeavouring to keep down self in all its appearances; an inward seeker after divine manifestation, a constant reprover of forward spirits, but a true helper of the faithful and sincere, however weak or fearful. A man of a strong and clear judgment, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, steady in his own conduct, as well as in the discipline of the church; zealous in maintaining the Christian testimonies professed by us, and industrious in his outward affairs, when not engaged in the service of the gospel: and I doubt not in the least, but that he is gone to everlasting rest. JOHN HAYWARD."

The perusal of the preceding sheets will doubtless inform the intelligent reader, what manner of person he was, whose memoirs they contain, and render any additional testimony the less needful. His children, nevertheless, find themselves engaged, in justice to the memory of so worthy a parent to mention;

"That it is well remembered by several of them, with what earnestness he endeavoured in the yearnings of compassion, to impress upon their tender minds, a regard to the divine witness in their own breasts, often gathering them about him, placing some upon his knees, the rest standing before him, whilst he ministered counsel to them, according to their capacities, the tears descending from his eyes: which seasons have often been revived in some of their remembrance, on various occasions to their profit.

"As he had no greater joy than that his children should walk in the Truth, so it was his care to be exemplary to them therein, in all plainness, temperance and godliness, encouraging every appearance of good, discouraging the contrary, and admonishing and restraining, as occasion required; watching over their tender years with true paternal care and solicitude, for their present welfare and future happiness, to the utmost of his power.

"As he thus discharged his duty towards them, steadily and faithfully, so his conduct reached the witness in their minds, and convinced them early, that nothing could so effectually endear them to him, or entitle them to his peculiar regard, as a strict conformity to his precepts and example, not only in respect to plainness and sobriety, but also in coming up in a truly religious life and conversation: and that his impartial regard to truth in the inward parts, would lead him to treat those who suffered themselves to be misled by the deceivableness of unrighteousness, with disregard and just reproof: so that they have had at times to acknowledge with gratitude to the Most High, the happiness of their lot, inasmuch as a diligent application of heart to seek and fear the Lord, whom he served continually, was the sure way to a beloved father's affection.

"And though his principal endeavours were, that his offspring might be made partakers of that blessing which makes truly rich, the pos-

session of Truth in themselves, as the most excellent inheritance; yet he was not unmindful of their temporal good, but provided for them liberally, according to his circumstances, placing them in such stations in life, wherein by industry and care, they might be rendered easy to themselves, and useful to others.

"And though for a time he had not the satisfaction to see the travail of his soul for all his children fully answered, and no small affliction attended him on that account, yet he faithfully laboured in bowels of compassion and paternal tenderness, for the help and recovery of such of his family, from whose conduct his anxiety arose; endeavouring by the most pathetic application to awaken to a change and reformation of heart; seeking by entreaties, by reproof, by tears, and every method a heart replenished with divine and fatherly affection could suggest, the recovery of such as had strayed from the Father's fold. After a series of painful labour, ineffectually bestowed, he was enabled to cast his care upon the Lord, who released his burdened soul from the weight he had long borne; and we doubt not heard and beheld his strong cries, his tears, and humble intercessions, and answered beyond his expectation; renewing his visitation to them afresh, and by his mighty hand brought into a state of acceptance.

"This, they think it their duty to acknowledge, in order to stir up other parents to the like care, so to live as to answer the witness of God in their children; and having their own minds seasoned with the savour of the gospel, they may say in word and deed, follow me as I follow Christ. And should their offspring turn aside from the way of purity, these parents will be helped to labour for the recovery of their children; and if not successfully, yet it will be to their own ease, in a holy consciousness of discharge of duty.

"In all the stations of life his testimony was confirmed and embellished by a conduct becoming a minister of Christ, whom he served faithfully, and with great diligence; and by a daily inward dwelling with the spring of wisdom and light, his mind was often opened, and his spirit sustained, to secret worship. When his hand was upon his labour, his delight was in the law of his God, to meditate therein day and night, and to talk of his statutes, in his house to his family, and those with whom he conversed; and many times, by a transition from earthly to heavenly things, he instructed and edified the minds of those present.

"In his public testimony he was awful and weighty, being endued with true wisdom, strong and immovably bent against all unrighteousness, quick in discerning and powerful in detecting the mysteries of antichrist, who has sought to stupify the people with the golden cup, and thereby to spread the power, and enlarge the borders of the kingdom of death. As a flame of fire was he to the rebellious and stubborn; but refreshing as the dew on Hermon to the honest traveller, ministering counsel and comfort to the drooping soul, being not only an instructor, but a father to many. Zealous and wise, in the support of the discipline established amongst us, impartially and honestly executing judgment and justice; no family connections, not even his own, could bias him from laying the line upon offenders, and from a steady endeavour to keep clean the camp of God; in which labour he was often successful, being made a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that did well.

"Thus conducted, in every station of life, he became honourable amongst men, and greatly esteemed by those of superior rank who knew him; being adorned with that dignity which Truth confers on its faithful followers. One of his acquaintance, a worthy magistrate, in a letter to one of his sons, soon after his decease, thus speaks of him: 'I must own my weakness; I could not refrain paying some tears to the memory of my departed friend: at first I thought it a mournful, but after a short recollection, a pleasing tribute; for though death be the wages of sin, yet it opens to the reward of a well spent life. I therefore ought not to mourn, but to rejoice at his receiving his reward, that inexpressibly happy, and eternal reward prepared for him.'

"To conclude. The mighty God who visited him in his youth with the discovery of his saving power, who thereby cleansed him from unrighteousness and sanctified him to himself a chosen vessel, supported him in all his faithful labours by sea and land, covered his head in all conflicts, and by whom his bow abode in strength, became his evening song and stay in the decline of life; that heavenly goodness he had ever prized as his chiefest joy, remained as a seal upon his spirit, that he had pleased God, and was accepted of him. In this, after having served God in his generation, he fell asleep, and was we doubt not, gathered to the assembly of the just, to continue that glorious employ, which was his principal delight on earth, to worship, adore and magnify the Lord God and the Lamb, for ever."

—

It does not appear at what time the following paper was written; or whether it was ever copied and given abroad for general service. It appears by the hand to have been done pretty early in his life, and most probably was the first he wrote; yet as it contains divers weighty advices, it may still have its service, and is therefore added to the rest, viz:

A Faithful Warning, sounded in the borders of the Camp of Israel.

Reader,—The cause of my setting pen to paper at this time, is a desire to discharge my duty to God, and to clear my conscience towards my brethren in the creation, in order to stir them up to circumspection in what relates to their duty to their Creator, in answering the tender motions of his Holy Spirit given unto all men, whereby they may come to be acquainted with God, and with his Son Jesus Christ, whom to know is life eternal. Thus they may come to witness the Lord to be on their side, in the day that is approaching; which to those who do not know their peace to be made with God, will be a terrible one. Fear will take hold within and trouble without; and distress on every hand. Therefore, sober reader, that thou mayest take the wise man's counsel, which is to acquaint thyself with God and be at peace, is my hearty and earnest desire, who am a lover of thy soul, and a friend according to my power to all mankind. J. F.

Dear Friends and brethren in the holy seed, in which our relation stands, wherever scattered throughout the whole world. Unto you doth the salutation of endeared love reach, and flows from the divine Fountain through my heart at this time; earnestly desiring all your preservation, in the continual remembrance of the goodness of God to your immortal souls: who once were seeking from mountain to hill, and from one profession to another, as many thousands, as good as we were, are doing at this day, and who are seeking the living among the dead, where he is not to be found.

And oh! methinks, I see how glad many were in that day, that the Lord thought them worthy to come to the knowledge of the great mystery hid from ages and generations, and now revealed, even Christ in us, the hope of glory. How willing were many in that day, to deny themselves, and to take up his cross to their own wills and desires, so that they might obtain favour with him, who had given his Son a ransom for them, although it was through the loss of all. Thus many came to witness with the holy apostle, in measure, a being crucified to the world, and the world to them, by the cross of Christ, under which it was their delight to dwell. Thus the favour of God was obtained by many, which was more to their souls, than the increase of earthly riches. The Lord was well pleased with them, and delighted to honour them with his glorious presence, which, blessed be his most worthy name, many souls have good cause to say, he has not withheld from those, whose care and chief concern it has been to live to his honour, desiring nothing more in this world, than that God's will may be done by them; considering, that the end for which he has been pleased to afford them time, strength and understanding in this life, was that they might spend them to his praise, and the honour of his name, and walk so before him, as that he may delight to bless them in providing all things necessary for them. Thus, dear Friends, we come to receive the benefits, and to reap the true advantage of the death and sufferings of Christ, who died for all, according to the holy apostle's testimony recited above, that henceforth we should live no longer to ourselves, but unto him who died for us, and rose again. For though he died for all, yet there was, and still is the danger of forfeiting, or depriving ourselves of justification by him, by living to self, and not to him in obedience unto righteousness. This my soul earnestly desires may never be the state of any, whom God in his infinite love hath given to believe in the light of his dear Son, the Rock and refuge of all the righteous for ever.

Dear Friends and elder brethren, unto whom my heart is now opened, and deeply affected with the free extendings of God's ancient love, whereby the Lord hath brought us to be acquainted with himself, and one with another; in which love I am concerned to desire you every one to consider, how wonderfully the Lord has stood by you, and helped you through many straits, and hath been mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance, and hath never failed in the needful time, as you have leaned upon him, and stood in the sense of your own nothingness without him. Let us still remember, that without the help and assistance of God's invisible power, we are this day as weak and unfit as ever, to act or perform any thing, that will either tend to the honour of God, or the propagation of his pure truth, and consequently to the comfort of our own souls, or edifying the church. Wherefore in the consideration of these things, I cannot be easy, but in reverence to God, with a venerable esteem for the faithful elders, in good-will to the church of God, and in order to clear myself of that necessity which remains upon my spirit, I give forth this caution, believing I have many witnesses, who will be ready to set their seals to the truth of it. Therefore, dear brethren, keep near to the Lord, with whom is everlasting strength, and he will fill you with heavenly wisdom, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated to that which is good; and will make your labours and exercises effectual to his honour, the people's comfort, and the good of his church, which he is bringing up out of the wilderness, and has many to add to her, who are yet unwilling to come in; and for whose sake the Lord has long spared this

nation, and hovered over it with an eye for good.

And now to you who make profession of this pure holy principle of Truth, which God in his great love hath revealed in you, and convinced you of, so that you have professed to believe, that as it is obeyed and followed, it will lead to God, and yet do not show your faith by your works, nor bring forth fruits of righteousness, which are always the fruits of true faith; I am earnest with you to consider weightily, wherein true religion consists. Is it in a bare profession of the Truth; a giving up the name to God? Or is it in well doing? In obeying this pure principle of Truth we profess, so as to come to be saved by it, and redeemed out of the crooked ways, and by-paths of this sinful world? Remember Cain of old; he offered an offering, as well as Abel; but Abel's offering was accepted—Cain's rejected. And what was the reason? The Lord himself declares it, in speaking to Cain. If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doest not well, sin lies at thy door. Thus we may see plainly, that true religion doth consist in well doing; false, in evil-doing. No matter what the profession hath been or is; for it is not the hearer of the law, but the doer of it, who is justified before God. And though many may be ready to say, they have but little knowledge, and can do but a little; and others, that they are concerned in the world, and cannot well avoid it, or be so circumspect as they would be, or as they see they should be; and so lose their business, and bring shame upon themselves, their families, and the Society. And here the enemy works all manner of ways to keep his hold in the heart of man, the place where God should predominate. But unto such as may reason on this wise, I would say in the words of our blessed Lord; to him that hath but little, if he be faithful, more will be added; but he who is not faithful in a little, is not likely to be faithful in much; and therefore is unfit to have it. And if the Lord in his mercy hath brought any to the knowledge of good and evil, and by the light of his Holy Spirit hath taught them what is righteousness, and what is unrighteousness, as blessed be his honourable name for ever, he has done to many, they will be inexcusable. He hath promised unto those who seek the kingdom of heaven, and his righteousness, that all other things shall be added, as he sees meet. Now those who know what is righteousness, and do not pursue it, how can they expect the additional blessing in this world? Or what just foundation of hope have they, to enjoy that glorious habitation which God the Lord has prepared for the righteous only when this world to them is at an end? Which, if they are deprived of, the loss is dismal indeed, and all the riches a man can possibly acquire, can never make it up. To all therefore who are in any measure sensible of the requiring of God, through the Spirit of his Son, by whom he speaks to his people, according to the author of the Hebrews; methinks a warning, in the pure love of God sounds aloud through my heart to come away and meet the Lord, who hath long hovered over you. Be aroused up to zeal and circumspection, while time is offered to you. It runs through my soul in great dread and fear towards God, and love to the whole universe to say on this wise, that as sure as Christ ever wept over Jerusalem in ancient days, because he would have gathered them together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but they would not; so surely he mourns over the inhabitants of this nation, at this day; whom in his tender love, he hath brought in some degree to be acquainted with the Spirit of his Son, even the Spirit of Truth, which as it is followed, leads into all truth, and out of all error and untruth. Thus gathering people's minds into covenant with their maker, and into one spirit, whereby they become sheep of one pasture, children of one Father, and often are fed as at one table; which the good Shepherd is daily spreading for those who follow him with all their hearts, as well as in profession. A sense of his goodness to his faithful followers at this time affects my heart in so strong a manner, that praises spring in my soul to him, the divine and inexhaustible ocean.

But still, my Friends, methinks I would expostulate a little with you further on this subject; I mean concerning Jerusalem, whose inhabitants our Saviour so often would have gathered. It does not appear, but that as they were a people of one city, so they were of one profession, and yet [were not] gathered; let us seriously consider what was the reason of it. Their minds, their affections, wanted to be gathered into covenant with God, and into obedience to his Holy Spirit, whereby they might have been led [from] the outward ceremonies, into that which was within the veil. For want of a willingness to be thus gathered, they came to a miserable disappointment; the things that belonged to their peace, were hid from their eyes. Now, in the fear of God, I desire all you who are making profession of the precious truth, seriously to consider, how far your minds are gathered by it, and whether your wills are subjected thereby unto the will of God, and brought into covenant with him; or you are gathered in name only, and your minds are at liberty to wander in the world, and after the things thereof, in an inordinate manner.' This the Lord takes notice of, and beholds with a dreadful countenance; the sense whereof doth make many poor exercised souls to lay them-

selves as in the dust, before the Lord, on the behalf of such, being satisfied that the day of God is hastening on apace, wherein all coverings will be found too narrow, that are not of the Spirit of Truth. Hasten therefore to come under its government, all you who are making profession of it; that so in this scattering day which is approaching, you may be of those who have a right to fly to the name of the Lord, which was, and is, and ever will be, a place of refuge to the righteous. For methinks I hear, as it were, the noise of a day near at hand, wherein it will be said to the righteous, be righteous still, and to the filthy, be filthy still. Let all therefore be aroused up to the work of sanctification, through the operation of the power of Truth, while it is called to-day. This my soul and spirit deeply travail for, my heart being filled with true love and good-will unto all men, desiring nothing in this my present exercise, but that God's will may be done by me; and that his love may be embraced by all, in laying things rightly to heart, and turning from the spirit of this entangling world, which is in danger to hinder you, if tampered with, from coming up in that zeal and courage, and boldness, that God would furnish you with, as you give up freely to his work. Indeed, Friends, here is great need of faithfulness, and zeal in practice, and close discipline, in maintaining and managing the holy and good order, which God in his great wisdom hath instrumentally established amongst us; and that in the authority and wisdom which the Lord is endowing his waiting people with, whose secret labour it is, that Zion may become the glory of nations, Jerusalem the praise of the whole earth.

And dear brethren and faithful sisters, whose exercise none know but the Lord alone, though you can in measure sympathize one with another, and you mourn sometimes because the work is heavy, and but few who are willing faithfully to join, and put their shoulders to it, yet be not dismayed nor discouraged. The Lord is able, and also willing, in his own time, to send forth more labourers into his harvest, and he will bless your exercises to you, and grant you to see the fruits of your labours, to your unspeakable joy. This is my faith, and herein is my soul often borne up above close exercises, believing the great and powerful God is desirous that his camp should be cleansed. For it seems to me, that there are abundance of people who are not of our Society, who will confess to the truth in words, and have their eyes very strictly upon us, to see if our actions agree with our principles, and our conduct answers the profession we make. Therefore, dear Friends, join hand in hand, and set shoulder to shoulder, and go on in the name and fear of the living God; his power will be with you, and his angel will be your holy companion. And as you thus keep in the gentle and meek wisdom of God, that which would seem to obstruct and withstand the work of truth, will be made to fly before you. So will the mountain of the Lord be established above all other mountains, and his hill be exalted above every hill; many shall flock unto it; and the name of the Lord shall become more and more famous in the earth; which that it may be, the souls of a little remnant desire more earnestly than to see the increase of any visible thing.

A tender visitation of endeared love, flowing from the divine Fountain, towards the whole flock and family of God, wherever scattered. From one who is a lover of souls, and a travailer for the welfare of Zion.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

—

My bowels, my bowels; I am pained at my very heart; my heart maketh a noise within me; I cannot hold my peace, because thou hast heard, oh my soul, the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war. Jer. iv. 19.

Upon the 24th day of the eleventh month, 1699, as I was walking solitarily to our week-day meeting, and pondering in my spirit, as at many other times, upon the things that belong to the welfare of the Church of God, there fell a weighty concern upon me to visit Friends with this following epistle; and finding a necessity to remain upon me, in the constraining love of our heavenly Father, I do hereby salute you all who in any measure are come to taste of the good word of life, which is even so near as in the mouth and in the heart, and of the powers of the world to come.

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—Dwell, I beseech you, in a sense of the great need you daily have of the renewing of this taste, and in remembrance of God's inexpressible love to your souls, in discovering unto you the way of life; even unto you who sat in darkness, and under the region and shadow of death, now is light sprung up, according to Scripture testimony. As you have walked in this light, the light of the glorious Son of God, which has shined as from on high into your souls, you have come to behold the baits and snares of your soul's enemy, so that many have been made to pour forth their souls to God, in a sense of the need they were in of a Saviour, and of his having heard them in an acceptable time, granting them ability to escape the evils they had been overcome with, and giving them victory over that which had been master over them. Thus many have been made conquerors, and more than conquerors, through

him who hath loved them; through whom not only inward, but even outward enemies, have been in a great degree subdued, and made willing to be at peace with them. This hath been the Lord's doing, and indeed it is marvellous in the eyes of many to this day; and I have faith to believe it will never be forgotten by them. But it is their chiefest concern how to demean themselves so, as that they may answer the great love of God to their souls, not in the least doubting, but as they thus live, all things in this life will be added, as the Lord sees convenient.

My heart is filled with the aboundings of God's love towards you, my dear Friends, who are thus concerned, and herein I can dearly salute you, with my mind bowed to the Lord Jehovah, in whom is safety, that he may preserve you ever mindful of him, and low before him, waiting, as at his footstool, to hear the gracious words that proceed from him; considering, that of yourselves, and without him, you can do nothing that will further the great work which he hath called you to be engaged in.

And thus as we all keep in self denial, and under the daily cross, the cross of Christ, which the apostle said, was to them that are saved, the power of God, we shall dwell under his power, and the operation of the Spirit of Truth in ourselves, and be made instrumental in the hand of the Lord, in our respective places and offices in the church, every one considering what his duty and station in the body is. For if we are members of the church, we have each one some service in it, either greater or less; and that all who profess themselves to be of her, may be stirred up to consider what this is, and to be diligently engaged in performing it, to work while it is called to-day, before the night comes, wherein none can labour, am I at this time concerned. That so the end for which the Lord reached unto us, and visited our souls, may be answered by all to his honour and our comfort. I cannot but earnestly desire, that all may be aroused up faithfully to pursue after this point, in this time of peace and outward quiet, if it please the Lord to lengthen it out to you a little longer, that when we are called to account, we may so have numbered the favours and mercies of God to us, as to be able to give up our accounts with cheerfulness.

What shall I say or write that may prevail upon you, whom God hath been pleased to call by his grace, and to reveal his saving Truth in you. How shall I prevail upon you, to shake yourselves from the dust of the earth, and come away in faithfulness and obedience to your call, in zeal and boldness for your heavenly Captain; and no longer to confer with flesh and blood, nor reason with the spirit of the world, which hinders your growth, and makes you dwarfish, so that there is but very little fruit on some of you, upon whom the Lord hath bestowed much labour. And although some of you, as to age, might have been teachers of others, yet have you need that others should teach you, though you may not be very willing to hear of it, but be ready to say in order to excuse or cover yourselves, that you have known the Truth many years, and have openly professed it. But let me tell you, in the fear and dread of the powerful God, that a knowledge of the Truth, or a profession thereof, is not sufficient. Nay, although it has been so obeyed, as that you have come out of the open profaneness of the world, which may well be called the open streets of Babylon; yet if you do not obey its requirings, so as to bring forth fruits meet for him who hath given you so many refreshing showers of his pure love, and come out of the secret chambers of Babylon also, you will be in danger of suffering great loss, in more ways than one. For God is determined to lay her waste, to make her a heap of ruins; and woe will be to all those who have been delighting to drink in the cup of her fornications, whatever their profession or appearance has been; and the day of her sorrow is hastening with speed.

Therefore my brethren and sisters in profession, my heart being full of good will, I am led, in the constraining love of God, to warn you all to beware of the merchandizes of Babylon, especially the pleasures of this fading world, and to have a care that they do not prevail upon the minds of any, so as to get between you and the Lord, or separate you from the love of God, manifested unto you through his dear Son, and the light of his Holy Spirit. May all who have come to believe in the light of Christ, so live as that they may show forth their faith by obedience unto righteousness, which is always the fruit of true faith: for as the body is dead without the spirit, so is faith without works dead also: James ii. 26.

And as you come up in obedience to him in whom you profess to believe, he will lead and guide you into all Truth, in the way of holiness, which is the only way to rest and peace. Thus you will be Israelites of God in heart as well as in profession, and your care will be to dwell alone—no more to be numbered among the nations, neither in their worship, which is in the alienation from God; nor in the polluted ways and customs of the world. This is what my soul desires, and is the end of my present exercise; and that it may never happen to any whom God has visited in this day, as it did to some of the Israelites formerly, who lived to see a time, wherein they were ready to lament that

the summer was over, the harvest ended, and they ungathered. This state my soul earnestly breathes to God may never be any of ours, to whom he has graciously given a summer season; but that we may embrace his tender love, which is extended towards us. For this and his numberless tokens of mercy and favour vouchsafed to us ever since we were a people, my soul in reverence, with many more, doth bow unto the living Fountain; and feeling his pure love to fill my soul at this time, I am made to sing praises to God who dwells on high, and is alone worthy, worthy, world without end.

To you, my elder brethren, who have known the Truth many years, I cannot but say, in humility of soul before the Lord, and with a true esteem for faithful elders, as the words ran through my heart when this exercise came upon me, lift up your eyes and see how white the fields are unto harvest. Do not you see how many there be who do not yet profess with us, but are so far convinced as to confess that it is the Truth which is held forth amongst us? And now their eyes are attentively upon us, to see how we come up in the practical part of our religion, in care, in zeal and circumspection in all our undertakings. I have sometimes said, that in many places verbal testimonies are not so much wanting, as a care in answering our testimonies and principles, in all our behaviour and deportment amongst the sons of men. The want whereof doth often hinder Truth from prevailing, and stands in the way of those who are not yet of this fold, whom the Lord yet waits to gather into it. For the sake of such he hath staid his hand, which hath long been stretched out over this poor nation. Wherefore let all be stirred up to see, if nothing lies at any of your doors, or remains undone on your parts; but that you come up in a holy zeal and boldness for God and his cause upon earth, that so the beauty and glory of the everlasting Truth may shine forth to the world through you all. Let your lights so shine in the world, that they that see your good works and holy care, may glorify your heavenly Father: this doth my soul earnestly entreat for you all.

It would be a dismal thing indeed, if any whom God had sent to be as way marks to others to walk by, to be as the salt of the earth, as the primitive Christians were, and the true Christians [now] are, should, through negligence or indifference, rather be hinderers of others, until the time of gathering be over. Would not such be in danger of being guilty of the blood of others? In the fear and love of God, therefore let all lay these things to heart. Turn to the light of Christ in your own bosoms, and consider of your ways, and see by it, how the matter stands between God and your souls; whether you have not resisted, as Jerusalem did, until they were left in darkness, and could not discern the things that belonged to their peace? Whether you have answered the call of the Lord in obedience unto righteousness, and thereby brought honour to God? Or have otherwise by negligence, or liberty taken to fulfil the lusts of the flesh, caused the way of Truth to be evilly spoken of? If it hath thus been with any who profess the blessed Truth, methinks the trumpet of the Lord sounds very loud to such; and with yearning bowels of true good will, I cannot but warn such, to seek the Lord with your whole hearts, if haply he may yet be found of you. And although it be in the way of his righteous judgments, which is the alone way of redemption, and is for the present not joyous, but grievous, yet embrace it and be willing to bear his chastisements, while he condescends to mix them with mercy. For this I must say, that those who will not bow under the judgments which God Almighty is offering in love, they must bear his indignation, when the door of mercy is shut upon them in the day that is approaching, when the sinners, although in Zion, shall be afraid, and fear will surprise the hypocrite, even all such who profess themselves to be what they are not in reality.

Oh! how shall I write, or what shall I say, to clear myself, and ease my spirit of that weight of exercise which rests upon me, in true love to all? Let me say unto all who make mention of the name of the Lord, depart ye from iniquity; and in the words of our Lord, speaking to the Jews that had believed on him, if ye abide in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall set you free. They then alledged, they were Abraham's children, and consequently free: but our Saviour replied, that if they were Abraham's children, they would do the works of Abraham; but he tells them plainly, they were of their father the devil, and his lusts would they do. You therefore who are the children of believing parents, have a care I entreat you, of trusting to this plea of the Jews. It is a covering that will prove too narrow; an excuse that will do your souls no good; and if you are not following your Father's steps in the way of regeneration, and working the works of righteousness, you will stand condemned as the Jews were, and your profession will be of no avail.

Therefore, as you believe in the light, see that you walk in it, while it shines upon you, that so ye may become the children of the light and of the day, children of God, heirs and co-heirs with Christ in the kingdom of his Father's glory, which will be of more value in a

dying hour, than all the pleasures of the world, were it possible for a man to obtain them. Let me therefore recommend you to the ingrafted Word, which, as it is obeyed and followed, is able to save the soul. It is not far from any, but nigh at hand, even in the mouth and in the heart, that it may be both heard and done. Thus as all come up in obedience unto the word of Truth, you will draw down the favour of God upon you, and the Lord will be as a king to defend you, a rock of refuge in the scattering day that is near at hand, when the Lord will hide his faithful children as in the hollow of his hand.

Remember, dear Friends, how the Lord's love was manifested over those exercised ones, who were in pain for the welfare of Jerusalem. On these he set his mark for their safety, whilst those who beheld the abominations with ease and unconcernedness, perished with those who worked them, though they might not be found with them in open profaneness; but they had all one fare. These things have been left for our instruction, and my soul desires that we may thoroughly consider them; then I believe a concern would be begotten in many hearts who are now at ease, that we might grow rich towards God, and bring forth fruits to his honour; and not to seek ourselves, or the favour or friendship of the world. For those who do so, and are more concerned herein, than in considering how they may behave, so as to be worthy receivers of the many blessings, both spiritual and temporal, which he hath favoured us with, may be assured, that the all-seeing eye of God is over them, and he sees them with displeasure, though they may think themselves safe and rich, and may create to themselves peace, and deck themselves with God's jewels, yet their peace may be broken when they have the greatest need of true peace, and their riches become poverty and want; which I heartily desire may never be the state of any whom God hath visited with his glorious Truth.

This word lives in my heart to you all whether old or young, rich or poor, whom the Lord hath concerned to labour for the good of his church, whether in a public testimony, or in a more private manner. See that you come up in your proper office, in the dominion and authority of the pure Truth, and keep close under the government of your heavenly Captain, who hath engaged you in his warfare against the enemy of souls; and beware of consulting with flesh and blood, or giving way to the reasoning part. This weakens your hands as it gets room, and is the work of the enemy, who seeing himself dethroned in you, and the Lord concerning you to help to overturn his power in others, I know great are his endeavours to hinder such in their progress, and many are the snares he is making use of. Therefore, dear Friends, keep true to your leader, whether it be little or more that the Lord requireth of you. Let your eye be singly to him, your faith fixed in his power, and the enemy with all his agents will be put to flight. And as you abide in the word of his patience, you shall grow strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Notwithstanding some may be ready to think, that though they get one step forward one day, yet they lose it another; and so are ready to faint in their minds, and let in discouragements; let me caution you, my tender Friends, against admitting these things to have too much place in your thoughts; for God, who hath begun the work, if you abide in his counsel, will carry it on, and perfect it in his own time, to his praise and your comfort. Be faithful therefore in your several conditions, and think not God's time long, but wait for it. Remember David, and how long it was ere he came to rule Israel, after he was anointed king by the prophet, and how many trials and deep exercises he underwent, insomuch that he feared he should one day fall by the hand of those who sought his life. Certain it is, that many whom the Lord has service for, he is pleased to try with various exercises, in order that they may be experimental witnesses for him, of his great power.

Neither let any despise the day of small things, but be faithful in the little: if the Lord see meet he can add more. But those who are not faithful in little, how are they likely to be faithful in much? And therefore are unfit to have it. See therefore, my Friends, that you quit yourselves like men and women for God, in your several services, whether in public testimony, or in affairs relating to discipline and the good order of the church; that so nothing may be wanting on your parts. Then how soon soever the Lord may come to take a view of his vineyard, in order to clear it of the fruitless branches, which he hath long beheld with a sparing eye, and plentifully watered them with the showers of his love, you may be clear of the blood of such, having discharged your duty every way towards them. Methinks, Friends, I find it rest upon me to say, this day draws on apace; a day wherein he will make it plain, who are on his side, and are following him faithfully; and who they are, who profess to follow him, and yet live to themselves, and in the liberty of their own carnal hearts. My soul is in deep heaviness many times for such, though they are often the most unwilling to consider things aright; and sometimes the most forward to judge hardly of the servants of the Lord, who are made willing to spend and be spent for the glory of God, and the good of his people; and of whose labour and travail, both

in body and spirit, the Lord takes notice, and they shall not go unrewarded, as they continue faithful unto God; unto whom they look in all they take in hand, and dare not spare, neither for favour, affection, nor any thing that is here below, when the Lord opens their understandings; and these shall rest from their labour, in endless happiness, and their works shall follow them.

And unto you who have kept your integrity, and are as fathers and mothers in Israel, for whom I have a reverent esteem in the Lord; a word dwells upon my spirit, in the pure love of God. May you ever remember the days of your youth, and how tenderly the Lord dealt with you; how he led you even on step by step, and often passed by the infirmities and weaknesses that attended you. And when you were in danger of missing your way, you, whose desires were good, did not he condescend to inform your understandings, lead you as by the hand, and help you into the way again? Thus did your heavenly Father deal with you, in his tender love and mercy. As you keep these things in remembrance, they will engage your minds to be watchful over, and very tender towards, those who are but as children, as you once were, in whom the Lord is at work, and forming them for his service, to promote the good of Zion, and the welfare of Jerusalem; for which many of you have faithfully laboured in your day. The Lord is stirring up many, whom he will make valiant for himself and his Truth upon earth, as they stand faithful unto him, when many of you are gone to your rest. Therefore, dear Friends, receive the word of exhortation; and wherever you see any tender breathing babe, that hath its Father's stamp upon it, although it appear weak, and in a stammering manner, if you can discern that its longing and desire is for the prosperity of Truth, and of the glorious work of God, how can you but be glad thereof. And if it happens that such an one should at any time miss its way, either on the right hand or on the left, how ready should the wise in heart be to inform, and extend a hand to help in the same love wherein God dealt with you in your childhood. As you are thus preserved in the pure meek spirit of Jesus, your heavenly Head, it will abundantly add to your authority, and beget the more care in those you are thus concerned for, to answer your advice, and to keep close to the requirings of God; and it will also give you the greater weight with such as are justly blameable. Thus will the government of Christ, the power and authority of the gospel, more and more prevail over that which is of the flesh and fleshly will, through your keeping in the dominion and dignity of Truth, the church of God be adorned with her own robe, with the Holy Spirit of the living Lord; and her members will love and cherish one another, every one acting in its own place and station, be it ever so small or low; the circulation of heavenly life will then be witnessed, and all will go on to the glory and honour of the great God, who is worthy for ever.

My brethren, as much as in you lies, keep in the meek, gentle, condescending spirit of love one towards another: so that nothing may ever get place amongst you, that may grow to hardness, or cause grudgings to arise in any of your minds one towards another, for this will insensibly eat as a canker, to the weakening of your strength and authority unawares. But so give way to one another, in the liberty of truth, that you may grow up in the blessed fellowship of the glorious gospel, as that all who behold your Christian behaviour one towards another, may have cause to say, you are the people of God, and taught by his Holy Spirit. And thus you will be a good example to the very hindermost of those amongst whom you are concerned, which will be a means to fasten and set home your several services upon all you are engaged with. You will also be kept near and dear one unto another, in the unity of the one spirit, the bond of lasting peace; which as you abide in, the enemy, with all his twistings and twinings, will never be able to break or deprive you of. Therefore, my brethren, join hand in hand, and set shoulder to shoulder in this weighty work, the promotion of God's blessed Truth, and go on in the name and fear of the Lord, in self-denial, which reaches a great way, if truly considered, and under a sense of the daily need you have of his assistance. This doth my soul earnestly entreat of you all, being filled with a sense of the goodness of God, at this very moment, and drawn forth therein much more than I did expect. But having now eased my bowed spirit of that which has remained as an exercise upon me, I shall conclude, earnestly wishing the welfare of you all; and the Lord, saith my soul, multiply his mercies and the visitations of his pure love, with the peace of his Holy Spirit, upon his whole flock and family. To God the Father, through Jesus Christ, be everlasting glory, honour and praise, who is worthy, worthy, now and for ever.

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Wensleydale, in Yorkshire, the 21st of the Twelfth month, 1699.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE CONVINCEMENT, AND RELIGIOUS PROGRESS,

OF

JOHN SPALDING,

LATE OF READING.

WITH HIS REASONS FOR LEAVING THE NATIONAL ESTABLISHED MODE OF WORSHIP.

ADDRESS.

The following brief memorial of the experience of a deeply devoted mind, is deemed worthy of public notice, as an additional testimony to "the cloud of witnesses," we are already favoured with, to the efficacy and power of the Spirit of Truth. The writer was a valuable example of Solomon's observation, "Honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time; nor that is measured by number of years: but wisdom is grey hairs unto men; and an unspotted life is old age:" being remarkably distinguished by a steady, uniform devotion, and dedication of heart to the pure cause of Truth and righteousness on the earth; which he believed himself called to maintain, and to endeavour to promote by example and precept. His memory is therefore very precious; in particular to some who had an intimate acquaintance with him. To these more emphatically, "he being dead yet speaketh," in the remembrance of his solid, wise deportment, his fewness of words, and those seasoned with grace; and his steady firmness towards opposers of principles and testimonies which he had not taken upon trust, but deeply examined their foundation, nature, and tendency. Being baptized under a living concern to support them, he dared not flinch in the day of battle, but both in that Society of which he became a member, and also among others, he was deeply and awfully engaged to stand his ground in the divine ability afforded, and to exhibit an example of ancient simplicity and uprightness. In a letter to a Friend, some months before his decease, he pointed out his great concern in observing the declensions amongst a highly professing and eminently favoured people, and made various remarks on the importance of preserving as a wall of defence, the religious discipline established among them, not giving way to weakness, in order to maintain a specious, and merely external unity, by being indifferent towards those noble testimonies which his soul loved, and was uncommonly bound to. He then firmly, yet humbly, added, "O my friend, excuse my freedom; the cause of truth I have to believe, though with a due proportion of fear I would express it, is so deeply impressed upon my mind, that neither the fear nor the love of any created being or thing, can be permitted to obstruct or divert me from what may appear to be required of me." In a great degree in this firmness he lived, bearing much opposition, and the cross, as related in the following memorial; and yet more particularly known to some who were acquainted with him; and thus firmly he died in great stability and peace; having little to say, but that little was truly much in a small compass, expressed at different times to a few friends who visited him near his end: some of whom were also with him just at the solemn period. Though in the midst of mourning, they were joyful witnesses and partakers of that solemnity and peace, which proved as a seal to the deep concern, exercise, and happy close of the dear deceased. He was ill about three weeks of a fever; and in the forepart of his illness expressed to a Friend who visited him, "that there was no cause of discouragement to the right minded." Being asked at another time if he had any thing in particular to express to Friends, he replied, "No; only my love: all is well: nothing stands in my way." And thus he peacefully laid down his life, in the 30th year of his age, the 30th of the 1st month, 1795.

SOME ACCOUNT OF JOHN SPALDING, &c.

I SHALL pass over the early part of my life, only observing that I had been educated in a religious way. I mention this, as at times, when I lived in London, where I served an apprenticeship, in the midst of my dissipation, I frequently felt the reproofs of the Lord in my heart, but which were soon smothered in the vortex of pleasure. After I had served my apprenticeship, I returned into the country to assist my father in his business of a farrier, at Reading, in the year 1786. A little time afterwards, I attended the parish church, so called, where a celebrated preacher officiated, and I found an awakening power, which produced not a little alteration in me. I more constantly attended the services, public and private; joined the more particular professors, and went on for several years as one of them. I also abstained from vain company and conversation, to which I had before been addicted, so that I was one of the chief professors. But I found a gradual wearing off of the force of the impressions I had received; less dislike to worldly company; and the power of sin gaining the ascendency; that at times I felt much uneasiness; particularly as, on serious reflection, I felt the strength of my lusts and passions, and the evil propensities of my nature unsubdued; notwithstanding my knowlege of the truths of the gospel, and the profession I made. Observing and conversing with my fellow professors, I found the same great anxiety of mind and breathings to the Lord, that he would make me indeed what I professed to be; and what I was persuaded by the Scriptures of Truth, a true Christian might be; that is, free from the power, as well as the guilt of sin.

Thus I went on till about the year 1792, often feeling the dominion of sin, and desiring deliverance from it; when I was led to consider the people called Quakers, and was soon satisfied there was a manifest difference between them and others, even in outward appearance. I was convinced they were more conformable to Christianity than any others I had known; most of whom followed all the fashions of the world, particularly in dress; an inconsistency I frequently observed with much concern. I then sought the conversation of some of them, and still found more simplicity, more like the precepts and practices of Christ and his apostles, that I desired to know the principles from which such superior practices resulted, and enquired for some of their writings.

The first book I think that I read, was William Penn's "No Cross, No Crown," which much tendered my spirit, and removed some unfavourable opinions I had received respecting Friends. I then, in some measure, saw how far what I had known before fell short of what that work directed to; yet I continued attending at the parish place of worship; having the most favourable opinion of the minister there, and a particular esteem for him as a man, who also frequently professed a particular affection towards me. Once I remember, when I had so far deviated from my profession, as to go to a horse-race, he sent for me, and kindly admonished me as a friend and overseer. I mention this, as afterwards, when it pleased the Lord to enlighten my mind more clearly, and convince me of the nececessity of leaving the form of worship I had been accustomed to, it was a sore trial to me to leave him, in a manner that I apprehended he would feel not a little concerned about. The next book I read, I think, was "Barclay's Apology," which opened many things so clearly to me, that I could not but consent to them; nevertheless, there were some things that at first reading I could not assent to, particularly respecting public worship. I thought it needful there should be a time appointed, and somebody ready to officiate, that the ignorant might be instructed: and that a man, taught, as I apprehended, of the Lord, and properly qualified, might at any time exhort or preach to the people. I still attended the old place, going occasionally to Friends' meetings on any particular occasions, when some strangers were expected; whose testimonies, though I could not but approve of them, yet were not able to draw me from my former society; but I found the work of the Lord going on by degrees.

At first, I think, I considered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, as it is called, and was sensible I had never found any profit in it, from the beginning of my partaking of it. Though I had often heard others speak very highly of it, as finding particular and extraordinary comfort and benefit in it; and I often at the time earnestly desired to find the benefit of it as well as others; yet it still remained a dead unprofitable service. I therefore declined it entirely.

The next thing I think I observed, was the

public singing. I began to see a great inconsistency in that practice, particularly after sermon. I could feel it had in myself as well as in others, a manifest tendency to lightness of spirit, and removing any serious impressions which might have been received from the foregoing discourse; that I soon left the place immediately after sermon was ended. It was not long, however, before I saw a gross inconsistency in the practice altogether, when I weightily considered the matter contained in what was sung, how impossible it was for a congregation of different kinds of people to join in singing whatever might be given out, whether suitable to their conditions or not; much of which, I was persuaded, could not be said by any, without uttering gross falsehoods; which I could not believe could be acceptable in the sight of the Lord. I was in consequence constrained to give forth some observations on the subject in writing, addressed to the professors of religion, attending the place called St. Giles' church.

"A few observations concerning the custom of singing in public meetings of worship; by one, who has long been convinced of the inconsistency of it, and now calls upon every one who professes to be a follower of the meek and lowly Jesus, to lay aside prejudice, and seriously consider the following remarks, which are offered in the fear of the Lord.

"First, it ought ever to be considered, that God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. In other words, it is the language of the heart which he regards, not words, however excellent of themselves. Now I appeal to the witness of God in every heart, considering the variety of conditions, the different subjects of praise, adoration, confession, petitioning, &c. contained in every collection [of hymns,] whether in the fear of the Lord, any one, in whatever state or condition he may be at the time, can with propriety be ready to sing whatever may be given out. It appears to me impossible that a whole congregation (even if we except the ignorant) can be in the same frame of mind, considering the various dispensations of the Lord's providence towards his people; consequently, if that is not the case, it follows, of course, that if all sing, some must utter words with the mouth contrary to the language of the heart, which so far from being acceptable to the Lord, I am persuaded is hypocrisy, and an abomination in his sight.

"Again, it appears to me inconsistent also with regard to the other parts of worship; for if the language of the heart is spoken in prayer, which often precedes singing, and which implies a sense of our wants, doth it not show an indifference whether our prayers are heard and answered or not, to begin singing immediately, perhaps very different in matter as well as in manner, to what has been prayed for?

"Again, after preaching, if the Lord's power is known and felt under the word, is it not more likely to profit, if the mind is occupied in serious meditation, than singing, which from my own experience, I can say, has a tendency to divert from solemn, serious reflection? I am now speaking more particularly concerning those, who have attained to a measure of the grace of God. Ask yourselves seriously, is outward singing intended or calculated to please the carnal ears of men, or a Holy God? Why such anxiety about tunes, voices, and music? Is the Lord to be pleased with such poor things? Oh! no; you cannot suppose it. Consider from what root it springs, from the old man or the new; and remember the axe is laid to the root, to destroy all that is of the earth, of our fleshly nature. I have considered those passages in the New Testament, where the subject is mentioned, and am confirmed by them in my opinion, of the inconsistency of public singing. The apostle speaks of singing with grace in the heart; of making melody in the heart to the Lord; not making a noise with the tongue, unless that proceeds from the heart; which, how seldom it does in public singing, I appeal to every considerate mind.

"I am convinced in my own mind, considering our situation here, the power and devices of the enemy, and our own inbred corruptions, that it is more seasonable to watch and pray, to be ever on our guard, and waiting to feel the light and power of Christ, to discover and subdue the hidden things of darkness; that as children of the light we may walk in the light, and find the blood of Jesus Christ, his spirit and power, cleansing us from all sin; than evidencing that trifling, careless spirit, too commonly, if not always, attending outward singing.

"I could say much more against it, but would not be tedious, particularly respecting those that are without. How seldom can such people, living in open and avowed opposition to God, join in singing without uttering gross, abominable lies! And are we not accessary thereto? Is it not expected when a psalm or hymn is given out, all present who are capable will join? Then let it not be said, how can we help the abuse of it. Ought we not rather to set them an example of truth and righteousness, and not countenance any practice that has a tendency to promote lightness and irreverence? Oh! my friends, this cannot be acceptable to the Lord, who requireth truth in the inward parts. I recommend to your seri-

ous consideration, what the Lord says in the 1st of Isaiah, respecting the ordinances, of his own appointing, when not done in a proper spirit. I perceive every day more and more, an evident departure from the simplicity of Christ. Where is the daily cross borne? Observe the appearance of professors. What difference is there from the world? Surely, my friends, these things ought not to be. Bear with me, I beseech you. I am much concerned for the honour of our profession. If the cross is truly borne, all self-seeking and self-pleasing will be done away, and the fruits of the Spirit more evidenced; which I am persuaded will not be in the present practice of public outward singing, often of words, as to the matter, scarcely within the bounds of probability. I am convinced if people would seriously consider the manner, it would appear very inconsistent with the gravity and solemnity of the true Christian profession.

"May the Lord set these things home upon every heart, that there may be a concern to offer unto him acceptable sacrifice; which more than once is said to be a broken and contrite spirit.

"Blessed are ye that mourn," says Christ, (not ye that sing) "for ye shall rejoice;" which rejoicing, if it may be applied to the present state of the church here, I conceive to be a grateful sense of the Lord's mercies; and showing forth his praises not only with our lips but in our lives. To conclude, my friends, turn into your own hearts. Behold, says Christ, the kingdom of God is within you; look not without for what I am persuaded is only to be found within. It is not much hearing or much speaking, that brings true peace to the soul; the ear is never satisfied with hearing. As a proof of that, do we not see professors running hither and thither, as though the more they heard, the better they should be; encompassing themselves about with sparks of their own kindling; but what saith the Lord? "Ye shall lie down in sorrow." I am fully convinced it is for want of this looking in, and waiting to feel the power of the Lord there, judging and subduing sin, that there is so much talk, so much outward parade, and so little spirituality in the lives and conversation of the people.

"J. Spalding."

This I sent to the clerk, at the same time I sent some reasons for the apparent change in me, as absenting from the sacrament, so called; and which I desired him to lay before the minister and others, at a prayer meeting: which he seemed to object to, supposing me in an error, and having a very unfavourable opinion of Friends' principles. I soon after had some conversation with him on the subject; which rather confirmed me in my opinion than otherwise, his arguments appeared so weak against Friends. Thus I went on some little time longer, still attending mornings and evenings; but attending Friends' meetings in the afternoon. About this time I read "Sewel's History of the Quakers," which I think removed every objection, and confirmed me in my opinion of the truth of their principles. Their severe sufferings, their patience under them, and honest boldness before kings and rulers, convinced me, that nothing but a divine power could have supported them. I sought the company of some faithful Friends, as I could discover in some I had been with, little more than the form. I desired to know the power in myself, and to be truly taught of the Lord, that I might not do any thing by imitation, or because others did so; but retired often alone, to be instructed of the Lord, what to do and what to leave; and glory to his name, he was found of me, and made those retirements precious and profitable to me, revealing his will unto me by degrees, as I was able to bear it. I now became acquainted with some solid Friends, and was occasionally in company with them, which excited the attention of my friends and neighbours; so that there was much talk about me, and various reports were propagated respecting it, most people thinking it very strange I should turn Quaker.

About this time I met with a considerable trial, the death of my father, whom I dearly loved. I had long been persuaded in some measure of the vanity and inconsistency of wearing black clothes on such occasions, knowing it to be only a worldly custom; and had often said to myself during my father's illness, I would not put it on for any one except him. But there appeared so many reasons why I should conform on his account, that it was not till a little time before his death, that it pleased the Lord to remove my scruples respecting it, and strengthen me to bear such a public testimony, as of necessity that event occasioned. And indeed much opposition I met with on account of it, but the Lord supported me through all. I then constantly attended Friends' meetings.

About this time also I was concerned to write an address to some who usually met on first-days, from different parts of the neighbouring country, to hear the minister, at a private house; where I had occasionally attended, with other professors of the town. I also wrote to the clerk, and sent him "No Cross, No Crown;" soon after "Barclay's Apology;" and to another intimate friend, who was very zealous, I wrote and sent, "Beavan's Primitive Christianity Restored." And though I desired in what I wrote to individuals, as well as the

society, that it might be put about for the perusal of any; I found little notice taken by any; I thought they seemed rather to avoid me. One steady experienced man, in a little conversation, observing, he hoped I did not look for that in myself, which was only to be found in Christ, I was concerned to write to him some little time after on the subject; and sent him at the same time, "No Cross, No Crown." While I was exercised towards the society I had left, I met with some more trials from other quarters; my relations complained of my silence, putting unfavourable constructions upon it. Indeed I had so much upon my mind, that I had little desire to speak much: for being often in my way of business with people of consequence in the neighbourhood, most of whom had always shown me much attention and favour, now observing such a change, though only in dress at first, they began to look rather strangely upon me. The enemy of souls was not unmindful of my situation, and raised many difficulties in my way; as the loss of their favours, and of course my business; and the great offence my conforming to other things not yet done would give them; such as the ceremony of the hat, the plain language, and their titles so highly valued; these seemed indeed so great discouragements, that my mind was at times sorely distressed.

I had for some time felt an uneasiness respecting the performing some part of my business, such as nicking and cropping horses, &c. punishing them for the sake of appearance, to please the fancies of men. When I began to mention my scruples, much opposition was made, as the consequence must of course be the loss of much business. I know not whether I was not too hasty in this matter, beginning in mine own strength, and not waiting the due time; for I found when I was required to do it, I gave way, which brought trouble upon me. At last I was enabled to refuse several, among whom was one for whom I did much business, who, on my objecting and telling him my reasons, seemed very angry, and reproached me for changing my religion, &c. He asked me to recommend some one to do it, but I told him I could not recommend another to do what I thought not right to do myself.

This event occasioned some uneasiness. I was blamed highly on the supposition that I should soon lose my business; but I answered in the words of our Lord: "Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple." I saw, more and more, how people could follow the ways, customs, and fashions of the world, and use means not always the most honest to get its riches: so true is our Lord's saying, "Where your treasure is there will your heart be also." Oh! how few really deny themselves and take up the cross.

About this time came the quarterly meeting of a Society I helped to established, called "The Sick Man's Visitor," to relieve the wants of those in distress, conducted by the chief and most serious of the professors, a committee of whom met every week to transact the business of it, and to hold a prayer meeting as they called it, at the same time singing, reading, &c. Being the time I used to serve on the committee, I took the opportunity to write to them, giving my reasons why I could not join in the services performed at those times; also something more respecting the principles, &c., of Friends, with what was upon my mind besides; observing if any were desirous of more information on the subject, or had any objections to propose respecting Friends' principles, I was willing to receive them.

Hitherto there had not been any material alteration in my dress, except what I wore on first days; I still wearing a modern hat. But now I found it required of me to make an alteration there; which, as it was more conspicuous than any I had made, I found very trying; nature being unwilling to bear the cross. But it pleased the Lord to strengthen me; and indeed it caused much gazing, admiration, and ridicule, as I could perceive and hear, though little was said directly to me. But the Lord preserved me, and I thought I found rather a kindness of behaviour among the more considerable of my neighbours when I attended in the course of my business, particularly from the chief justice Eyre, where I had apprehended not a little discouragement, but I found through the mercy of my God, a very favourable intercourse. I may observe respecting these things, that I felt a little at a time required of me; and as I was willing to give up, the Lord was pleased to afford me strength to be faithful to him. I am aware these things, respecting dress, &c., are, in the eyes of man's wisdom, despised and thought of no consequence: indeed of themselves, I am persuaded they are of no consequence, or if done from a wrong motive may be rather injurious than otherwise; yet when the Lord commands, it becomes his creatures to obey, and not reason about it, whether it is of consequence or not. When I felt a desire to reason about it, the example of Naaman, the Syrian, was brought to my remembrance. When the prophet ordered him to wash seven times in Jordan, his pride and wisdom were offended; he wanted some great thing done, somewhat pompous, and agreeable to the ideas of his worldly mind; and had not his servants been wiser than their master, he might have continued in his disease. But the event proved,

how despicable soever the means appeared, it fully answered all he could wish; therefore it is good for any one who feels occasionally the judgment of the Lord, against any thing, however trifling it may appear, not to consult with flesh and blood, not to reason about it, but give up in simplicity of mind; and then I am persuaded it will be found of more consequence than was apprehended; for if we are not faithful in the little, how can we expect the greater will be committed to us. And, indeed, in this matter I have been mentioning, I found not a little advantage. For before, when my appearance was not very different from the world, my acquaintance would enter into familiar converse with me; which too often had a tendency to divert my mind from that seriousness I wished to preserve, and leave unpleasant reflections afterwards. But when they saw (in their eyes) my uncouth appearance, it operated as a kind of check to lightness, and preserved me from the snare of unnecessary worldly conversation; so that I had the advantage of more retirement, in which I trust I can say I have found the most profitable seasons. The apostle saith not in vain, "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." A follower of Christ will not be conformed to the world, nor uphold whatever is of it, either in himself or others; not merely because it is witnessed against in the Scriptures, but being influenced by the same spirit, which was in them, he is taught by it to testify against the same the disciples of old did in their day.

It was a great grief and concern to me to consider, that as it was a day of so great profession, many walking miles to hear what they supposed to be the gospel preached, our steeple house being generally crowded by people from the other parishes; I say it grieved me, that my leaving the fashions of the world which they all professed to deny, should cause such amazement as it appeared to do even in professors. This helped to confirm me in my opinion, that how much soever they could talk about religion, very little of the power thereof was known. Indeed, had I not felt a want of the power of godliness, I should not have left them, as there were many ties which held me both to the priest and people. But it was that divine power I longed for; and nothing short of it could satisfy me, and surely nothing but that could have supported me in the different trials I soon had to encounter; but the battle was the Lord's and his was the victory over every appearance of mine adversary, and to him be all the glory.

For several months my mind was much exercised on various occasions, the enemy assaulting me continually with reproaches from without and fears within. My business seemed to decline, and I was reproved for over acting my part, and informed that some of the Society had said so. It was great grief to me to observe some Friends, for whom I entertained great esteem, not so faithful against worldly titles, as Esq.—Sir such a one; Mr. ——, &c. as I believed was required and practised by ancient Friends. It gave the enemies much occasion against me.

About this time peoples' minds were much agitated on political subjects, the French having overturned all orders and distinctions, which gave great offence to people in general; they called their days, &c., as do Friends, instead of the old names. I mention this because the adversary assailed me with the suggestion that I should be deemed of their spirit. I could expect little favour, though politics was a subject I thought little about, and spoke less; believing as our blessed Lord said, "My kingdom is not of this world." Every true disciple being influenced by the same spirit, the attention as well as the affections will be engaged in things above, not of this world, more than needful; and it had been for some time before a concern to me, to observe some of the Society of Friends meddling with such matters, more warmly than I thought consistent with their profession.

I was at times so sorely pressed, so burdened in spirit, that I seemed as though my strength was broken, and was ready to cry out, "The children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth." But my desires were to the Lord, who had hitherto supported me, that I might still experience him a God near at hand, and not afar off; for I felt how unable I was to move a step without his divine assistance. So low was I reduced, that though I received several reviling letters, which were clearly against the truth, I had not power to answer them; being taught to leave the cause to the Almighty, and not be anxious to justify myself before men. But this may be an encouragement to others who may experience similar trials, that I felt a secret upholding, a consoling assurance, that the Lord would plead his own cause, and in his own time bring forth judgment unto victory; and I desired that his hand might not spare, neither his eye pity, till his work was accomplished to his own glory, however it might be with me. Thus I continued some time, till it pleased the Lord to revive me; when, though I had little business in comparison to what I had heretofore, yet I was abundantly satisfied with an enlivening sense of the Lord's presence; which infinitely surpassed all worldly goods. In measure I knew the truth of our dear Lord's promise, that whoever may be enabled to leave any thing for his name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold even in this

life, either in kind or in kindness; and surely the comfortable sense of the approbation of the Most High, is of infinitely greater value than any thing this world can afford. O! that the people, particularly the Lord's professing people, may be encouraged to be willing to part with every thing, however near and dear to flesh and blood, that stands in the way, which obstructs that divine communion with him we are taught to expect. For true it is, except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be Christ's disciple; and he is not a hard master, doth not require any thing to be parted with, but what would really be injurious to our spiritual welfare; though to man's carnal apprehension it may seem in some cases in a different light. Man naturally loves ease. The cross of Christ is not pleasant to flesh and blood: but, my friends, [it must be daily borne,] if ever we know the truth of what Paul declares, that "they who are Christ's have crucified the flesh with its affections and lusts;" and the more readily we submit to the yoke, I am persuaded we shall the sooner experience that subdued, which dislikes the cross. Then we shall know what our Lord said, that his yoke is easy and his burden light.

A fear had arisen in my mind, lest I should be beholding the mote in my brother's eye, and not attending sufficiently to that power, which could alone remove the beam out of my own; and though my spirit was frequently grieved on hearing vain conversation, and often seemed to feel a desire to reprove, yet I was afraid to cast a stone, feeling myself not without sin; and I had to remember and to desire to practise what is recorded; to study to be quiet and mind my own business. I think I can truly say, that in stillness and retiredness I experienced a degree of peace, and I trust a growth in grace. I must acknowledge with humble thankfulness, the condescending kindness of my heavenly Father, in favouring me with much opportunity of retirement; having comparatively but little worldly business, for I sorrowfully found in those lawful engagements, a very great difficulty of keeping in that straight line of duty, which I believed was marked out for me. In the course of conversation words would occasionally drop, which, afterwards, on reflection, brought distress on my mind, and I desired to be thankful that I was enabled not to desire much of this world's goods, but rather the reverse, and to be content with food and raiment.

It was a concern to me to observe among Friends, on a young man's beginning business for himself, a conformity in some things with the world, I thought to gain their favour and custom. It appeared to me paying very dear for their assistance; and I believe I could prefer working hard as a servant, to the most profitable situation on such terms. Fervent desires would frequently arise in my mind, that all who profess to be followers of Christ, particularly Friends, who profess more than most, would be concerned to practise our blessed Lord's advice, to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; yea, and seek nothing else till they had found it. I believed, by attending to that, they would be divinely directed in temporal concerns; and preferring it above all things, would be preserved from the too prevailing snare of flattering the world for their support. I have thought that people are often led to such practices, by engaging in concerns which bring extraordinary expense upon them; which, requiring more of the things of this world, a greater difficulty is experienced in bearing a faithful testimony against what they may be convinced is evil. These considerations, through divine assistance, induced me to be careful to confine my expenses in as narrow a compass as I believed consistent with my situation. Though for many years I had strong inclinations to enter into the marriage state, I now experienced a check to every desire of the kind: believing it was my duty to keep myself as much as possible from the cumbers of this world, and as a faithful soldier to be ready for whatever my great Lord and Master should require of me.

Near the close of the year 1793, I wrote to the Friends of the monthly meeting, to be admitted a member of Society; which in due season they expressed their unity and compliance with. Here I would observe, that from my first acquaintance with Friends, I could not but approve their caution, in not hastily admitting any into membership; differing from most societies, who, I have perceived, evince a kind of exulting eagerness in adding to their numbers. I can say that I did not feel an anxiety to be received into membership; but rather to know that power which first gathered Friends into a society; to experience an union of spirit with the faithful, [more] than any name or outward relationship. A little before I wrote to the monthly meeting, I had some apprehension of being drawn for the militia, which would probably have exposed me to some severe trial, not being of the Society; yet convinced of the necessity of bearing my testimony against wars and fightings, I was mercifully enabled to be still, and leave the event, whatever it might be, to the Lord, who had hitherto supported me, and not apply for admission any sooner on that account.

The first meeting for discipline I sat in, I felt a powerful concern to speak on a particular subject, but considering my state of childhood in the Society, and a fear lest I should

appear forward, I endeavoured to get rid of it, and avoid speaking; yet it seemed rather to increase than diminish, till just at the close, I expressed a few sentences, and found in a little time the burden relieved, at least in a degree.

I was often sorrowfully concerned to observe in the nomination of Friends to quarterly and yearly meetings, a disposition to make excuses. Believing those meetings were established under the influence and power of divine wisdom, I thought if there was a proper attention to the guidance of the same, Friends would be directed in their nomination; that the great Lord of the harvest would choose whom he pleased to employ in any particular service; and there might be danger in lightly and hastily making excuses, lest it should be disobeying the call of the Most High. It appeared to me, that worldly concerns had too much influence; that it was considered whether it would be convenient or not. I knew from my own experience, that if an ear was open to listen to excuses, enough would be presented against many services or duties, as attending week-day meetings, and others, in times of business. But I saw or felt it was safer and better to have a single eye, to have only one object in view, what the Lord required of me; than to look on temporal concerns, whether it was convenient or not, but simply give up and leave the consequence; and I can with humble thankfulness and gratitude acknowledge that the inconveniences, or losses I might have apprehended would be the consequence, were changed into a comfortable sense of divine approbation, and an abundant reward of peace.

The 28th of the second month, 1794, being appointed by government to be observed as a general fast and humiliation before Almighty God, the mayor of Reading sent out a bill, desiring all sects and parties to observe it as required. I felt a concern to write a few reasons, &c., why we, the religious Society called Quakers, could not observe it as required; which were copied and handed about in manuscript. One copy I sent to the clerk of the parish, desiring him to lay it before their ministers, and as many of the people as might be.

"A few reasons why the religious Society called Quakers, cannot observe, as required, the day appointed for a general fast and humiliation (so called) before Almighty God. That the magistrates and people may know it is not from any contempt of authority, nor in rebellion against government, but that they may preserve a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man:

"First, because we believe that the Lord alone hath a right and authority to enact and require how and when he will be worshipped. That all worship whatsoever, performed in the will of man, and which the Spirit of Christ doth not lead into, is not acceptable unto the Lord, who hath declared, that 'in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;' and that 'the true worshippers must worship in spirit and in truth.' Therefore, we believe, that it doth not belong to man to impose modes and forms of worship, and if, in compliance with the will of men, any should conform to such pretended worship, the conscience not being clear, nor the heart rightly engaged in the service, it would be hypocrisy in the sight of God, and sin to the person so complying: for whatever is not of faith, is sin.

"Secondly, because we believe, it is not the fast which the Lord hath chosen, or will approve of, according to what he hath declared by the prophet Isaiah, and elsewhere, as for man to afflict his soul for a day, and to bow down his head as a bulrush. Our Lord called those hypocrites, who desired to appear unto men to fast; and commanded his disciples to anoint their heads, and wash their faces, that they might not appear unto men to fast, but unto him who seeth in secret; who doth not look on the outward appearance, but upon the heart, and who requireth truth in the inward parts. By the prophet he declared, that the fast which he had chosen, was to loose the bands of wickedness, to feed the poor, clothe the naked, &c., that then he would accept their prayers.

"Thirdly, because it is required to implore the blessing of Almighty God for the success of our arms, which we believe is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. Christ is the Prince of Peace, who did not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them; and commanded his disciples not to resist evil, but to love their enemies, and to do good to them that hate them. Therefore, in obedience to these commands, through the influence and assistance of the spirit of Christ, we cannot willingly think or do evil to any, whatever they may intend to do unto us; but are enabled to commit ourselves to divine protection, without the use of any carnal weapons, assuredly believing the Lord will preserve all those who faithfully confide in, and obey him.

"For these reasons, and not from obstinacy, or perverseness, or any disrespect to those in authority, we cannot keep our shops shut, or in any manner, directly or indirectly, uphold or countenance such a custom.

"It is believed by a remnant, who are secretly mourning for the abominations of the land, and travailing in spirit, that truth and righteousness may abound, that there is great

cause for fasting and humiliation before Almighty God; for the transgressions of the people are multiplied against him, so that there is reason to expect that the Lord will visit with his rod even this highly favoured country; and it is their secret desire that as the judgments of the Lord are in the earth, the inhabitants thereof may learn righteousness. But, friends, your pretended humiliation for a day, with your lips confessing your sins, and again returning to your old course, is only mocking God. He will not hear, though you make many prayers, and cause your voice to be heard on high, while your hands are full of blood, while you are desiring the destruction of your fellow creatures. That spirit is not of God, for God is love, and whoever are led by the spirit of God, will love their fellow creatures, and not desire their harm. Therefore, friends, consider what spirit you are of, before you presume to draw near to the Most High, who is not to be honoured with the lips, while the heart is far from him, which it is and ever must be, while defiled with the pollution of sin. Seek for that new heart and new spirit which God hath promised; and remember a language of old, to those who pretend to honour him with their lips, while their hearts are far from him: 'Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well.' Then (and not till then, though you make ever so many prayers, and afflict yourselves ever so much) the Lord will hear your prayers and regard your petitions."

A few months after I also wrote a few reasons why we could not illuminate our houses on any occasion; as Friends, in some places, had suffered considerably on that account.

"Whereas we, the religious Society of people called Quakers, are accused by some of being disaffected to government, because we do not illuminate our houses, as our neighbours do, on particular occasions; this is for the information of any who may be desirous of knowing why we thus differ. It is not from any political motives, or to express any disapprobation of those who are in authority; but as Christians, professing to walk in the fear of the Lord, in a holy life and conversation. We believe such superficial demonstrations of joy inconsistent with this our profession, on any occasion whatever. It sometimes happens that such customs are in consequence of a supposed advantage gained in war, and we cannot believe as Christians, uninfluenced by any political considerations, that there can be any real cause of rejoicing, but rather of mourning, for the destruction of our fellow creatures, and to lament the prevalence of those 'lusts, from whence,' as the apostle says, 'come wars and fightings.' Professing also to be followers of Christ, who is the Prince of Peace, of whose kingdom it was prophesied, 'that they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more,' we believe, wherever this kingdom is established in the heart of any individual, the warring, fighting nature will be subjected by the peaceable righteous sceptre of Christ; who enjoined his followers not to resist evil, but to love even their enemies. Therefore we cannot, without subjecting ourselves to the displeasure of the Most High, conform to any custom, which countenances or upholds such practices.

"But though we differ from the rest of our countrymen, we are not enemies to our country. Our prayers are to the God of the spirits of all flesh, that he 'may please to break the bow, and snap the spear in sunder, to cause wars to cease to the ends of the earth;' that the people may turn every one from the evil of their ways, and serve him alone from whom every blessing is received. Then would righteousness and peace meet together, and abound in the earth to his praise, and to our present and eternal felicity."

I had for some months, at different times, as I apprehended the concern to revive, written an address to the professors of religion, particularly those who attended the place I had left. Feeling a concern to have it printed, I waited from time to time to feel it clearly, as appearing in public in a matter of such a nature, was to me a most weighty consideration. I was fearful of moving in mine own will, but at length I apprehended the time was come for its publicly appearing, and submitted it to the inspection of several Friends of our meeting, for their approbation of its being laid before the morning meeting in London; being unwilling to move without the full concurrence of Friends. It met with their approbation and consent, and it was going to be sent to London, when a member of that meeting happened to come to our town. Friends advised it to be shown to him, who expressed a fear, that as I was so lately come among Friends, if it was not quite approved of, it might be a discouragement to me, and recommended, if I was easy, to let it rest a little longer. I seemed willing to find an excuse, and to get rid of the burden without its publicly appearing; and laid it by, not feeling the concern again revive with sufficient power. I had at times to fear whether I had not too hastily got rid of it, and let the right time pass by. May the great Master not impute rebellion to me, but have in this matter, as I have at

other times experienced, a gracious condescending regard to my weakness; for I have desired to be made willing to be completely given up to his service, and follow him wheresoever and howsoever he may require. The frequent breathing of my spirit is, that the inward ear may be so opened that I may be able to distinguish between the Master's voice and every appearance of the adversary, and all willings and runnings of the creature.

In the year 1794, I was at the yearly meeting in London, which held, I think, nine days, and notwithstanding the nature of my business, I was made willing to give up the time, and have with thankfulness to acknowledge I found no loss, but the invaluable reward of peace. Surely the Lord is not a hard master, but whatever is given up under a sense of his requiring, is abundantly restored, yea as an hundred fold.

A little time after, being at an appointed meeting where no regular one is held, under an apprehension of duty, I spoke a few words. I had long had a sense as though I should have to appear in this service, and often felt a word arise in meetings, but was fearful of moving in my own will, of running before I was sent; remembering the command of old, "He that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully; what is the chaff to the wheat?" I desired that there might be no mixture, nothing of the creature, but that the Master might prepare the offering wholly; yet I often found a similar testimony to what I felt arise, delivered by another Friend. I would willingly have been excused the service, the prospect being far from pleasant, at least to that which would prefer ease, yet I was desirous that I might be willing and able to give up to whatever the Master required. I seemed only to wish to know quite clearly, beyond the least doubt when and what to speak. Perhaps I expected a clearer evidence than was meet, or made it an excuse to refrain. After one first-day meeting, not giving up to speak a word, I felt the reproofs of the Most High so sharply, that at the next meeting though very unwillingly, and after much inward wrestling against it, I found it safest to give up, and was in a degree sensible, that it is better to appear as a fool unto men, than bear the indignation of the Lord.

Some time after, I felt the concern of publishing the piece before mentioned, revive with increased weight: and after a time I believed it my duty to send it up to the Morning meeting of Friends in London, for their inspection and judgment respecting printing it; which I did, under the title of "Reasons for leaving the national established mode of worship; more particularly addressed to those who attend at the place called St. Giles' Church, Reading:" accompanied with a few lines to the meeting, from Friends of our own. That meeting with a few alterations approved of it, and left me at liberty to print it. As soon as I received the pamphlets, I sent one to the priest, with the following letter: I also sent one to each of the principal professors with whom I had been acquainted.

To * * * * *,

"Respected Friend,—The little piece which this accompanieth, I think I can truly say, I wrote under an apprehension of duty, uninfluenced by any personal motives whatever. I submit it to thy candid perusal, and can assure thee, that notwithstanding the apparent difference, I still retain an affectionate regard, and a real respect for thee. Nor can I suppose thou wilt impute to a want thereof my omitting thy usual titles, being persuaded thou art sensible that true honour and respect do not consist in words, or any superficial expressions. I was constrained to drop them, from a belief of the inconsistency thereof with the simplicity of true Christianity, and of the unlawfulness of feeding the vain mind in man, by giving him flattering titles. I have desired to follow nothing by imitation, but from conviction, and I hope these desires have been mercifully answered.

I remain, respectfully, thy friend,

John Spalding."

Reading, Eleventh month, 1794.

"Postscript. There is a little mattter, to which, I have for some time felt a desire to call thy serious attention. Not long since, part of the goods of some of thy peaceable neighbours were taken away by force, for the repairing, I apprehend, the place where thy congregation meet to worship. I have been led to consider the inconsistency of this practice with the spirit of the gospel, of which thou art esteemed a minister. I have examined the scriptures of truth, and do not find that either Christ or his apostles ever used, or taught such a practice, to oblige those to support them, or their places of worship, who did not receive them. "As you would that men should do unto you," said our Lord, "do ye even so unto them," for this "is the law and the prophets." I am much inclined to think, if thou wilt calmly and weightily consider this matter, a deviation from this important injunction will appear. If this people had the powers of the earth on their side, (as thou hast in these matters) and insisted upon thy helping to support their place of worship, where thou hadst a conscientious objection to going, wouldst not thou think it unreasonable; and rather that every society

should support its own ministers and places of worship? And truly there are those who from a real conscientious scruple, cannot willingly uphold those called parish churches. I have felt it myself, and expect I can if thou require it, advance some weighty reasons for so doing; at present my regard for thee induces me to press a serious examination of this matter; and I feel a desire that custom originating in the times of ignorance and superstition, and the more powerful motive of interest itself, may not induce thee to contemn the simple, yet I hope sincere, representations of the mean and despised.

"Now this I do not write from any desire to avoid suffering, for praised be the Lord, there is a remnant at this day, who are enabled to take joyfully the spoiling of their goods for a good conscience-sake, in supporting their testimonies against what they believe to be repugnant to the spirit of the gospel dispensation."

This I sent with one of my pamphlets before mentioned.

A little while after he desired my brother to tell me to send in his account, and also to know if he should stop his tithes out of it, which amounted to three pounds. I in consequence wrote his account, and sent it in the following letter, with a little piece, called "Reasons why the people called Quakers do not pay tithes."

"Respected Friend,—I should not at this time thus communicate with thee, but for thy inquiring of my brother somewhat respecting my paying tithes. It appears to me thereby, that thou art unacquainted with our reasons for not paying tithes, &c. yet, as I suppose from thy letter, thou may not be willing to receive my reasons on that subject, I will observe, that it is not from any personal disregard to thee, nor in imitation of others, that I refuse to pay them, but from a full conviction of the inconsistency thereof with the dispensation of the gospel; and that if I did in any manner contribute to support such a practice, it would be a denying that Christ is come, who by his coming, put an end to, and totally abrogated or disannulled, that law or dispensation to which tithes belonged. I send thee a small piece on this subject. Shouldest thou be disposed to be more fully informed respecting it, I have other authors who have confuted every argument in favour of tithes, &c. in this last and more glorious dispensation.

I remain, respectfully, thy friend,

John Spalding."

Reading, Twelfth month, 23rd, 1794.

"P. S. As thou desired, I send thy account; and here it may be proper to remark, that I cannot suffer thy demand to be paid thereby. Thou, perhaps, wilt think me troublesome and impertinent, but the Lord knoweth my heart in this matter, that it is from a persuasion of duty towards him, and not from a perverseness of disposition, as men may suppose it is."

I found a spirit generally prevail among them, both preachers and hearers, confident in their own opinion, and condemning without hearing the sentiments of others. Oh! how doth my spirit mourn for them, under a sense of the danger of their situation, and a persuasion of the applicableness of an ancient language, "The prophets prophesy falsely, the priests bear rule by their means, and the people love to have it so; but what will they do in the end thereof!"

Being appointed by the parish, overseer this year, I had frequent opportunities of observing the difficulties many of the poor laboured under, and was favoured to sympathize with them therein. I had often to consider the manner of living among those in superior situations as to outward things, and it appeared to me inconsistent with the gracious designs of our heavenly Father, that some should live luxuriously, and expend much upon superfluities, while so many fellow creatures were in want of the comforts and necessaries of life. It seemed to me a great evil, and my spirit was often bowed in consideration thereof. I thought that the oppression of the poor, and the extravagant living of others, was one cause of the judgments of the Most High being at this time so awfully executed in the neighbouring kingdoms. It was often the secret breathing of my spirit, that the people of this land, instead of applying to carnal weapons, which was now pretty general throughout the kingdom, and trusting to the multitude of their hosts, might endeavour to avert the threatened indignation before it came home, by turning every one from the evil of their ways, to serve the Lord with their whole hearts, to relieve the distresses of the poor, and content themselves with a moderate way of living, as becomes the followers of him, who said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

A few serious queries and observations, addressed to the high professors of religion in this day, by one who was long in the profession, but knew not the power, till it pleased the Lord, by the ministry and writings of the people called Quakers, to direct him where alone the power is to be known, viz.: within.

WHAT IS A TRUE CHRISTIAN?

Is it one who assents to and believes certain facts, as recorded in holy writ, and forms cer-

tain principles and opinions thereupon; producing perhaps a partial reformation, an abstaining from the grosser pollutions of sin, but denying the possibility of a total cleansing and freedom from sin, in this world? Or is it one who knows, not in word only, but in deed and in truth, a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness; a being born again, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of man, but of God? "For," says our blessed Lord, "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." A man may know with Nicodemus, and confess, that Christ is a teacher sent from God; he may be able to talk much about the doctrines of the gospel, and fancy himself secure by imputation, but what has this to do with the new birth so essentially necessary? What can all his wisdom and understanding teach him. Nay, he cannot come into the new birth till all is parted with. The very nature of the thing implies a beginning again, a life as different from his former, as light from darkness. "Ye were sometimes darkness," says Paul, "but now are ye light in the Lord." Now he who knows this new birth, not a change of opinion, not a comprehending the truths of the gospel in his understanding, or joining this or that society, but who knows the thing itself; not the name, nor the imaginations concerning it, but the nature, the life, the essence; will such a man be like what he was before?

The forerunner of our Lord expressly told his hearers, when preparing them for the gospel dispensation, "The axe is laid to the root of the trees, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." What tree and what root is there meant? Is it outward or inward? Who can answer that, but he who hath felt the axe, and the destruction, in a measure, of the corrupt tree? "His fan is in his hand," he adds, "and he will thoroughly purge his floor;" mark "thoroughly." What will remain then? Oh! that professors were concerned to know, and willing to part with, all that stands in the way, that they may know indeed what it is to be thoroughly purged, instead of denying the possibility of it; for it is a dreadful thing to oppose or deny the power of Christ.

Christ said, "Blessed are the pure in heart;" but modern Christians, as they would be thought, say, there is no purity of heart, but it is and must remain deceitful above all things and desperately wicked. Again it is said, "who brings a clean thing out of an unclean?" That the heart is naturally unclean is allowed, but hath not the Lord promised to cleanse his people from all their uncleanness? Mark, all. What uncleanness will then remain? Some attempt to excuse themselves by what Paul once experienced; "The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh;" a law in the members warring against the law of the mind. That Paul once felt so, is allowed, but did he not afterwards say, "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit;" and did he not say, The law of the spirit of life had made him free from the law of sin; and how could they who were dead unto sin live any longer therein? Doth he not again say, "I am dead with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, (not natural sinful self,) but Christ liveth in me?" "I will dwell in them, and walk in them," saith the Lord. Will the Lord dwell in an unholy place? As soon would the light dwell with darkness. Satan can indeed transform himself into an angel of light; yea, he, "as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." The imagining part in man is sure to be deceived, and worship the appearance instead of the reality, for the world by wisdom—man by his natural or humanly acquired abilities, knew not, nor ever can know God. "If any man," says Paul, "will be wise, let him first become a fool," that his old eye may be closed, and the new eye, which alone can discern the things of God, may be opened.

Again, Christ saith, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." But modern Christians, as they call themselves, say there is no such thing as perfection. Oh! that they would consider whom they oppose by so saying.

Doth not Paul desire those he was writing to, to cleanse themselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord; and pray that others may be perfect and complete in all the will of God? What does such plain express language mean? Oh! the subtilty of that serpent, who can reason and argue away the true meaning; and Oh! the lamentable estate of those that are so deceived by him, who are sitting down at ease, with the vain imagination that what Christ hath done, as they suppose, for them, will be sufficient; without experiencing the work in them; who having eyes, see not, and ears, hear not, in the true spiritual sense.

Again, Christ saith, "Swear not at all;" but modern Christians say, we may swear in some cases. We will reason about Christ's words, and judge ourselves what they mean; how far they are to be obeyed or not. Though James says, "Above all things, my brethren, swear not," yet ye say, we may swear such and such oaths. O poor Christendom, how is thy gold become dim!

Again, Christ saith, "Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, cannot be my disciple;" but now Christians can

keep all; their own wisdom, their own wills, the favour of the world, its riches and friendships, its fashions and customs; though our Lord saith, "Whoever is the friend of the world, is the enemy of God;" and Paul says, "If I yet please men, I am not the servant of Christ."

A few reasons for leaving the National established mode of worship, addressed principally to those who attend at the place called St. Giles' Church, Reading.

"Prove all things, hold fast that which is good."
1 Thess. v. 21.

Friends,—My mind hath been much exercised at times, since I separated from your communion, with desires for your real advancement in the spirit and power of that religion you make profession of; and being persuaded there are those among you who do really desire to know the truth, I feel a renewed concern to salute these, in a degree, I hope of true gospel love; and to offer to your serious consideration, the reasons which induced me to separate from your Society. And truly, friends, there were many ties, which nearly united me to you; and very unwilling I was for a considerable time, to believe that those things I had been engaged in, and so highly esteemed, were not what they had appeared to be. But, as I earnestly desired to know the truth, whatever it might cost me, I felt the axe laid to the root of the tree, and the fine buildings and plausible appearances were shaken. I became sensible, that the tree must first be made good, before the fruit could be good; a doctrine essentially different from what I had heard of men; even of men highly esteemed. By them I was taught, that deliverance from sin is not to be expected in this life; and was hearing day after day, the uniform acknowledgement of "being miserable sinners, having no health," &c., which I found, by the manifestations of that spirit which "is given to every man to profit withal," 1 Cor. xii. 7, and which discovers the secret things of darkness, to be not agreeable, but contrary, to the Scriptures of truth; which expressly declare, that the great author of the gospel dispensation "came to save his people from their sins," Mat. 1. xxi., and not in them: a very essential difference. This I believed must be experimentally known, feeling sin to be the great disease of the soul, the alone cause of separation from the Most High, in whom alone true happiness is found. I was sensible that while sin remained, the separation must continue, there being "no communion between light and darkness, righteousness and unrighteousness;" 2 Cor. vi. 14, nor could that gracious promise be fulfilled, "I will dwell in them, and walk in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people;" 2 Cor. vi. 16, for the apostle says, "ye are the temple of God, and the temple of God is holy." 1 Cor. iii. 17.

Further, John the Baptist, who was sent to prepare the way of the Lord, describing the nature and effects of his Master's kingdom, says, "Now also (mark, now) is the axe laid to the root of the trees; every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire." Matt. iii. 10. This is a language surely implying a complete, effectual cleansing from all the pollutions of sin, even now in this life. Our Lord himself, uniformly, in all his discourses, inculcated this doctrine. In that most excellent sermon on the Mount, Mat. v. 6, 7, he insists on the necessity of a righteousness superior to that of the law; for, says he, "except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." What language can be plainer? And that he did not mean an imaginary, merely imputed righteousness, as I fear many vainly suppose, is evident from the conclusion; where he draws the comparison between those who hear and do his sayings, and them who hear and do them not; thereby fully establishing the possibility of doing them. If due attention is paid to every part of that discourse, I think it must be obvious, that they who are of the happy number who not only hear, but do those sayings, and whom our Lord likens to a building upon a rock, on which they are able to withstand all opposition, will not be miserable sinners, doing what they ought not to do, having no health in them, &c., but will know a righteousness wrought in them far superior to that of the law. For, as the law, the outward law, written on tables of stone, took cognizance of outward actions; the law of Christ written, as the apostle says, in the fleshly tables of the heart, reaches to the root and source of action. For, whereas the law said, "thou shalt not kill," Christ forbids being angry without cause. Again, the law said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" Christ forbids lust, thus striking at the root. The cause being removed, the consequence or effect must unavoidably be done away. Once more, the law said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." Christ says, "Resist not evil, love your enemies, do good to them that hate you;" with much more of like import. [These commands] many who profess to follow him, seem to pay very little attention to; as though it was an indifferent matter, whether they do them or not. But it may be well for such to consider whether our

Lord would have said, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," if he did not mean they should be so; and whether they who do as he there exhorts, will not be perfect. I cannot conceive how it is possible to deduce any other inference without grossly wresting the Scripture. "Ye are my friends," said he, at another time, "if ye do whatsoever I command you." John xv. 14. "He that loveth me keepeth my commandments." John xiv. 21. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, (that call me Master, and honour me with their lips,) shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." Mat. vii. 21. "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." John xiii. 17.

If the simple belief of Christ's sufferings, resurrection, &c., be sufficient to save; to what purpose were all his discourses, wherein he repeatedly insists upon the necessity of regeneration, a being born again; which certainly implies something more than a change of opinion, a persuasion of the judgment, and a partial reformation. For, as he said to Nicodemus, "That which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit, is spirit;" John iii. 6, it obviously follows, that they who are really born of the spirit, will be of the same nature as the spirit. Old things will be passed away, and all things become new, and all of God. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." Luke xiii. 21. "New wine must be put into new bottles." Mark ii. 22; with many other similitudes, plainly implying the necessity of a total, effectual change. Again to confirm this great and necessary truth of freedom from sin, he says to his disciples, "if ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free;" and, to reprove their carnal ideas of a temporal outward freedom, he adds, "He that committeth sin, is the servant of sin, and if the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." John viii. 31. &c. That this freedom from sin, even from the power as well as the guilt, is to be known in this life, is certified again, by his saying of those who die in their sins, "Whither I go, ye cannot come." John viii. 21. Now, if deliverance from sin is not known in this life, we must of necessity die in our sins. Therefore it matters not what knowledge a man hath, what is his faith, or what profession he hath made, if he hath not known deliverance from sin. This is a point so important, and a mistake therein liable to such baneful consequences, that I am induced to dwell upon it, knowing from my own experience, how prevailing is the contrary opinion. Nor is it strange, that people should prefer and indulge the notion of the possibility of deliverance from the guilt and punishment of sin, without the power thereof being subdued. We natually love ease, an ease which the cross of Christ is decidedly against. So closely doesit apply, that it is, in our Lord's own words, as cutting off a right hand, and plucking out a right eye. Mat. vi. 29, 30. "Whosoever," says he, again and again, "doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple." Luke xiv. 27. The apostle bears testimony to this important truth, where he says, "They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with its affections and lusts." Gal. v. 24. Surely, if lusts and affections, the very root and seed of sin, are slain, what can remain thereof? In another place he says, "How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?" Rom. vi. 2. Another apostle says, "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." 1 John iii. 9.

I have produced a few plain passages of Scripture, to show the ground or cause of my separation; that deliverance from sin, a being cleansed from all defilement thereof in this life, is not only possible, but indispensably necessary; and that the contrary doctrine is fundamentally erroneous; as it sets up the shadow instead of the substance, an imaginary instead of a real holiness. I may probably make some more observations on this most important point, as I proceed. I shall now offer a few remarks on some of the services usually performed; comparing them also with the Scriptures of truth, which most professors acknowledge to be the standard or rule. From this comparison they clearly appear to me, not to be what many call them, "means of grace and ordinances of God;" but the mere inventions of man, set up in his own fallen wisdom, as a substitute for the life and power, which were lost in a long dark night of apostacy: not the true worship of God, but such bodily exercise as the apostle says, "profiteth little." 1 Tim. iv. 8. For be it remembered, the great Author of the gospel dispensation, expressly declared, "that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." John iv. 23. And the apostle confirms it, by saying, "We know not what we should pray for, as we ought; but the spirit helpeth our infirmities, and maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered." Rom. vii. 26. Therefore, as this necessary assistance is not at our command, for people to pretend to worship the Most High in a prescribed form, or in the studied or extempore productions of their own natural or acquired abilities, in their own wills, and their own time, without waiting to feel the influence and movings of the Holy Spi-

rit, in and through which alone true worship can be performed, appears to me nothing better, whatever it may be called, than will-worship. The Scriptures also repeatedly mention a growing in grace, 2 Pet. iii. 18, a going on unto perfection, Heb. vi. 1. How inconsistent then is the repeated uniform acknowledgement, "We are miserable sinners, doing what we ought not to do, having no health in us?" &c. Doth it not obviously confess, if the truth is spoken, that no benefit hath been received, notwithstanding the frequent (as it is pretended) waiting upon the Lord? But if it is true, as the Scriptures declare, that Christ came to "save his people from their sins;" they who make that confession, acknowledge they are not of that number; for if they are miserable sinners, they certainly are not saved from their sins, however they may attempt to reconcile so plain a contradiction. This is a language not confined to a particular part of the service. The inconsistency of the whole appears equally obvious; as at one time confessing their sins and wickedness; then called upon to address the Most High, with pure, humble, penitent, and obedient hearts; one while returning thanks for creation, preservation, and redemption; again acknowledging having erred and strayed like lost sheep; desiring to show forth his praise not only with their lips, but in their lives, by giving themselves up to his service, and walking before him in holiness and righteousness all their days; but still miserable sinners, doing what they ought not to do, &c. Can this running backwards and forwards, one time saying one thing, another time quite the contrary, be acceptable service to that God, who searcheth the heart, trieth the reins, and requireth truth in the inward parts? Again, in repeating the experiences of the royal Psalmist, how is it possible but many gross falsehoods must be expressed? For if the words of the mouth do not express the real experimental language of the heart, however excellent they may be, yet they are to those who utter them, not the language of truth, but of falsehood. I should hope a little serious consideration will convince of this.

Again, respecting the custom or practice of singing, I have a few observations to make. How inconsistent it is, that they who have just before been confessing their misery and wretchedness, should appear so quickly and easily to forget all, and begin singing. Surely it seems evidently to declare they were not sincere in their acknowledgements, or that they think it of very little consequence whether their prayers are answered or not. Besides, not only the manner to me appears absurd and inconsistent, but the matter in many quite contrary to truth, and to what has been just before openly avowed. I could specify many instances in every collection I have seen, but I wish people to search for themselves. Surely this is trifling with serious things. I am fully persuaded that the common practice of singing is only calculated to amuse the creature, to please the outward ear; whatever may be pretended of its warming the heart, and kindling devotion. And if those who practise it would be honest and candid, I am of opinion they would be constrained to acknowledge that amusement is the chief object; or why be so pleased with tunes and music? Can it for a moment be supposed, that the Almighty is to be pleased with such superficial conduct? Surely not. And with respect to its kindling devotion, it may be well to remember what is said of those, "who kindle a fire, and encompass themselves about with sparks; they may walk in the light thereof, but they shall lie down in sorrow." Isa. l. 11. I readily admit what is advanced to defend this custom, that our Lord and his disciples, the night before he suffered, sang a hymn, but what or how we are not informed. No doubt the matter and manner were both proper and seasonable. That Paul and Silas, in prison, "sang praises to the Lord," I believe; but I cannot conceive what argument can be deduced from thence for the present custom of singing whatever may be given out, suitable or not, whether praise, profession, acknowledgement, or petition. I fully believe this outward inconsiderate singing is very different from that recommended by the apostle, "Singing with the spirit, and with the understanding." 1 Cor. xiv. 15. "Singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord." Eph. v. 19. And I also believe, that the true source of praise, even a grateful sense of the Lord's mercies, can be more consistently expressed than in outward jingle and sound.

Indeed, my friends, I fear you are, many of you, agreeably to your own confessions, in a miserable condition. Suffer me to prevail upon you to consider, whether your continuing year after year miserable sinners, is not the consequence of your prayers not being heard. Let a concern arise to inquire, whether you have been seeking aright or not; for our Lord promised plainly and expressly, "that they who seek shall find." Mat. vii. 5. Now, what have they found, who continue, as they acknowledge, "miserable sinners, having no health in them?" &c. Do they not rather confess that the means they have used are insufficient to cleanse and heal them; that they have not rightly applied to the great Physician, to the balm of Gilead, "to that tree, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations;" but "have been spending their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which satisfieth not;" instead of hearkening diligently unto the

Lord, and eating that which is good; Isa. lv. 2, that true bread of life, which our Lord said, "he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." John vi. 58. It may be well to have recourse to these means before the possibility of cure is denied; lest they thereby deny the power of God, that he is not able to "cast out the strong man armed, who keepeth his palace and his goods in peace." Luke xi. 21. I think I need not add, who is there meant by the strong man armed, where is his palace, and what are his goods. The apostle speaks of some, "who had a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof." 2 Tim. iii. 5. Now, it may be well to consider, in what can the power of godliness be known, but in dominion over its adversary, which is sin. And do not they who deny the possibility of sin's being subdued, deny the power of godliness? A serious consideration may not be unprofitable. I have often admired, that those who plead for sin, pretend highly to value the Scriptures, and say, "they are the rule;" whereas the Scriptures uniformly insist upon the necessity of holiness; not an imaginary holiness, but a real purity of heart and of life. "Without holiness," said the apostle, "no man shall see the Lord." Heb. xii. 14. "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation, because it is written, be ye holy for I am holy." 1 Pet. i. 15. "Present your bodies, (mark, your bodies) a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." Rom. xii. 1. They talk much of the blood of Christ; it is a subject often in the mouth, but what of the nature and effects of it is known, let their own acknowledgements testify. The apostle declares it "cleanseth from all sin." 1 John i. 7. Now how those who continue "miserable sinners, doing what they ought not to do," &c., can be cleansed from all sin, let the considerate judge.

It is with me now, to answer some objections to this important truth; and to remark on some passages of Scripture, which those who deny the possibility of sin being subdued, endeavour to cover themselves with. First, The heart of man is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it?" Jer. xvii. 9. That the heart of every man, of every natural unregenerate man, is truly so, I firmly believe. But be it remembered, that the Lord promised to give his people a new heart and a new spirit. Ezek. xxxvi. 26. And dare any one say, that heart is deceitful and wicked? Oh! beware of depreciating the gift of God. "Blessed are the pure in heart," saith our Lord, "for they shall see God." Mat. v. 8. "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." Mark vii. 18. "The seed on the good ground are they who in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience," Luke viii. 15. For now, in the gospel dispensation, the axe is laid to the root of the tree, Mat. iii. 10. What is the root of the tree there alluded to but the heart, from whence words and actions have their birth? "Thou blind Pharisee," said Christ, "cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside may be clean also," Mat. xxiii. 26. And do they not in the stated form, pray that God "would cleanse the thoughts of their hearts, by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit;" a most excellent petition; but what is it, in those who use it and yet deny the possibility of its being answered, but a solemn mockery? For if the thoughts of the heart are really cleansed, there can be no sin; for sin defiles and pollutes the heart.

Another objection, is the language of the apostle, where he speaks of "a law in his members warring against the law of his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin, and that in his flesh dwelt no good thing." Rom. vii. That the apostle once was in that state, I think, is beyond a doubt; and that every real Christian experiences a similar, till the strong man armed is cast out, and the old leaven purged away. But that he was so at the time of writing it, to me appears by no means credible, from what he has written just before and after; or he must grossly contradict himself, which will hardly be allowed; but rather that he was describing the effects of the law upon the carnal unregenerate mind. For he says "the law is spiritual, but I am carnal sold under sin." Can it be supposed that the apostle was then carnal? Surely not, for just after, he says, "the carnal mind is enmity against God," and "to be carnally minded is death," chap. viii. 6, 7. and that "they who are in the flesh cannot please God;" "Ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if the spirit of God dwell in you; and if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his." It consequently follows, that if the apostle was then in a carnal state, he was none of Christ's, but at enmity against God. A little before he says, "Knowing this that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin: for he that is dead is freed from sin," chap. vi. 6, 7. And in the 2nd verse, "How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein." And in the 22nd verse, "Being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life."

Let this plain language, both before and after, written no doubt at the same time, determine whether the apostle was then in a carnal, un-

regenerate state or not. And though he elsewhere says, "not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect;" Phil. iii. 10. I think it in no respect favours the construction many put upon it, that the apostle was then in a sinful state. It rather makes against them, as it plainly condemns the notion of being perfectly and for ever justified by mere imputation, and evinces the danger of sitting down at ease, resting satisfied with an imaginary justification. In another place, speaking of the Christian progress, he says, though he did not run as uncertainly, or fight as one that beateth the air, yet he found it necessary to keep under his body, and bring it into subjection, or there was a danger, notwithstanding he had preached to others, of his being still a cast-away. 1 Cor. ix. 26, 27. Another objection is, that the same apostle says, "by grace ye are saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast." Eph. ii. 8, 9. In answer to which, I believe it is very necessary to distinguish between the works of man, which he does in his own will and strength, and those works which are wrought of God. Perhaps it is not rightly knowing this distinction that people cry out against works, as though they were all self righteousness. The works of man, of the unrenewed carnal mind, yea the best of them, are as filthy rags. But I think there should be a great care not to join the works of God (those which he worketh in his people) with man's own works; for in the next verse the apostle says, "Ye are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them." That it is by grace I believe, no real Christian will deny, but will, with humble gratitude in all his progress, acknowledge with the apostle, "by the grace of God I am what I am." 1 Cor. xv. 10. This grace the same apostle declared, hath appeared to all men, (mark that, not to any particular part) and teaches, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly, in this present world. He does not say (it teaches) we must continue in sin. "What," says he in another place, "shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound, God forbid." Rom. vi. 1. That it is also through faith, who will deny? for "without faith it is impossible to please God." Heb. xi. 6. But the apostle speaks of a dead faith, James ii. 17. of a faith the devils have, verse 19. The true faith, he says, worketh by love, Gal. v. 6. purifieth the heart, Acts xv. 9. and overcometh the world, 1 John v. 4. Now what faith have those, who say, they are "tied and bound with the chain of their sins, that they are miserable sinners having no health in them." &c. The tree is known by its fruit.

Again, the words of our Lord, when upon the earth in the days of his flesh, to those whom he had healed of their diseases, are pleaded in excuse for continuing in sin, as "thy faith hath saved thee, thy faith hath made thee whole," &c. But be it remembered, that those to whom he said so were completely cured, received "perfect soundness;" and I believe there is a remnant at this day, who witness the same works, spiritually accomplished by the powerful operation of the same word in the heart, even a being made whole, a being healed of the great disease of sin, prefigured by the various cures performed on the bodies of the people.

Once more, another argument adduced is, where the apostle says, "If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us," John i. 8. But a due attention to what follows, I think will clearly explain that the apostle does not favour the idea that he was then in that state; for he adds, "if we say we have not sinned," plainly alluding to time past; and continues, "if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" and as all unrighteousness is sin, chap. v. 17. they who are cleansed from all, surely can have none remaining. It is the sincere desire of my mind, that the people would consider for themselves, and not take things of such importance upon trust, but attend to the advice of the apostle, "Let every man prove his own work, then shall he have rejoicing in himself, and not in another, for every man shall bear his own burden." Gal. vi. 4, 5. "Be not deceived," he adds just after, "God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap," whatever be his opinion, knowledge or faith. And in another place he says, though he had all knowledge, could understand all mysteries, though he had all faith, even to remove mountains, yet he might be as nothing, 1 Cor. xiii. 2. Therefore it might be well to have a care of talking so highly of the Scriptures, while the life and conversation are not agreeable thereto; and remember the words of our Lord to some of old, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me, and ye will not come unto me that ye might have life." John v. 39, 40. From which it appears, and is worthy of the most serious attention, that those who had the Scriptures and valued them so as to think they had eternal life in them, yet would not come unto Christ, of whom they testified; and who was and is alone the life as well as the light of men. John i. 4. Therefore it may be well to

take care of putting the letter, the testimony, the declaration, concerning an object, for the object itself. For our Lord did not say the Scriptures are the way; but "I am the way, the truth, and the life, and no man cometh unto the Father but by me." John xiv. 6. And learn the difference between the letter, the outward word, and the Word that was in the beginning, John i. 1. before the Scriptures, "the Word nigh in the mouth, and in the heart; Rom. x. 8. "which is quick and powerful, sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder soul and spirit, joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart, before whom all things are naked and open;" Heb. iv. 12. and of whom, as I before observed, the Scriptures testify; and without whose all-powerful aid they remain a dead letter, a sealed book. The apostle declared, the things of God can only be known by the Spirit of God, 1 Cor. ii. 11. They are foolishness to the natural man. Therefore I think we should be careful how we attempt to comprehend the truths, which are contained in the Scriptures by our own understandings; but rather be willing, as the apostle recommends, to become fools, that we may be truly wise, 1 Cor. iii. 18.

I would now offer a few remarks on those two ordinances or ceremonies, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as they are called.

With respect to the first, as practised by those I more particularly address myself to, little need be said; as sprinkling infants is not even an imitation of true baptism, has no relation to it whatever, nor do I believe there can be found a single precept or example for it in any of the Scriptures of truth. I am well persuaded it is like many other things of the kind, a mere popish invention, in the times of darkness and apostacy, as a substitute for the reality; not in any one respect calculated to answer any good purpose whatever. It may be well seriously to consider a language used at that ceremony, "that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church;" and in the Catechism respecting it, that "he is therein made a member of Christ, a child of God, an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." Now let every considerate person solemnly ask himself, whether he believes such effects are really produced by it. If it is possible that any one can think so, his ideas of regeneration and Christ's church, also differ very widely from mine.

Let it be considered also, what people are taught to promise at this ceremony: "To renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh; to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of their lives." Are they not here required to promise what is believed and confessed to be impossible to perform? for surely if it was performed, they would not be "miserable sinners, doing what they ought not to do," &c.

That baptism is necessary, absolutely necessary, for every member of Christ's Church, I fully believe; but I believe, no application of water, even when rightly imitated, is the one true baptism. It is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, which is all outward elementary water can do, but "the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire," Mat. iii. 11, even a being baptised in the name, that is nature, of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; thereby experiencing the consuming of the earthly part in themselves, and a being cleansed and purified from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord. The apostle says, "As many as are baptised into Christ have put on Christ," Gal. iii. 27. not imaginarily, but really; and being buried with him, by this spiritual baptism into death, even a death unto sin; that "like as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so they also will walk in newness of life." Rom. vi. 4. And again, "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature, old things are passed away, all things become new, and all of God," 2 Cor. v. 17. and if all of God, there can be no sin, "for sin is of the devil, and not of God." 1 John iii. 8.

With respect to that other ceremony, called the Lord's Supper, notwithstanding I am sensible of the deep rooted prejudice in favour of it, I feel no discouragement; under a belief that a glorious day is dawning, when clouds and shadows, signs and appearances, shall give place to reality, to the pure essential substance. I am perfectly satisfied in my own mind respecting it, and will endeavour to give my reasons, why I believe it is not of that consequence or obligation many fix upon it.

I believe that our Lord, the night before he suffered took bread and brake it, and gave to his disciples, as also the cup; and that he said, this do in remembrance of me; but that he enjoined it to be an ordinance I cannot find. I presume it will be allowed to be a part of the feast of the Jewish passover, as our Lord said, "With desire, I have desired to eat this passover with you, before I suffer," Luke xxii. 16. and which was a remarkable type or figure of Christ, who was the very Paschal Lamb, the substance or antitype itself. That the bread and wine, as a part of the passover, represented the body and blood of Christ, to be broken and shed for the remission of sins, I presume will also be allowed. Now as there is certainly a very essential difference between the sign

and the thing signified, let us consider a little, which is of most consequence, or whether both are of obligation. I expect none to whom I address myself will deny, that Christ was and is really the substance and antitype of every type and figure, under the Mosaic ceremonial dispensation. This then being one of those figures representing the death of Christ; the substance being come, the type fulfilled, what need of the shadow? Why not give place, as others are acknowledged to do? The apostle, writing to some, remarks, "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death, till he come." 1 Cor. xi. 26. But this I think, by no means implies that it was an enjoined ordinance, but rather, that those to whom he was writing, continued in the use or observance of the Jewish passover. This I think, cannot appear improbable, when it is considered, that for a time it was taught by some of the disciples, that "it was needful to be circumcised, and to keep the law of Moses," Acts xv. 5. of course this among the rest. Therefore it appears to me, that they, as yet, knew not, in a spiritual sense, the coming of Christ; that is, his spiritual appearance in their hearts. This inference seems to be confirmed by what is recorded of some, who had been baptised with John's baptism, that is of water, yet had not so much as heard whether there were an Holy Ghost, Acts xix. 2. the promised mode of his coming again, John xvi. 7. Again, the apostle says, speaking unto wise men, no doubt spiritually wise, "The cup of blessing we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" 1 Cor. x. 15, 16. Can it be supposed that he here alludes to outward bread and wine? for if he did, all who partake of that ceremony, let them be who they may, or what they may, have communion with Christ. Surely that would be joining light and darkness, Christ and Belial, righteousness and unrighteousness together, in direct opposition to the same apostle's plain declaration to the same people. 2 Cor. vi. 15. He says again, "Ye cannot drink of the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils," 1 Cor. x. 20. It is very obvious, that any can partake of the outward bread and wine, therefore that cannot be the cup and table of the Lord. Again, what is recorded of the disciples breaking bread from house to house, Acts ii. 24. I think by no means implies such a ceremony, but rather a social way of living among themselves; as it is said, they had all things common ,verse 44; and, from what immediately follows, "did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart," verse 46, plainly alluding to their common meals.

It is also, I think, very observable, that when the apostles were assembled at Jerusalem, to consider what was necessary to be enjoined to the believing Gentiles, this ceremony was not even mentioned. This, had it been necessary, would surely not have been omitted, considering the things which were then enjoined; most of which have since been laid aside, Acts xv. 20. But our Lord's own words appear to me decidedly to discountenance the outward sign; as where he emphatically calls himself the "Bread of Life." "That his flesh is meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed, and that whosoever ate and drank it had eternal life." John vi. 46, &c. And to reprove their carnal ideas of outward eating and drinking, verse 52, and to direct their minds to the spiritual allusion, he adds, "What, and if you shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before," verse 62, how will ye eat him then? not in outward bread and wine, "it is the spirit that quickeneth: the flesh (or outward food) profiteth nothing."

I believe there are among those to whom I address myself, such as are sensible of the necessity of this spiritual communion, and are truly desirous to partake thereof. Far be it from me to wound any of these. I do tenderly salute them, and feel a degree of unity with the least appearance of the true seed of the kingdom. I would not hurt the least plant of the Lord's own right hand planting. However some little differences may appear, yet let me say to these in a spirit of love and unity, as this is acknowledged to be but a sign or token, why is it continued, when others of equal authority and obligation are dispensed with? For instance, that of circumcision, which our Lord submitted to, Luke ii. 21; and which for a time, even after his ascension, was enjoined by his disciples, as I before quoted. Why is this laid aside? It may perhaps be answered, this sign according to the apostle's definition of it, represented the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, Col. ii. 11. I fully believe it did, and as it is equally true, that bread and wine is also a sign, there appears to me not a shadow of reason, why the one should be continued in preference to the other: the thing signified by both being of equal obligation.

Again, it is worthy of observation, that the beloved disciple John, in his relation, makes not the least mention of this ceremony; but is very particular in giving an account of our Lord's washing his disciples' feet. Why is not this ceremony observed, as it appears to be more particularly enjoined than the other? For, says Christ, "Ye call me Master, and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am: if I then, your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye

ought also to wash one another's feet, for I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done unto you." John xiii. 13. Where can there be found so strong an injunction for the other, that of bread and wine? If it is answered, that was a sign or figure to teach humility and love to each other, which I readily admit it was, I think it is necessary to prove the other to be somewhat more than a sign to support its continuance in preference, which I expect will hardly be attempted. That it was not practised or observed as an ordinance by the apostles, I think evidently appears, from the whole tenor of their writings. Paul reproves some for being subject to ordinances. "Touch not, taste not, handle not," says he, "which all are to perish with the using." Col. ii. 20. And doth not outward bread and wine perish with the using? The apostle well knew the true living bread was not of a perishable nature. Again, he says, "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, new moon, or the sabbath, which" he adds, "are a shadow of things to come, but the body, (the substance) is of Christ," verse 16. In another place he says, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Rom. xiv. 17. And to some others he said "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain;" because after they had known God, had tasted somewhat of the substance, they turned again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto they desired again to be in bondage. Gal. iv. 9. "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years," verse 10, said he, which he had declared to be but shadows of good things; and I fear the same language is too applicable to many who make a very high profession in this day.

From what I have observed on this subject, I think to an unprejudiced mind, it must appear that the true supper of the Lord is an inward, spiritual communion. "Behold," says Christ, "I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." Rev. iii. 20. The outward bread and wine, was nothing more than a part of the Jewish ceremonial dispensation; neither commanded to, nor practised generally by, the Gentiles, in the apostle's days. I would just add, if it is a necessary ordinance; if in other words, it is what by many it is asserted to be, the effects of it would be evident; for our Lord said, "Whosoever ate his flesh and drank his blood, had eternal life." Now, I presume no one to whom I now address myself will impute such an effect to outward bread and wine; therefore it cannot be the Lord's supper. We no where read of two suppers. The difference between the sign and thing signified, the shadow and the substance, I believe many are in a degree sensible of; and as the substance, the reality is to be partaken of, yea, absolutely necessary; (for, said our Lord, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;" John vi. 53.) and, as I before observed, we read of but one supper of the Lord; surely it is of consequence rightly to know which is indeed the true supper.

I have no doubt but there are those who in sincerity and uprightness of heart continue in the use of the sign; far be it from me to judge these. I have only a caution to give in love, that where these signs are regarded, it may be as to the Lord, and not unto men. See Rom. xiv. 6. I fully believe religion doth not consist in observing, or not observing outward ceremonies. For as the apostle says, "In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." Gal. vi. 15. It is not a name, a profession, or any outward observance. But I am not without a fear that many regard them as to men, and are in bondage unto them, and so settled down at ease in them, that they will hardly hear the least objection to them. Such perhaps must be left for a time.

I have given some of my reasons for absenting myself from your communion, and why I believe the worship there performed, is not the worship which the Lord requireth; that it is not agreeable, but contrary to the Scriptures; that it is not "the means of grace, and ordinance of God," but the invention and imagination of man; that it is wrong in principle and in practice. In principle, because you are taught that you must not expect deliverance from sin in this life, whereas the Scriptures testify the contrary. In practice, because you worship in your own wills, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men, which our Lord testified against, Mark vii. 7. yea, in an unregenerate state, according to your own confession, for a sinner is not regenerate. Therefore, what I have heard among you, that your best services are polluted, is strictly true. While you yourselves are in the polluted state, all your performances are polluted also. "For who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one." Job xiv. 4. But it may be well to remember, it stands an unchangeable truth, "That the sacrifices of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord," Prov. xxi. 27. Though we may amuse ourselves with the vain idea that all is well, I do assuredly believe, that to offer any acceptable sacrifice or service, we must know, experimentally know, a being washed, sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of God. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Therefore remember a language

of old to some who had no health in them, but were unsound from head to foot, as many confess they now are. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices?" Isa. i. 11. "Bring no more vain oblations, incense is an abomination to me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies I cannot away with; it is iniquity even the solemn meeting. When you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea when ye make many prayers, I will not hear." ver. 13, 15. And consider the exhortation to them, "Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mines eyes: cease to do evil, learn to do well," &c. ver. 16. Then it is added, "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow: though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." ver. 18. Oh; how awfully is this denunciation now fulfilling around us! It is the fervent breathing of my spirit, that this highly professing, much favoured nation, who have been calling abundantly upon the Lord with their mouths, and honouring him with their lips, may avert the impending stroke, by truly humbling themselves before him; and as his judgments are in the earth may indeed learn righteousness, Isa. xxvi. 9.

I know, friends, from a degree of experience, that there are many and various appearances, signs, and shadows, set up among professing Christians; some of which I have pointed out. I now wish to direct, according to the ability I am at present favoured with, to the reality or substance itself. This inestimable treasure which I had long in vain sought for without, among the various appearances, I at last found to be within. I can anticipate the surprise, and perhaps the indignation, the word within may excite in some minds, who may be ready to exclaim, can there be any good thing in man? Yes, friends, the sovereign good, the only good, is to be found there; and I desire your patient attention while I endeavour to remove that unjust, delusive, yea destructive idea, that nothing good is to be found in man. I believe it is the grand artifice, the most successful insinuation of the great adversary of mankind, to divert the attention from that which is alone able effectually to destroy his kingdom or rule in the heart, and draw it to objects without, to similitudes and appearances. This good then, though in man, is not of man, it is not natural to him; but a free, spontaneous, unmerited gift. This good is, with reverence be it spoken, even the Spirit of God himself: a truth, I believe of the utmost importance to be experimentally known by every individual; and a truth abundantly testified to in the sacred writing; as the ground work, the substance, the foundation of real religon. It is a language also repeatedly expressed by the professors of Christianity; though the truth, the reality of it, appears so little known, as by many even to be denied. Do not you frequently read, "I will dwell in them, and walk in them; I will be their God, and they shall be my people," 2 Cor. vi. 16. "If a man love me," said our Lord, "he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." John xiv. 23. "The Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth," proceeding from the Father, said he, "dwelleth with you, and shall be in you," ver. 17. "Know ye not," said the apostle, "that Jesus Christ is in you except ye be reprobates?" 2 Cor. xiii. 5, and that your bodies are the temples of the living God? 1 Cor. vi. 19. I could multiply quotations of Scriptures, to prove this great important truth, but am sensible that those to whom I address myself are well acquainted with the words. You are frequently reading "of Christ in you, the hope of glory, Col. i. 27, under various similitudes; but what is the reason, he is not known there? It is an important question. What is the reason, I again repeat it, that Christ so often read of in the Scriptures as within, notwithstanding so much talk and imaginations about him, is not known there in reality? I believe, friends, I can tell you the reason why He, the one great foundation, is not known, where alone he is truly to be known. Because he is not sought for there; but in something without, some appearance or representation of him, a knowledge gathered from men or books, from the history or outward letter which, however highly it may be valued, I believe is merely notional. The real experimental knowledge is only known by his internal appearance, his second coming, without sin, unto salvation; Heb. ix. 28. and the operation and effects thereby produced. See Mal. iii. 3. "The kingdom of God," said our Lord, "cometh not with observation." Man, with all his wisdom, is unable to comprehend it, neither shall they say, "Lo! here is Christ; or, lo! there," not in any outward appearance, "for, behold the kingdom of God is within you." Luke xvii. 20, 21. "Say not in thine heart," said the apostle, "who shall ascend into heaven, that is to bring Christ down from above, or who shall descend into the deep, that is to bring Christ again from the dead." He is not at a distance, but "the word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart," Rom. x. 6, 7, 8. Our Lord represented this great truth by various objects or similitudes, to convey spiritual instruction to his disciples; as a treasure hid in a field; Mat. xiii. 44, seed sown in

the ground: Mark iv. 26, a grain of mustard seed; Mat. xiii. 31, a little leaven hid in meal; ver. 33, plainly alluding to this inestimable treasure as hid in the heart, the earthly part of man. There were some of whom our Lord said, having ears they heard not; they could not understand the spiritual meaning of his parables; but to some he said, "unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God." Mark iv. 11. Now, friends, it is of consequence to know of which number we are, whether these are still to us as parables, or whether we know that which unfolds their true meaning: "I am the light of the world," said Christ. "He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." John viii. 12.

The apostle says there is no communion between light and darkness. 2 Cor. iv. 14. If we have not light, we must of necessity be in darkness. There is a spiritual light, as well as a natural. This great apostle to the gentiles, declaring his commission to preach the gospel, said it was to turn people from darkness to light, from the power of satan unto God. Acts xxvi. 18. Of what consequence then is it to be acquainted with this light, by which alone we can discern between good and evil. "All things," said the apostle, "that are reproved, are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever doth make manifest is light." Eph. v. 13. That we may know what this light is, the Scriptures abundantly declare. John the Baptist was sent to bear witness of this light, which is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. John i. 8, 9. In him, i. e. Christ, was life, and the life was the light of men, ver. 4. This light shineth in darkness, even the dark heart of man; though the darkness comprehended it not; ver. 5. This is the light of the glorious gospel; therefore, friends, I caution you to beware of calling it a natural light, or a new light, as many have done. For I believe the same light, if attended to, and its discoveries obeyed, will effect the same works spiritually in the heart, or inner man, as it formerly did on the bodies of the people. There is great danger of speaking evil of the light, for whoever do, confess they are strangers to it, and of course are walking in darkness, for there is but one spiritual light. "If we say we have fellowship with him and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all sin." 1 John i. 6, 7.

Our Lord himself plainly declared, that "Every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved; but he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God." John iii. 20, 21. Therefore, it is not strange that those who plead for sin, which is evil, should speak against this light, and call it a natural light; or any thing to excuse themselves; because it cannot but condemn them. Those things which the light, if attended to, would manifest to be evil, are too dearly loved to be parted with, while they can persuade themselves they are secure in retaining them. I speak from experience, and do earnestly recommend a turning to this light within, from all the "lo heres," and "lo theres;" the various appearances, signs, and shadows, set up by the will and wisdom of men, in the times of darkness and apostacy; even to Christ within, the hope of glory, the true foundation, 1 Cor. iii. 11; the Rock against which, as it is faithfully abode in, even the gates of hell shall not prevail, Mat. xvi. 18; nor all the opposition of men. This I believe is the substance of every shadow, the reality of every appearance, the word nigh in the mouth and in the heart; the true anointing, which is truth and no lie, and which teacheth all things without need of man's teaching. 1 John ii. 27. This is the new covenant, graciously promised by the Most High. "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people; and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, know the Lord, for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord." Jer. xxxi. 33, 34.

Behold, said our Lord, the kingdom of God is within you. Luke xvii. 21. The seed of the kingdom which is sown in the heart, though too small for the eye of man's wisdom to discover, though it is still to the high professing Jew a stumbling block, and to the worldly wise Greek, foolishness; yet it is to those who hear its call and obey it, Christ, the power of God, and the wisdom of God. 1 Cor. i. 23, 24. This I believe is the new birth, without which our Lord declared no one could even see the kingdom of God. John iii. 3. The birth which is not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God, John i. 13. For that which is born of the flesh, however high and specious its appearance, is still flesh; and that which is born of the spirit, however mean and contemptible in the eye of man's wisdom, is spirit. The gospel is a spiritual dispensation. The spirit of truth inwardly manifested, our Lord promised should guide into all truth. John xvi. 13. The apostles were not to leave Jerusalem till they had received it, Acts i. 4, and then we are informed, "They spake as the Spirit gave them utterance." Acts ii. 4. We have no reason

to suppose they used any form of words, neither that they spake when or where they chose; but we are frequently informed of their going or forbearing, as by the Spirit they were directed. Acts viii. 29. xix. 7, &c. Neither are we to suppose that this influence and direction of the Spirit was confined to any period of time; for, says our Lord, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Mat. xxviii. 20. What a departure from their example and precepts is lamentably conspicuous among most professing Christians; who have invented various images, forms, and modes of worship, which they can perform when they please; evidently acknowledging that they think the influence and assistance of the Spirit unnecessary; at least that they will begin at a venture, whether it may come or not! Surely it may be well to consider, whether it is not offering strange fire before the Lord. Lev. x. 1. The only true worship under the gospel dispensation, is, agreeably to our Lord's express declaration, that which is in spirit and in truth, John iv. 24. And as the influences and movings of the Spirit, (although so absolutely necessary, as that no acceptable worship can be performed without them) are not at our command; how proper, yea, how needful then, is an humble, silent, dependent waiting upon Him, who alone can administer this assistance; that thereby the true preparation of the heart may be experienced, to receive whatever He who searcheth the heart, and who alone knoweth what is good for those who wait upon him, may be pleased to administer: whether immediately, by his still small voice in the secret of the heart, or instrumentally, by whomsoever he may please to appoint!

"They that wait upon the Lord," said the prophet, "shall renew their strength." Isa. xl. 31. It is the professed object of most assemblies for religious worship, to wait upon the Lord. Now, whether those who in solemn humble silence, wait to feel the influences of the Spirit, to instruct and enable, when and what to offer, of what is immediately received from the Fountain of good, are such as that promise applies to; or those who are always ready to begin, either in a prescribed form, or in the exercise of their own natural or acquired abilities, whether they may have the assistance so necessary or not; I think a little serious consideration may determine. Indeed the plain express meaning of the term, waiting, appears to me to be a silent, attentive expectation of something; and if it is weightily considered, that, at such times, we more particularly profess to approach the sacred presence of Him, "who searcheth the heart, trieth the reins, and requireth truth in the inward parts;" who cannot possibly be deceived or amused by the most plausible expressions, or the most eloquent language; who has decidedly condemned the practice of drawing near to him with the mouth, and honouring him with the lips, whilst the heart is far from him; Isa. xxix. 13, surely it is needful at such times to wait, silently wait, for the reception of spiritual power, lest we should be like those who offer the sacrifice of fools. Eccles. v. 1. "Let not thine heart," said the wise man, "be hasty to utter any thing before God, for God is in heaven and thou upon earth; therefore let thy words be few," verse 2. "Without me," said our blessed Lord, "ye can do nothing." John xv. 5. Yet the practice of many who profess to follow him, evidently declares that they think they can do without him, for they are, as to words and outward performances, always ready. The apostle plainly declared, that "we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but it is the spirit that helpeth our infirmities." Rom. viii. 26. What are all the arts of composition, and the powers of human eloquence, without this assistance, but "sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal?" "When ye pray," said our Lord, "use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking:" Mat. vi. 7. A language too applicable, I fear, not only to the prescribed formal prayers, but to the more private extempore productions, as though prayer consisted in outward expression; an idea repeatedly condemned in the Scriptures of Truth.

The apostle, after saying we know not what to pray for, adds "The spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered." Christ called them hypocrites who prayed to be seen of men; Mat. vi. 5. and directed his disciples to pray in secret to the Father, who seeth in secret. ver. 6. The apostle also recommends praying always, with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance. Eph. vi. 18. He does not recommend to begin singing as soon as they conclude a prayer. In another place, he exhorts to a "continuing instant in prayer;" Rom. xii. 12. again, "Pray without ceasing;" 1 Thes. v. 17. from all which I think it must appear that there may be true prayer without words, and that there may also be words without prayer. I believe there are those possessed of considerable abilities, a ready flow of words, and a pleasing eloquent delivery, who can at any time when they please, deliver what I have heard called an excellent prayer; without waiting to feel that influence, which can alone enable to "pray with the spirit, and with true understanding." But though such exercises may produce a temporary warmth, both in speaker and hearer, I believe, it will be found to be only a fire of their own kindling, a mere

appearance, and not the effects of the live coal from the true altar. Isa. vi. 6. The same observations are equally applicable to every other external performance of worship, public or private: for, however it may affect the outward ear, yea, and kindle sparks, as it were producing a temporary warmth; if it does not proceed from the immediate sensible movings of the Spirit of Truth, I much fear the appellation of will-worship is applicable to it.

I have also had a fear, that a language of old, respecting some of whom it was said, "they limited the Holy One of Israel," Psa. lxxviii. 41. is applicable to most professing religious societies, where any particular man or set of men, assume to themselves the exclusive right of teaching or preaching: a practice totally repugnant to the gospel dispensation, and the uniform example and precepts of Christ and his apostles. For I fully believe that no human authority, call, qualification, or ordination, can make a minister of Christ. That is the prerogative of Christ himself. It is absolutely necessary that every individual Christian should be born of the Spirit; John iii. 5. and surely it must also be necessary that the ministers of Christ should, in an especial manner, be so too. Paul said he was made an apostle, "Not of man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father." Gal. i. 1. And, as I before observed, the dispensation of the gospel being a "dispensation of the spirit," the ministers thereof are ministers of the spirit, and not of the letter. Not ministers of the word only, though Scripture words themselves; but of the "word of eternal life," even of the "Word which was in the beginning, which liveth and abideth forever." 1 Pet. i. 23. That Word which is quick and powerful, discerning the thoughts and intents of the heart," Heb. iv. 12. Words may have, and no doubt have, their service, as the Spirit brings to remembrance and giveth utterance; but to steal the words of Scripture, see Jer. xxiii. 30, 31, and put them in a premeditated form, however eloquently they may be delivered, I believe is not preaching the gospel. They who are particularly called, qualified, and sent by Christ himself, as I believe every true minister is, will not presume to preach or pray, when, where, or what they please; but as they are immediately moved and directed by the spirit of Christ, inwardly revealed; see Gal. i. 16. who can alone know what is needful to be administered, and these as they freely receive, they will, agreeably to our Lord's command, freely give, Mat. x. 8, &c., without any view to temporal interest. And as they are not their own, they cannot dispose of their time or talents, according to their own wills; but as He who hath called them is pleased to direct.

To conclude: the few observations I have now offered, may, perhaps, to unprejudiced minds, be sufficient to evince the inward spiritual nature of the gospel dispensation; and that signs and figures, all external ceremonial performances, are totally abolished from that worship, which can only be performed in spirit and in truth. John iv. 23, 24.

They may also evince that the only necessary qualification for true worship, is the influence and direction of the Spirit of Truth inwardly revealed: that this necessary assistance is not confined to time or place, or to any particular man or set of men. For, as the apostle declared, "The manifestation of the spirit is given to every man, to profit withal," 1 Cor. xii. 7. I believe there are no individuals arrived to the years of discretion, but who are favoured with a sufficient portion thereof, if properly attended to, to direct them into the paths of true judgment. The word, even the word of eternal life, is nigh to all, nor need any look to men for instruction; but this same anointing, if the mind is simply and unreservedly directed to it, teacheth all things, and is truth. 1 John ii. 27. Who is there, who has not felt its secret reproofs for evil, and its approbation for good? To this true teacher, of whose all-sufficient aid I have thankfully to acknowledge a degree of experience, I do earnestly recommend the particular, unwearied, faithful, attention of every individual.

JOHN SPALDING.

Reading, the 30th of the Seventh month, 1794.

A BRIEF MEMOIR

CONCERNING

ABEL THOMAS,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

"For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world." This may be fitly applied to the subject of this memoir; who, having very little knowledge of literature, and being naturally of a shy, diffident disposition, associating in his youthful days but little with those from whose experience and judgment he could have acquired such an understanding of men and things as is common, was thereby deprived of those advantages which in more advanced life might have been really beneficial to him.

He was the son of Jacob and Catharine Thomas, who lived in Merion, Philadelphia county. His mother dying while he was an infant, his father married again, and having a large family, his circumstances slender, and removing into a remote place, where there was no school, Abel was of course deprived of the benefit of an education sufficient to qualify him for carrying on trade and business among men, other than as a common day-labourer. When about thirteen years old he became uneasy on account of his want of school learning, and with the scanty means which he could obtain in his father's house, by diligent application in leisure hours, he attained the knowledge of letters, so as to read, and through the kind assistance of a neighbour was enabled to write so as to be understood, though very deficient in spelling.

The meeting being about ten miles distant, although he had a desire to attend it, yet through the poverty of the family, and want of suitable convenience for that purpose, it does not appear that he ever was at a place of worship until he was about fifteen. Then with his father's leave, his elder brother and himself went to the meeting-house; where, seeing a number of people sitting together in silence, the scene to him was not only novel, but his mind not being acquainted with the nature and awfulness of divine worship, and the requisite preparation of heart to come to a true knowledge of it, could not readily comprehend why it should be thus, or what should induce this quiet waiting and inward retirement to experience a qualification for the performance of this solemn duty. After some time, an elderly Friend, under the influence of the love of the Gospel, stood up and spoke with such power and energy, as fully reached his state, opened his understanding, and gave him to see and feel in some degree, the efficacy of that grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ. Speaking of this meeting he says, "it was not the words that confirmed me, but something of a ffavour [savour] that attended them, which I did evidently feel in my heart, saying, this is the way, walk in it."

Submitting to this divine visitation, he was drawn to labour fervently against the prevalence of his own corrupt will; for although he had been preserved in a moral life, or what is generally esteemed in the world an orderly regular conduct, yet now through the illumination of Divine Light, seeing that the heart of man is deceitful and desperately wicked, he found the necessity of daily watching against the motions and temptations to evil, that every thought and word might be brought to judgment, and the very important work of regeneration might, through the Lord's goodness, be gradually carried on, to the subduing of those dispositions and inclinations to which man in his fallen state is prone. As he patiently, and with sincerity of soul, waited under the ministration of condemnation, he was often drawn into retirement, desiring that through the Holy Spirit he might find grace to help in time of need, assuredly believing that without this, he was not able to make straight steps to his feet, or perform any thing that would be acceptable in the divine sight. And in thankful commemoration of the mercy and paternal regard of his heavenly Father, manifested in drawing near to him in this the day of his many trials and besetments, he breaks forth in filial acknowledgment: "I can say from all the powers of love in me, blessing and honour be given to the Father of mercies through his dear Son Jesus Christ."

He continued working very hard on his father's farm, and through the weight of his spirit and his watchful circumspect walking, a reformation was wrought in the family, much harmony subsisted among them, and great nearness of affectionate sympathy towards him in his various exercises prevailed. Believing that retirement in this the

infant state of his religious experience was needful, he obtained liberty of his father to put up a little cabin, where he might be more secluded from company, and here much of his time was spent, when not engaged in secular concerns. One night as he was walking alone with his mind gathered into a solemn calm, he had a gentle intimation communicated to his spiritual ear, that it would be right for him to leave his father's house, and proceed in a northeasterly direction to such place as it would be proper for him to reside in for some time. As this was an unexpected opening, it brought considerable exercise upon him, through the weight whereof, and his fervent desire to be rightly directed, he became so reduced in his health and strength that he could scarcely perform his usual daily labour. He then opened the subject to his father, mentioning his belief that he should have to leave him, to live in another part of the country; his father replied, it would be hard to part with him; and under a feeling of the influence of true love raised in their hearts, and which had increased and tenderly united them together, they both wept.

After some time, the family on due deliberation, resigning him to pursue what he apprehended to be his duty, he informed them that from the prospect presented to him, it did not appear that it would be further than about sixty miles, though he was entirely unacquainted with the country or the people where he should settle. His brother through tender sympathy accompanying him, they went on as far as Kingwood in New Jersey, where there was a settlement of Friends, and a monthly meeting established. To this meeting a certificate of removal was granted him, dated fourth month, 1757. Here he engaged as a labourer on a farm with a person not professing with Friends. His diligence in business, and his humble, inoffensive demeanour, greatly attached the affection of his employer to him, and in his new abode, he still found it needful to keep in patience and watchfulness under his religious exercises, carefully attending the meetings of Friends. It is believed that in this place his mouth was first opened in the ministry of the gospel, and in due time, with the concurrence of Friends, he performed a religious visit to some of the meetings in New Jersey.

He staid in this neighbourhood between four and five years, married a member of Burlington meeting in 1761, and lived some time among Friends near Mount Holly. But his wife dying, and believing it would be right for him to return to the vicinity of his father's residence, he accordingly removed, and in a few years after married his second wife, Ellen Roberts, of Uwchlan, in the year 1777. While sitting at the table on the day of his marriage, he expressed himself nearly as follows, viz:—

"I feel a freedom to express my thoughts. Marriages are commonly places of rejoicing; but when we look at what is to come, we find but little room to rejoice in transitory things.

"Notwithstanding I have been this day joined in marriage to one whom I do entirely love, I know, so surely as we have been joined in marriage, so surely that hour will come, when we must, by death be separated. It is best for us, and for all, to be industrious in gathering strength against that time to come, so that the one of us that is first called home may be prepared for so great and final a change, and the survivor be fortified with strength, to endure, with resignation, the bitter parting with so intimate a friend.

"Under one consideration, my friends, my relatives, I may this day rejoice,—in that I perceive what I have done hath not offended Him, whom I have loved more than my love who now sits on my right hand. Surely, I am under the strongest obligations to worship and adore that immortal King, who hath been unto me as a shield and buckler, in my lonesome and afflicted pilgrimage. Surely I may in safety rejoice in the Lord, the God of my salvation; and, with all my might, ascribe unto Him the glory, and the praise of all, who is worthy for ever!"

Some time after this he removed with his family and resided at Exeter, in Pennsylvania, maintaining a good example in life and conversation, and was diligent in the attendance of meetings for worship and discipline. His labours in the exercise of the gift of gospel ministry committed to him, were savoury and truly edifying, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; and however singular and unpolished his general deportment might appear to some, it was evident to his brethren, that the primary care and bent of his mind was so to live as to be in fellowship with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ.

On a retrospective view of his retired, abstemious life, his general seclusion from the company of the youth with whom he was acquainted, and the great change which a subjection to the cross of Christ effected, he remarked that whenever he gave way to his natural inclination, and sought to please the vain and airy minds of the youth in their folly, jesting, &c., though he said or did nothing that men in general would condemn, yet the swift witness in his own breast would rise up against him, bring him into judgment and condemnation, and with much painful suffering under the purifying baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire, he had to wait before he could again experience the lifting up of the light of the Lord's countenance upon him, and know a communion with him in spirit, that sets the soul at liberty, and gives it a true taste of eternal salvation. In a sense of the Lord's mercy and divine compassion to humble penitent sinners, he breaks forth in pious ejaculation, "Blessing and honour be for ever given unto the Father of mercies through his dear Son Jesus Christ—the Father and the Son are one: God is a Spirit, and in spirit he is to be known and conversed with by the children of men, who endeavour to follow him according to the manifestation of his will, without respect of persons. And as he doth know that we are in a miserable state without him, not able to do any thing without his help, he makes the first offer of acquaintance with us, [and] from the great love he hath to his creature man, speaks in the inward parts by his Son Jesus Christ, the Light of the world, showing us the way to please him, and also points out the way to everlasting misery. There is no sincere-hearted traveller that desires to follow the instructions of that grace that teacheth to deny ungodliness and the world's lusts, to live soberly and watchful unto prayer, that will be at a loss to know how to

behave in his presence. Our Lord said that a man must be born again, otherwise he cannot see the kingdom of heaven. As Christians we are bound to believe this, and endeavouring to turn our attention heavenward more and more, according to the manifestations of that grace or light, which we are all graciously favoured with, by and through Jesus Christ, who hath bought us with a price, and that not without blood; it is possible for us through obedience to obtain the kingdom. We frequently feel that there is another usurping limited power, which by subtle delusions works upon the natural passions of men, in order to hinder them from laying up treasure in heaven: thus we find there are two teachers or powers opposite to each other, and he to whom we yield our members servants to obey, his servants we are."

In the year 1778, after much close exercise from a prospect of religious duty which he opened to, and was united with by, Exeter monthly meeting, of which he was a member, he proceeded on a visit to some meetings in New Jersey, and in part of the state of New York, having for his companion James Thomas, a member of the same meeting. As this was in the time of the Revolutionary War, and the city of New York was then in possession of the British troops, travelling in our country was rendered extremely difficult, through the great suspicion which was continually excited in the minds of the different contending parties, under an idea that persons going from their places of residence in this season of commotion must have some sinister motives, and would, as opportunities presented, prove inimical to the cause in which they were respectively engaged. Thus in many instances even going to religious meetings, was, in the apprehensions of the persons in power, deemed as sufficient evidence of treacherous designs, concealed under the plausible, yet insincere, profession of religious duty. Accordingly, after visiting several meetings in the state of New York, returning into New Jersey, they were stopped by the military, who, finding that they were innocent men, discharged them, but soon after they were again apprehended, taken to Newark, and after some detention, sent under guard as prisoners to Princeton, where they were examined by the governor, (Livingston), and council, being supposed to be guilty of treason; before whom he made the following defence, viz.:

" *The words of a prisoner who had liberty by the Governor and Council to speak in his own defence, supposed by law to be guilty of death.*

" I am glad of liberty to speak in my own defence before the Governor and his council. I hope you are moderate, considerate men, and will hear me patiently while I speak forth the words of truth and soberness. We live, when at home, in Berks county, Pennsylvania; I have been looked upon as a minister of the gospel amongst the people called Quakers, from about the twenty-second year of my age; and under the exercise thereof have travelled much in America, and visited the meetings of Friends generally from Nova Scotia to Georgia, and many of them several times over. And in this great work I have ever observed the good rules of discipline used among us. When I have felt my mind drawn in love towards my brethren in any part of America, I have endeavoured first to get fully satisfied in my mind whether it was the Lord's will or not; and then, after being confirmed by turning the fleece, that it was his requiring, I have always laid it before my brethren at the monthly meeting for their approbation, and in like manner so at this time, but never met with so much trouble upon the like occasion before; for after I was fully satisfied it was the Lord's requiring, by looking at the difficulties and dangers I should be exposed to in crossing the lines of contending parties, I became weak and fearful. I thought I would mention my concern to the elders in a private way, which I did, but received no encouragement from them to speak of it to the monthly meeting. I then concluded to take no more thought about it, fearing it was a delusion; but I was followed with the judgments of God for disobedience, insomuch that the nearest connexions in life became withered in my view; and in this sad condition I came to a conclusion that I would endeavour to obey the Lord's requiring, although I might lose my natural life in the pursuit thereof.

" I spoke of it to the monthly meeting, and after solid consideration, they gave me a certificate signed by the elders and heads of the meeting, which I have in my pocket. We then proceeded on our journey, and crossed Delaware at Coryell's ferry, and visited the meetings generally until we came to the North (Hudson) river, which we crossed about four miles below Poughkeepsie, and rode through the town some miles eastward, to a meeting, and so visited the meetings generally in that government without any interruption until we came to White Plains, where we were stopped by the guard. We told the lieutenant we were going to Mamaroneck meeting; he gave us leave to go, but afterwards sent a horseman for us, who informed us we must have a few lines from the colonel before we should go. We rode back four or five miles to the colonel's, who gave us a pass to go to Mamaroneck meeting, and from thence we went to West Chester. After meeting we went to the water side to go over to Long Island; there was no boat there. We made a smoke for a signal to the ferryman on the other side to come for us, which he did; but informed us what we might depend upon, that he was under an obligation to send all strangers that he brought over to the colonel's at Flushing. When we were over, he sent a guard with us to the colonel's. We informed him our business on the island. His answer was to us, If that was our business, it was a pity to hinder us. He readily gave us a permit to travel through the island. We visited eight meetings. I think we were at a meeting every day we staid there, and when our service was over, we crossed the Sound to New York, where we had two meetings; and when we were clear of that place, we, with the assistance of our friends, got a pass from the chief commanding officer of that place, to cross the North river at Powles Hook. When we were over, I gave that pass to the colonel, who went up stairs in a private chamber. While I stood at the door there came an officer, (as I thought by his dress,) and asked me if I was not afraid to go among the rebels. I told

him I was innocent, and was not afraid to go among my own countrymen. The colonel sent for me to come up to him. He gave me our pass, with an endorsement on the back of it, to pass the picket guards, and offered me a newspaper, and told me I might divert myself as I rode, in reading it. I told him I had nothing to do with politics, neither did I incline to read newspapers. He told me I was at my liberty, and so we parted. We had not gone but a few rods from the door until a soldier commanded us to stop; he began to untie our great coats and search our bags.

"When we were in New York, our friends told us of a judge whose name was Fell, that had been a prisoner there thirteen months. When he was first taken he was put in the Provost, and he, being a tender man, in close confinement, was not likely to continue long. We were informed that ten of our friends joined together to do their utmost, by treating with the officers, for his liberty in the town, who at length obtained it, by being bound in the sum of one thousand pounds for his good behaviour in the city. This judge behaved himself so well as to gain the good will of the officers, who gave him liberty to go home to his family, upon parole of honour. Our friends considering the difficulties we might meet with when out of the English lines, thought it best for me, (as the judge was yet in town,) to go to him. A friend went with me, whose name is Henry Haydock. After that friend, who had long been acquainted with me, had recommended me to him, and made known to the judge my circumstances, he said he was a prisoner, and could do but little for me, but what he could he would. He informed me he had a son who was a major, that lived about Hackinsack. If I could find him, and tell him that I had seen his father, he believed he would show me kindness; and if he saw him before I did, he would speak to him concerning me. I asked him if he dare write a line to him. The judge thought it not safe. He gave me his name on a small piece of paper, and told me his son would know his hand, (which I have in my pocket.)

"We went on our journey from Powles Hook, and travelled near twenty miles, when we were stopped by the guards, our bags taken off and searched. We inquired for major Fell. They told us he lived many miles from that place; and informed us of a major who lived four or five miles back, where we went without a guard. After that major examined us and searched our pocket-books, and had seen judge Fell's hand writing, which he knew, he gave us a pass to the highest officer in Elizabethtown, which I have with me. We went forward through Hackinsack, and came to Passaick river, then crossed the ferry to a little village, where we were stopped by the guard, our bags again taken off and searched thoroughly, but nothing found that was offensive. Soon after there came along the road a major in a wagon, who stopped and came to us, and in a very furious manner, asked us where we had been. I told him we had been to New York. He asked me if I did not know that there was a strict law against it. I told him I thought that law was not made for such men as we were. Then he, in a great rage, ordered the guard to bring us down to Newark; and we were had there before a judge, a justice, and two majors. After examination, we were sent to the guard-house, where we were closely confined that night. The next morning we were sent for to the major's house, where was a justice who read to us the law, which we had not before heard; by which we understood our lives were forfeited. We were then had to the judge's house, where our guard received orders to take us to the governor's. The judge and his officers blamed us much, that we did not go to the governor's at Poughkeepsie, [in the state of New York,] in order to get a pass to go to York or Long Island. We did not know it was death by the law, until we had rode between thirty and forty miles below Poughkeepsie, and then we did not know that it was possible for a stranger to obtain a permit from the governor to go within the English lines. And concerning deceiving the colonel at the White Plains, in not telling him we were going to New York, if he had asked me the question, I believe I should have told him the truth.

"When I heard it was death by the law to go to Long Island and New York, I was struck with a serious sadness, and did not know what to do. To go forward, it was death by the laws of the land,—and to go homeward, it was death by the law of the Spirit of life. But after considering the matter calmly in myself, I concluded to go forward, with a strong resolution to keep myself entirely clear of those crimes for which the law was made, and in so doing I should be innocent before God, and more excusable before my countrymen at my return. And I can assure the governor and his council, that I have not said or done any thing knowingly or intendingly, that would injure particulars, or my countrymen in general: and let the governor and his council judge whether I am guilty of death, or further confinement. If guilty, I must endeavour to suffer patiently, according to your laws; but if the governor and council should judge me innocent, I desire a pass to go home, and liberty in it to go back to Plainfield, Rahway, Shrewsbury, Squan, Squankum, Barnegat, Egg Harbours, and Cape May, from whence I intend to go home, if the Lord permit."

It would seem as though this was all that he said; but his humility has operated to the suppression of what he further expressed to the council; viz: that, if his visit should be judged a capital offence, which must be punished with death, he only might suffer, and his companion be permitted to go home, as his only motive was merely to accompany him in the journey. The governor and council, after hearing this simple, undisguised relation, being conscious that nothing but a sense of religious duty could have induced him to undertake such a journey, in a time of extreme difficulty and peril, freely, and with that magnanimity which ever accompanies genuine benevolence, granted the following pass, viz.

"Princeton, 26th May, 1778.

"Council of Safety, State of New Jersey.

"Abel Thomas and James Thomas, inhabitants of Pennsylvania, being sent under guard to the President and Council of Safety by two magistrates of Newark, for having been into the enemy's lines in the city of New York and Long Island without passports, and suspected of designs injurious to the liberties of America: the Board, upon

hearing their defence, were satisfied of their innocence, and have reason to believe, that their journey to the several places which they have visited, was undertaken on a religious account, and agreeable to their declared intention to the meeting held at Maiden creek the 25th day of March, 1778, of performing a religious visit to the meetings of Friends in part of the Jerseys and part of New York Governments. The Board therefore discharges the said Abel and James Thomas from their present confinement: and they being further desirous to visit the meetings of their friends at Plainfield, Rahway, Shrewsbury, Squan, Squankum, Barnegat, Great and Little Egg Harbour, and at the Capes, and this government being unwilling to obstruct any society in the exercise of their religion, the said Abel and James Thomas are permitted to pass to the nine places last mentioned, and then to the state of Pennsylvania.

"WILL. LIVINGSTON, *President.*"

Some time after his return home, his mind was drawn in the love of the gospel to several places in Pennsylvania, and two of the adjoining states, which being spread before the monthly meeting of Exeter, they granted a certificate, dated eleventh month, 1779, leaving him at liberty to perform a religious visit to the meetings of Friends in parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. And also in 1781, with the unity of the monthly meeting, and having Amos Lee for his companion, he visited meetings in Virginia and Carolina, passing through very great difficulties, as the country was much infested by a lawless, murderous banditti, who, for the sake of plunder, frequently shot down innocent people as they were riding along the roads. When at Camden, in South Carolina, they were taken up as prisoners by the American army. Being kept with the soldiery several days they at length obtained a discharge, as appears by the following extract of a narrative which he sent to his friends, viz:

"*To Friends of Exeter Monthly meeting, Berks County, Pennsylvania,*

"Dear Friends,—I believe it my duty to give you a short account of the reason of my long stay from my family and friends, and why I did not return with my companion, and the reason why my companion left me; as also to give you to understand, that I am afflicted, but not forsaken. When we came to a meeting at Pedee, in the south part of North Carolina, a large American army passed by us into South Carolina, and encamped in the road to a little meeting, not far from Camden. I thought I saw clearly, that it was best for us to follow them, and we gave ourselves up, as prisoners, to the captain of the provost guard. The officers gathered about us. Our horses were taken from us, but our saddles and saddle-bags we had with us in our confinement. Our papers were soon demanded, and read over, and we were closely examined: some of our papers were sent to the head general. They gave us to expect we should have a pass to go home, if we would promise to go; but I could not make such a promise, being bound in spirit to do my endeavours to visit Friends in South Carolina, if not in Georgia. In the time of our confinement, we had the company of several officers, one at a time. They behaved civilly, but were full of talk and foolish imaginations concerning us. Let me never forget my Master's kindness in a time of need: I had talk enough for them all, which they could not gainsay or condemn. At length they concluded, yea, one of them told me, that I was a crafty fellow, chosen by our yearly meeting in Pennsylvania to survey the southern states, to the disadvantage of our country, and for the advancement of the British troops, or words to that effect. We were often pressed to promise to go home, which I as often punctually refused; giving them such reasons for it which they could not answer.

"We gave ourselves up to the captain on sixth-day in the afternoon, and on first-day morning following, about an hour or two before day, there was a great stir in the camp, the officers riding to and fro, ordering the soldiers to make haste and parade ready to march. When our captain had got his men in order, with many prisoners, he honoured us so much as to rank us next to him, and so he marched on with his naked sword in his hand, and we following him. We marched near twenty miles, and then encamped. When we first set out, I was thoughtful how we should get along, for several reasons, if they marched far. We had eaten sparingly the day before, and then had but a little more than one biscuit and a little piece of meat between us both, and had our bags and great coats to carry; and what made it seem more trying, the sand was deep and slavish, and my boots stiff and heavy. The thoughts of these things, for a time, seemed grievous. I began to inquire for my [Divine] Master, and when I found him, I conversed with him as though he was present, and told him as though he knew it not, that I had left my dear wife and all that I had that was near and dear to me for the love I had for Him, and did entreat, that he would not leave me now in a time of trial: and he was pleased to hear me, and with an encouraging language, conveyed to my understanding these words, 'Fear not, my servant, I will be with thee.' The praise of all be given to Him, for he is worthy: he did fulfil his promise to my admiration.

"We marched fast. I ate but little more than half a biscuit that day, and yet could not perceive myself hungry or weary. I found freedom to be cheerful in conversation with the captain and with his men. The officers passing and repassing, generally took notice of us. Some of them asked how we were. I answered as I felt, with as much cheerfulness as I could. We were now encamped in the wilderness under guard, but had liberty to walk out, one at a time. I went out that afternoon, from tent to tent, amongst the officers, making known to them our circumstance, where we desired to go, and what our business was. One of them promised to let us go in the morning. I returned to my companion, laid down by him, but could not sleep, although I had not slept much for several nights. Remarkable it appeared to me, that I should be well and hearty and lively without much food or sleep. My dear friends, search for the reason. I believe it to be the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in my view.

"The next morning I went to seek the officer who had promised to give us our liberty, and after some time found him, and put him in mind of his

promise. He seemed to quibble, and put it off. I thought he intended to weary me out, that so I would promise to go home. I went to the head officer, and made my complaint, and he, in a friendly way, told me that we should soon be released. Soon after, that officer who had promised us a permit, called me to his tent, and wrote a pass for us; and when he had read it to me, my spirit was raised with zeal for my Master's honour, and so I told him, that I was not to fear or be frightened by men when in my Master's cause. Must we indeed go right home without a guard? Nay, send a guard with us for the safety of thy country. Yes, we have concluded to go homeward about one hundred and fifty miles, to a settlement of Friends about New Garden, and when we have visited them, if I find my mind easy to return home to my wife and children, I shall be glad. But if I find my Master hath any more service for me in this part of the country, I desire to be enabled to return to South Carolina, if not to Georgia, visiting my friends; and if I should return through this army, when thou seest me ride on, then remember what I tell thee now.

"*Officer.*—If you return here again, you may expect severity.

"*Answer.*—I do not fear what your army can do to me, for I know that you can have no power over this body, except you receive it from above for some good end. He then looked me full in the face, and perhaps saw the tears begin to run down my cheeks. He gave me his hand, and wished me a good journey, got on his horse, and rode off.

"Our horses were given to us; we parted with our captain (of the provost) as with a friend, and with a raised voice bid his men farewell, and wished them a better way of living, which they returned, with gladness for our release. We had about sixty miles to a Friend's house at Pedee, from whence we came. I thought our being amongst them was no disgrace to our Society. O how good it is for us to live near the Truth! Walking in the light, we should be at no loss to know what to do, or where to go, or how to behave ourselves before men for the glory of God, and for the safety and peace of our souls. I have been much preserved in such a state since I left you: I am unworthy of such great kindness. The thoughts of the many days, weeks and months, which, in time past, I have spent in the unnecessary cares of this world, do at times grieve me: that, and the sense I have of the state of the churches, is the greatest affliction which I meet with. I find hard work amongst Friends in these southern provinces, but have been helped by my kind Master, to proclaim his great name, although in a clumsy and uncustomary way: I generally feel relief to my burdened, troubled soul.

"I am in a few days intending to set out for South Carolina again, not knowing what may befall me there. My greatest concern is that I might be [obedient] to my Master. I cannot see the end of my journey, nor the road home so clearly as usual. It may be you may see my face no more; and if it be so, I entreat you, in that love which I feel for you, that you show kindness to my dear wife, and watch over my children for good. The reason of my beloved companion leaving me—I first proposed it to his consideration for your sakes, lest you might be uneasy; and after considering and looking at it, found freedom so to do. It is no small cross for me to part with him; we have travelled together in love as brethren in tribulation. My love to you all, my friends and neighbours.

"ABEL THOMAS.

"New Garden, North Carolina,
Fifth month 6th, 1781."

After being some time in the vicinity of New Garden, North Carolina, Amos Lee, finding his mind released from further prosecution of the journey, it was their judgment, that it would be best for him to return homeward; but being closely united in the bonds of gospel fellowship, and in that inward endearment which, through the love of Christ, connects the real members of his church, it was no easy matter for them to part. Yet seeing it necessary, with the tenderest desires for their mutual preservation, resigning each other into the hand of Him, who in great condescension, had hitherto preserved them in much tribulation, they separated. Abel, after this, not feeling easy to omit making a further essay towards the fulfilment of his prospects of religious duty, proceeded to South Carolina, where the trials of faith, and the remarkable deliverances vouchsafed to him, in this perilous travel, are in some degree set forth in the following relation.

"In a thankful sense of preservation by a strong arm through many dangers and deep conflicts, both within and without, which I met with in my journey through South Carolina and Georgia, do I write these lines, in order to encourage the weak, the poor afflicted people of God, to trust in his powerful arm, which doth work salvation and deliverance, by bringing strange and unexpected things to pass. He is greatly to be feared, and loved, and adored, by his afflicted children. They who know him, and do their endeavour not only to know but to obey, have no reason to distrust his care and great power to preserve, not only from being taken by the secret and subtle invasions of satan, but also out of the hands of bloody and unreasonable men. These things I have experienced in the great deeps, and do certainly know that the Lord's arm is not shortened that it cannot save, nor is his ear heavy that it cannot hear. When I consider my own weakness and inability as a man, and as a servant engaged in so great a work, and also the grievous besetments and terrifying storms in which the subtle serpent arose against me, my mind is humbled; well knowing who preserved me in the depth of distress, when my soul was taken with fear, and my body almost given to the wild beasts of the wilderness: then the language of my soul was, make haste, my beloved, for I am almost overwhelmed. I will make known to my brethren his wonderful works, and relate to them my travails and the exercise of my mind, and give the praise to the great God of power through his dear Son Jesus Christ who is worthy forever.

When we came near South Carolina, we were told that the country was all in an uproar. Scouting parties from both sides were riding to and fro, killing one another, and also peaceable men whom they found travelling, except they knew them to be on their side: and that they had determined to take no prisoners, which we found to be in a great measure true. When I heard this sorrowful news, it took deep hold of my mind; for I had enter-

tained a thought that I should die in that country, and as times were, I thought I should not die a natural death, but that I should be barbarously cut down by the light-horse. I searched deeply to know whether my concern was right, and my Master was pleased to manifest to me, that it was his will I should go forward. We travelled on, visiting meetings, and generally alone, inquiring the road. Friends were fearful. They were advised by the most moderate persons in power, to stay on their farms, except going to their particular meetings. We met with none of these cruel men, although we could hear of them almost every day, until we got within ten miles of the British garrison at Ninety-six. We then approached a large scouting party upon a hill. We could see them afar off, and when we came up to them, we found they were much afraid. We showed the major our certificates, and asked him if we might go forward. He said he would not hinder us, if we would venture our lives; for the rebels, (as they called them,) had got between them and their garrison, and were killing all before them. I told him that I did not trust altogether to man for preservation. We rode on, but had not gone far, until he and a negro came riding after us. He ordered his negro to ride on some distance before, and if he saw any man, to ride back and tell him. The major rode in between me and my companion. I felt uneasy in my mind while he rode there, and we endeavoured to shun his company, but could not. His negro wheeled round his horse, and hallooed to his master, 'rebels! rebels!' The major stopped, and turned about to run; then calling to his man, asked, 'How many?' He answered, 'two,' He wheeled back again, and out with his pistols, and rode furiously towards them; but found they were his own men.

"We travelled on, lay in the woods not far from the garrison, and next morning passing through the town, were detained some time by the picket guard. Being conducted to the head officer, he appeared kind to us, and invited us to breakfast with them. I acknowledged their kindness, but told them I desired not to be detained then, for I expected to be called to an account for passing through that place. They, with sorrow, signified they would not detain us to our hurt; and we were told a few hours afterwards, that general Green surrounded the garrison. We visited the meetings on towards Georgia, and were told, it was as much as our lives were worth to go over Savannah river; that the Indians and white people were joined together in their bloody designs. We had been so remarkably preserved hitherto, that we did not much fear them: rode the river in great danger, the water being so rapid, and the bottom so rocky, that I never rode in such a dismal place before. It was well we had a pilot who led us amongst the rocks; for I thought if our horses had stumbled, they must have been washed away by the rapidity of the stream; but we got over safe, and travelled on towards the settlement of Friends. While riding a small path in the wilderness, two men overtook us, and in a furious manner, with great rage, ordered us to stand, and with terrifying language were raising their guns to shoot us. I desired them to stop a little while, that we might clear ourselves of those high charges. They gave us a little time, but soon broke out in terrible rage, with blasphemous language, and one of them was cocking his gun. I desired them to have a little patience; I had something to say: and so we remained for about ten minutes. Then they turned round to consult between themselves privately. I heard one of them ask, if they should kill us; the other answered, 'I hate to kill them:' and after some more private discourse, turned to us, and ordered us off our horses; they got on ours, led their own, and so rode off.

"Our pilot riding a mean beast, his habit also being mean, they said but little to him, and took nothing from him. Being now left in the wilderness, we soon came to a conclusion to return to Friends at Longcane, from whence we came; but how to cross that large and rapid river Savannah, we could not conceive. It looked unlikely that we could ride two at a time on so weak a creature, neither could we wade it. We sought for a canoe, and seeing one on the other side, called, in order to get over. A young man came to the canoe, and inquired who we were—asking if we were rebels. My companion told him we were friends to the rebels. He then said, we were damned tories, and should not come over. We then went down the river to a place where some had forded in low water. My companion and pilot stripped themselves, and being good swimmers, they got on the weak beast, with their clothes between them, intending, if the creature sunk, to swim out, and if they got safe over, one of them would come for me. I could see but little of the horse until they got to the other side, which was, I suppose, about two hundred yards: sometimes the water ran over the saddle, and my companion coming back for me, we also landed safe, then travelled on to William Miles's, from whence we came, and a kind friend he was to us.

"This was a trying time to me; not so much on account of the loss of my property, as for the absence of my Beloved, who had been my preserver and conductor. I was afraid I had offended him in going so far. I endeavoured to keep still and quiet in my mind, and soon perceived I must return to that bloody place again. When I made it known to my companion, it was grievous to him, and after a time of silence, he told me we had been so remarkably preserved whilst we were within our prescribed limits, he thought we had no business there; if we had, it appeared to him unlikely that we should have been stopped: and further, that I had not liberty by certificate to visit the meetings in Georgia. This discourse from a valuable friend, so highly esteemed by me, and also by his friends in general, struck me deeply. I told him I desired to look more deeply into it. This was the next morning after we came to the aforesaid friend's house. I inquired for work, and kept closely at it for two weeks, my companion not being able to do much; my desire was, to keep him and myself from being chargeable, At that time I could see no way home, nor the time to go back again. For several days I was in great distress, and there was none to help me; often looking towards my dear wife and children mourning for me, and I not knowing how long I should be detained there, or whether ever I should see them again.

"One night as I lay bemoaning my sad condition,

as though I had offended my Master, whom I had loved above all, I cannot express the anguish of my soul at that time; and in the depth of distress, a language sprang livelily in my mind, 'Stand still.' A language which I understood at Camden when a prisoner there, was now with life revived and renewed, 'Fear not, my servant, I will be with thee.' O, how was my troubled soul revived! All doubts and fears vanished away, and in this pleasant and favoured state I said, 'It is enough, Lord! I want no further confirmation; I will go or will stay at thy word, only be with me.' Indeed, the place where I was seemed so pleasant for some time after, that I thought I could live there all my days, if it was his will, without being much concerned about home.* I soon informed my companion that I intended to travel towards Georgia, and that, as by his discourse a few days before, he thought he had no business there, I should leave him at his liberty; but desired he would stay here for me a certain time, and then return, if I came not. After serious consideration, he told me he could not be easy to let me go alone, and if I went, and died, he would die with me. A day soon appeared for me to travel on, and also to write a letter to general Green, who was then about thirty miles off, fighting against Ninety-six. He soon read my letter, and granted my request, as follows:

"*Mr. Abel Thomas, and Mr. Thomas Winslow, Long-cane.*

"Camp, before Ninety-six, June 7th, 1781.

"GENTLEMEN,—Your letter of the 6th is before me. From the good opinion I have of the people of your profession, being bred and educated among them, I am persuaded your visit is purely religious, and in this persuasion have granted you a pass; and I shall be happy if your ministry shall contribute to the establishment of morality and brotherly kindness among the people, than which no country ever wanted it more. I am sensible your principles and professions are opposed to war, but I know you are fond of both political and religious liberty. This is what we are contending for, and by the blessing of God, we hope to establish them upon such a broad basis, as to put it out of the power of our enemies to shake their foundation. In this laudable endeavour, I expect at least to have the good wishes of your people, as well for their own sakes as for ours, who wishes to serve them upon all occasions, not inconsistent with the public good.

"I am, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant, NATHANIEL GREEN."

Head-Quarters, June 7th, 1781.

"Abel Thomas has General Green's permission to pass and repass through this country, behaving with propriety. NATHANIEL PENDLETON, *Aid de Camp.*"

"We set out early in the morning on foot, serious and deep thoughts attending my mind. We seemed like sheep going a second time before the slaughter, without any outward obligation: travelled about twelve miles, crossed Savannah river, and came up with a colonel and his men, who had got there the night before. A captain looking earnestly at us, began to examine what our business was, and hearing the account we gave, (slender indeed in his view,) viz.: 'to visit our brethren at Wrightsborough,' he appeared surprised and mistrustful; asked us for a pass, which we gave him: he ordered us to follow him, and led us to the colonel. Our certificates, general Green's friendly letter, and permission, being read to him, they asked why we were travelling on foot. We told them we were robbed not far from that place, about two weeks before. They said they had heard of us down at Augusta, and if we would stay, they thought they could find our horses, for they knew who had them. And as I was describing my horse, a soldier said, he thought my horse was in the company; and I soon found the horse, saddle, and bridle: for that wicked man had just ridden up. I informed the colonel, who had him immediately taken and put under guard, and then sent out a scout after the other, who had my companion's mare, saddle, and saddle-bags, and confined him also, which greatly surprised them. They sent for us, and desired we would forgive them. We inquired where our goods were. They readily informing us; we told them that all we wanted was what we had lost, and that they would repent and amend their ways of living; that we could forgive them and do them a kindness if it lay in our power, although they had injured us. They appeared low in their minds, for the colonel declared they should be hanged, as many accusations of their wickedness and barbarity came against them.

"We got the principal part of our goods, lodged with the soldiery that night, and next morning rode to Friends' settlement, I hope, with thankful hearts, and visited the meetings of Friends both at Wrightsborough and at New Purchase. Finding my mind clear, turned my face homewards, and as I rode, a hope renewedly revived, that I should see my little family again. I felt them near to my heart, although by computation eight hundred miles distant from them. We crossed Savannah river, and travelled towards Ninety-six, where the armies were fighting; and when we drew near, became doubtful how we should pass, as the cannon were firing fast, and the road we were in, leading immediately to the British garrison, we knew of no way to escape; but a friendly man overtook us, and told us that he would pilot us round, and a difficult path it proved; sometimes we were close by where they were fighting, or firing upon the garrison: and as we passed through the skirts of general Green's army, the cross officer, whose prisoner I had been when at Camden, saw me ride on as I before had told him. He called to me: 'What! old fellow, are you there?' I answered him according to his question. He asked how I came to deceive him. I replied, I had not, and that he knew it. He came to me, took me by the hand in a friendly way, and said, he hoped I had done no harm. I told him, I did not intend harm; and with some more friendly conversation we parted. Just before we got round into the road, general Green's men fell upon

* When relating this occurrence to a Friend, he said in substance, That the room was so filled with light, attended with such consolation in the Divine presence, that in the flowings of heavenly joy and peace he felt no wants to be supplied.

a fort or redoubt but a little way from us, making a terrible noise. There was a great stir among the people, some running one way, and some another; some hiding behind trees; we rode smartly on, and could hear them for about seven miles without intermission. We passed on towards North Carolina, without any other remarkable interruption. As for my service and exercise in the ministry, I have left it to the judgment of my brethren. My Master had a service for me there, and I trusted my life in his hand, travelled on, and so obtained a reward which is more precious than gold.

"Abel Thomas."

"Seventh month 7th, 1781."

He was favoured to return to his family and friends in peace, and delivered up his certificate, gave an affecting account of his exercises, and in the following year, 1782, was again drawn forth in a visit to Friends in some parts of Pennsylvania. To mention all his religious visits may not be necessary; but from 1761 to the year 1800, it appears by the records of Exeter monthly meeting, that in addition to his religious engagements among Friends in his own neighbourhood, he was very often from home on this weighty service. In 1799, while engaged in a visit of gospel love to the southern states he wrote the following letter to his wife, viz:

"Second month 19th, 1799, just returned from the Tennessee country, towards New Garden.

"Dear Ellin,—I received thy letter last first-day three weeks, at Reuben's creek, in South Carolina, about two hundred and forty miles from Charleston, the evening before we started for the western territories. We went not to Charleston, but sent for our letters from Bush river, and had near missed them, as we were about forty miles on our way toward the mountains. I was glad to see thy hand-writing, and to hear that you were well,—and of thy resignation in my absence, under the incumbrances and fatigues of business. As there seems a necessity for it at this time, I hope thy doing what thou canst, and resigning, will be the likeliest way to be blessed with success.

"I am well in health, and have been so ever since I left home, except six days in Virginia, where I missed two meetings,—and in the western country, but was able to travel. We have prospered in outward travel; but as to travail and exercise of mind, I am often reduced very low; which I believe is for my good,—for the more powerful exaltation of Master's name, in myself, and it may be, in some others. But so far I can say, that it is always well with me, when I am sensible that Master is near, but when he hideth his face my soul is troubled. All my travelling through this wilderness country, so far from home, is so little hardship, that I can scarcely give it that name, when Master is present. But when he withdraws from me, there is nothing in this world that I can please myself in thinking of. If I look towards you, [his family] there is but little satisfaction in your company in his absence. I cannot rest neither at home nor abroad, when I am afraid my ways do not please him. I have wondered sometimes, knowing so much of his care and goodness to me, that I could not be easy and resigned in his absence; always rejoicing in hopes of his return. But my own weaknesses are against me, when I am reduced into a state of suffering, and I inquire deeply into my behaviour before him. I long for the time to come, that I might make my conduct upright before him in all things. But far from that, I often find I have not been so steady in watching as was pleasing to him. My words in conversation have not been so few and savoury as would be most for his honour. My haste in travelling, in order to get home soon, has hardly been reputable amongst my brethren, and many more weaknesses came against me in the south. These little weaknesses are hardly noticed by many professors. But they are as motes in the eye, that obstruct the sight; they are as little foxes that hinder the growth of the vine. They are as leaks, hardly perceived in a time when we think all is well; but a leak is wasting the substance, if it be but through a little worm hole.

"I was hinting at something that befell me in the south,—so far as I can describe it in words, I shall let thee know, as a most endeared companion. I perceived for many days, that Master was about to leave me to myself, that I might see what I could do without him: or that I might learn more perfect obedience in watching, both on the right hand and on the left. When I understood it so, I became more and more afraid,—inquiring deeply into my conduct before him. My many weaknesses appeared before me, and I looked carefully to see what would become of me, if he should withdraw from me, and hear no more of my secret cries. Under these considerations I was alarmed; but remembering his loving-kindness in times of deep distress, I put on all the strength I could gather, and resolutely determined to hold him fast, by doubling my diligence, but was not able. He was stronger than a lion; he was swifter than an eagle. I looked after him, with desire; but found myself as a worm, with neither wings to fly, nor feet to run. I was in a great strait to know what to do. But calmly considering how it was with me, I saw no way but to be still and resigned, and to endeavour to nourish a hope of his return.

"But oh! my great weakness and impatience in waiting! Feeling myself so disabled, and my great enemy roaring against me, it seemed as if a day of great trouble was approaching. I was ready to say with Agag to Samuel, 'Surely the bitterness of death is past.' Hope of Master's return was almost lost. I could not hold confidence in the remembrance of past favours; for imagination did work hard against me. However, it appeared to me that I should be of no more use in that country. So I looked towards home, inquiring into my affairs there. Oh! how grievously my incumbered circumstances gathered all around me, as mountains; so that I could see no way out. I then remembered the wormwood and the gall before I left home, when I had a large draught of it. Then canst thou, my dear Ellin, understand, or conceive the weight of my distress, in the South? Although it was so, I was favoured with a little reason to believe that there is a God so wonderful in power, that all things are possible with him,—and that all power was given to his dear Son, my beloved,—and that if I did not love

him, I should not be so distressed in his absence: and he doth love them that do love him.

"My faith began to increase; and when I found it so, I was ready to burst out with vehemence of desire, and with a most lamentable cry, must I return home without my Beloved? Oh! nay, rather let me die here, and be buried in a far country, no more to be remembered by the living. But I soon felt that he was coming. The mountains began to skip like rams, and the little hills like lambs before him,—and his divine presence overshadowed my tabernacle. I was silent, with wondrous admiration. I was afraid, and ashamed of my own littleness and unworthiness, in the presence of Him, so wonderful in strength; but I was filled with humble thankfulness. I did think, under such a covering, 'the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy.'

"And now I think myself as happy, under perfect obedience, as I could wish on this side of eternity,—although far absent from home. 'For lo! the winter is past; the rain is over and gone,—the time of the singing of birds is come; and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.'

"My dear Ellin, I have a great deal to say to thee that I have not time to write. I hope to see thee in a little time; but not much before the middle of the Fourth month. My love to thee is great, and to my children all, without knowing which of them I love most. In proportion will my grief be, if they should, either of them, give way to bad practices, and lose themselves in this deluded world; and more so, in that I have, in the course of my experience, sensibly felt of the powers of the world to come; and the most exceeding excellency of that glory amongst the saints in light. As also, on the other hand, I have sensibly felt of the powers of death and the pains of hell, as it were, amongst the miserable. Now, if my dear children should take wrong courses, how should I who do love them so well, bear the mournful sight? It would be likely to bring down my bald head with sorrow to the grave. From thy loving husband, with love to my dear children.

"Abel Thomas."

In 1801, he removed with his family to Monallen, in Adams county, Pennsylvania, and whilst a member there, was also diligently engaged in the work of the ministry, both at home and abroad. While engaged in a religious visit to New York and Pennsylvania, he wrote the following letter to his wife, viz.:

"Hudson City, 19th of Twelfth month.

"Dear Ellin,—I thought to have written to thee before this time, but have had no safe opportunity. I have been amongst the mountains and back inhabitants; where many meetings have been settled since I was this way. Had it not been that Friends were kind to me, I had not been here so soon by many days. They frequently sent forwards ten or fifteen miles, to lay out meetings for me; the days being so short that I could not ride from one meeting to another in time for them to give notice fully to their friends and neighbours. I had often to ride in the night, in the snow, and in the rain,—dismal roads. I was often sorry for my companions: they appeared, some of them, almost overcome with the cold. My little mare carried me over all, and has not yet thrown me; and I can't find that she is falling away.

"When I left home, I had the pleasure of riding alone to the place I intended to stop. I was at Exeter meeting, and also at Hardwich, where Friends had notice. It was a meeting of encouragement to me. Often, in travelling, I had to look back at my little family whom I had loved, may be, more in deed than in word; laying out what great things I might have done for them if I had stayed at home, and felt myself as lightsome and as peaceful as I then was. But, turning to view how I felt some time before I left home, I found myself almost as happy as I could wish, and was seldom troubled with discouraging thoughts.

"I arrived there [Cornwall] on sixth-day, in the afternoon—the next day I rested. Friends laid out nine meetings for me to attend the next week. I was at Cornwall on first-day; the next at Upper Clove, and the third at Lower Clove: at both these last, silent. Something befell me here, so different from what I was used to, that I thought it no harm to let thee know in writing. It was a large meeting,—the house crowded with Friends and others. I perceived a good deal of uneasiness before meeting closed: and when it broke up there were but few Friends gave me their hands. The friend with whom I lodged the night before, had told me that there was a friend who had got his horse shod in order to pilot me to the next meeting. This friend led me to him, and asked him if he was ready to go with me. He answered, he had thought to go; but something had fell in his way so that he could not. It appeared to me as a come off. From this meeting to the one to be held next day, was called twenty-six miles. I went to my creature, and led it towards the people, who appeared to be in haste to get away. I stood with my cane in my hand; and no Friends came to me, nor asked me to go home with them. After some time, I saw my old friend T. T. fixing his wagon, to go off. I led my mare to him, and pleasantly and cheerfully asked him where I should get something for my creature to eat. He told me that I might come with him. I accepted his kindness, and followed him home.

"After some time, I began to inquire the way to the meeting. He told me it was a shame to let me go alone, and that he would go with me a little way. I let him know I did not desire him to go; he being old and feeble—that I was used to travel—and if he would give me directions to the great road up the river, I might ride until bedtime, and lodge at a tavern or private house—and that I was not afraid of getting there in time. The old man went with me some miles, and left me at a Friend's house. I got up early next morning, and the friend's son went with me. We got there just as the meeting was sitting, and an encouraging meeting to me it was.

"I do not blame the Friends. It's likely they thought that I was a poor, unworthy old man. I thought so myself. It is likely they thought I had no business to put them to so much trouble,—not only in attending the meeting, but in spending their time giving notice in the neighbourhood. I thought it was not far from being right, as to my-

self, in using me so; for I have often been telling thee that Friends sometimes were too fondly kind; and it is more fitting for me to know the feeling of being publicly despised by brethren. It did me no harm; I was not in the least disordered. I compared such treatment with that of too much fondness; the latter much more disagreeable.

"Dear Ellin, I have a great deal to say to thee. I feel thee often near to my life. I may just say that it is well with me. I have a good Master—am so well harnessed that I find myself a full match for every obstruction I have to meet with; yet often see myself very little and low, and much spent; yet even in that, I feel myself, in a good degree, happy, in a resigned state,—from under condemnation. I say I feel my yoke is easy, and my burden light. All that I have to go through in the day and in the night,—in the snow and in the rain—is but little for me to go through, hardly worth mentioning,—for the love I have for Him that hath done great things for me. I feel nearly united to the people, in gospel love; and from appearance, they to me. Our meetings generally are held in solemn fulness, and break up under such a covering. It is a great thing, to live near the Truth, where the wicked one cannot touch us, nor endanger our safety. This, I do desire for thee and my children.—It is likely you are almost discouraged, as to the things of this world. Then, let us turn more actively to religious matters. There is never-failing encouragement, if we do all we can to please Him who is able to prosper us, and to bring about matters beyond our expectations.

"I have been at forty meetings. From what I have been told, there are sixty before me in New York government and Pennsylvania. It is not likely you will see me home before the last of the second month. ABEL THOMAS."

In 1812, he visited the meetings in New Jersey, and in 1813 performed an extensive journey in the service of the gospel, in the northern and eastern states. While engaged in this, he wrote the following:—

"Fifth month 3d, 1813.

"Dear Ellin,—I am in good health, and do not know that I ever felt the depth of gratitude, and endearing love to thee, in all the time we have been acquainted, [as much] as at this time, in remembering thy care and concern for me, when I was almost famished to death with hunger, and could not reach any encouragement, either from above, or from beneath. When thou thyself was stained in my view; when all things appeared sorrowful and discouraging to me. I did pity thee, and strove to hide the worst from thee, but could not. I thought I could hide it from my children, more than from thee. Oh! did I ever know such a time before? It did grieve me when I saw thy care and concern for me, in using thy endeavours to bear me up from sinking under discouragement; when I could not give thee any encouragement, though so cheerful and pleasant to me, in using all thy endeavours to moderate my grief. I hope I shall never forget thy loving-kindness to me, in that day of great trial. I am bound, from the ties of endeared love to thee, to give thee a particular account of my journey so far, both within and without.

"When I left home, I had not gone far on the road, before four friends from Ohio overtook me. A. T. rode up [along] side of me, and began cheerfully to converse with me. I was sorry they had not gone before me. We had not rode far, before she asked me to fall into conversation concerning my large experience in travelling. I let her know, that I had but little or no experience. That former experience was of little or no account to me, but that my great concern was about present time; and that I had no inclination to talk much about any thing; that I rode slow, and did not intend to mend my gait, and if they went on, I was content. So I reined in my horse, and fell behind. They went on. I lodged at Abner's; the next night at William Brinton's. Oh! the hunger and thirst that I was sensible of. I had forty-six miles to Daniel's. It was between nine and ten, before I found his house. I fared this day much as the day before. When night came on, in riding slowly along, a good deal tired, I was ready to say, why this is a long fast; and entreated that I might be favoured with a morsel of bread, for I shall surely die to a sensible feeling of thy presence, which I have in time past greatly rejoiced in; and what good will my life do me, if I am banished from thy presence? Admirable it was to me in all this long fast, there was about me no melancholy or mourning, further than I have just wrote. I could so clearly see my way, and no other way by which I could see or feel any hope that I ever should be favoured with that bread which I have so long suffered the want of, [that] I had hopes that the day was breaking, and the worst was past; but oh! my great weakness continued.

"Sixth-day in the afternoon, I rode to the city, very slow, to my lodging; had agreeable entertainment, a little room, three story high, to myself. But oh! my great weakness and poverty in spirit. My friends soon gathered about me. I was much tried. They found something was the matter, and they must know what it was. I let some of the most intimate and foremost friends know, that I did not desire much company; and that they would do so much for me, as to let friends know it. But they would come. I let them know that I was so old and hardened, that it was out of the reach of man to do me any one good. I attended all the sittings of the yearly meeting, save one: but oh! my great weakness and poverty. Yet I let my friends know, that it was not with me as they might expect. I felt my feet upon that unshaken Rock that standeth sure. When the last sitting of the select meeting broke up, my esteemed friend John Brown stopped me in the yard (who was about making ready to travel with me to the eastward) until some of the foremost friends came out, that had had no opportunity to speak to me, through all the sittings of the meeting; they came about me. George Dillwyn undertook to examine me, what was the matter with me, that I kept so hid the whole week, out of the way of being useful among my friends. I let him know that I felt no uneasiness in my mind concerning omission or commission, in respect to the ministry or discipline. 'That is not all we want to know; what is the reason thou wilt not go among thy friends nor suffer thy friends to see thee!' I let them know

that I had felt myself so weak, little and poor, and was often afraid I had lost my sword; so I was afraid of much company, lest through weakness, I might say or behave, in some respect, so as to increase my great weakness and concern of mind. I spoke to them in tenderness, and in the depth of humility; which appeared to affect them, and lead them into tender sympathy with me. It is likely some of them did know the necessary qualification for a true minister to experience. Seventh-day morning, when my two children, my brother Amos Lee and his wife and daughter were about leaving me, oh! the depth of my weakness, poverty, hunger and thirst, was painful. I remember in time past, when any thing came hard upon me, I endeavoured to look to my Beloved for relief; but now my Beloved has hid himself these two months and more, and I can find him nowhere.

"But it was not long until he came to me; he met me and embraced me, and let me know that he loved me and owned me as one of his children; and the reason of his long absence was to try me, and that I might be more perfect in love to him. Oh! how did easy tears of joy gush out of my eyes, and run down my cheeks! I seemed to be swallowed up in the Divine presence: my eyes are, with weeping, become sore. I cannot refrain at times, in company with my friends, and walking the streets, in thinking how careful he was of me in the great deep, when no man could do any thing for my relief, when the adversary was so chained that he was not suffered to tempt me with melancholy or despair, all this long fast. I do now find myself in the depths of humility, where I have nothing to fear; and do feel myself as bold as a lion, prepared for battle in his behalf.

"To-morrow morning, the 4th, I am to leave the city, going up to Wrightstown monthly meeting, fifth-day at Middletown—sixth-day to the Falls, where John Brown, my companion, liveth. From there the nearest way to Long Island; expecting to attend all the meetings, before the yearly meeting in New York; where I hope to meet a letter from thee, and I do intend to send one to thee.

"I may say, thou art my most endeared friend in the world.

ABEL THOMAS."

At the close of the New York Yearly meeting, about the beginning of the sixth month, he wrote:

"Dear Ellin,—I am in New York, in good health. Last evening I received thy letter, which was so agreeable to me that I have read it over and over; and it seemed a little to me as though thou hadst been dead, and was risen again. I was so completely weaned from thee that I could see but little more comeliness in thee, than in another woman; but now, an object of admiration as near and dear to me as my natural life. I am travelling on in hopes to be with thee again. As it hath been with me in time past, so it is now. I am strong in the faith that I shall live to see home again; it may be otherways: I want to be resigned. But on thy account, and also my children's, I have a choice to stay a little longer with you.

"After I left Philadelphia, I was at Wrightstown on fourth-day, next at Middletown; and sixth-day at the Falls; where my esteemed companion John Brown lives; and he had a minute to travel with me to this yearly meeting. Seventh-day, attended their select meeting, and in the afternoon went on to Benjamin Clark's, at Stony Brook; was at their meeting on first-day; second, rode to Rahway; and next day reached New York [fifth mo. 10th]; where notice was given of a stranger to be at their week-day meeting. Word was sent to Long Island, and eight meetings were laid out there, which we attended.

"In passing from Matinicock to Bethpage, we had to ride through Jericho to a small meeting on second-day; lodged there that night, where a friend of great account had died, and was to be buried on third-day. We attended the burial, where was a great number of people. It was strange to me to see the corpse brought into the meeting-house.

"Here I could but admire, as well as at other places, since I found my Beloved, that I had so much of the tongue of the learned, in describing the gradual steps of a Christian on his way to heaven, in a moving deliberate way, without rashness, in the littleness and simplicity. I am afraid of thinking myself of use among my brethren. It is enough for me to know most certainly, that He whom my soul loveth is with me; and promises to be with me to the end, in the path I do know I am now in. I am often afraid, on finding myself much spent, both in body and mind, lest my Beloved is about hiding himself from me again. I am also often surprised, in seeing the people show more respect to me, than others of greater account in society. Such caresses are trifling to me, when I remember the bitterness of the wormwood and the gall; of which I had a large draft, before and since I left home.

"I remember thy asking me at several times about my expectation of returning home. I do not remember of giving thee much of an answer; neither can I at this time;—but I have reason to believe, far from the time of thy expectation. When I write to thee again, it is likely it will be from New Bedford, Massachusetts; and I should be glad to find a letter there from thee.

"I have thought that there are few, if any fathers, who have more love and tender affection for a wife and children, than I feel for you; and yet cannot count it a hardship to travel on, let the path be ever so rough, when I see the way so clear before me, [even] if I do not return home before the next winter.

"My love to thee is deep and sincere. Also to my dear children, all equally beloved of their ancient father,

ABEL THOMAS."

From Providence, under date of tenth month 1st, 1813, he wrote to the Friends in Philadelphia with whom he stayed when in that city; viz:

"Beloved Friends,—I am at this time at Providence, Rhode Island, in good health, and have so been since I left your house. I may inform you, that I have had a prosperous journey so far, and have laboured through almost all the meetings belonging to this Yearly meeting. In a few days I shall travel towards New York state, taking in my way, Pomfret and Kenford, towards New Milford and Oblong; then, taking the meetings of

Friends on to Danby and Ferrisburg, and return back to Granville, Queensbury, and down the west side of the river to Marlborough,—the meetings thereaway, to Cornwall and New Windsor; then cross the river to New York, and so return home to my family.

"Although I have had a prosperous journey, it has been a rough one; under which I have been almost ready to faint; but He whom my soul loved more than all here below, did interfere, and make hard things easy, and bitter things sweet; because he did know that I was doing all I could to please him. I do feel myself satistied, and richly paid for all the little services he has required of me. It is not very likely I have accomplished more than half the visit set before me last spring was a year. I let no one know, not even my wife, the extent of my visit, until I was, as it were, raised from the dead, in your city; when my Master let me know that he would go with me; which promise he has fulfilled to this day, which is consolation great to me, insomuch that I feel no desire nor inclination for home, to see my wife and children. I have so far followed the path that was pointed out to me, more than one year past, without erring, to my knowledge, either to the right hand or to the left. I do see the path as clearly opened before me, as in the beginning, and it is my greatest pleasure to walk in it, without being any way disturbed at what might befall this body in a cold freezing winter. My friends, wherever my lot is cast, both young and old, show a great deal of respect for me.

"From what is above written concerning my wife and children, do not judge that I esteem them lightly. I cannot judge that there is any husband amongst men, that has a more near and dear affection for a woman, than I feel for her and my children. But this I will mention from certain knowledge, that I love my Master more than wife or children, house or land, or any created thing in this lower world. When he is pleased to hide his face from me, for the increase of my love to him, my wife and children are of little account to me, neither all the world, nor the glories and pleasures thereof.

"My esteemed friend Moses Brown, and his son-in-law, have purchased a new and convenient carriage for me to ride in, to take it home to be my own, wherein I can shut myself up from the rain and snow. The little horse well harnessed, is very tractable in it. I find it easier for him than carrying me on his back, and much more so for me; a four wheel carriage not being easily overset. It is a new invention, not long in fashion: I never saw the like in our country.

"I do desire one of you to write to my wife, and let her know I intend to write to her when I come to Hudson, on the North river. It may be four weeks first. I do expect that my wife will be at the Yearly meeting at Baltimore; and if this comes to your hand in time, (as likely it will) send it by some friend of your city attending that meeting. If not, direct it to William Riley, where she makes her home. I may say in sincerity, I am united in love to you and your children, more than I can find words to express—I often feel you near to my heart.

"And dear friend T. one thing more I desire thee to oblige me in; and that is, if any of my people inquire where I am, and what I am about so long from home,—tell them, that the old pedlar is moving about, all weathers, from house to house, and from one meeting to another; frequently offering his goods at public sale. And although he had a very small pack when he left home, it was so unaccountably heavy, that he could not walk straight under it; but thus far, as he has continued faithful, he has parted with a great quantity of goods. And also it must appear admirable, that he cannot perceive his pack is in the least diminished, but considerably more goods in it; so that he judges that he has as good an assortment of goods, as almost any in his occupation, and although not so flashy, yet proved to wear as well. Whether it is the profit from the sale of his goods, or whether he has grown stronger, he must leave: however, his pack being much larger and fuller of goods, he says he can carry it along with ease, and walk straight up, without groaning, or being in the least weary. And as the old pedlar does know most certainly that the goods are not his own, but a living profit is allowed him in the sale thereof, he is anxious to make what he can to himself. But the poor pedlar is much disappointed in the sale of his goods, for his Master will not suffer him to carry the key of his pack. When he comes to the market among his customers, he must there wait in stillness until his Master gives him the key; and he sometimes stays long, and sometimes comes not at all. The poor pedlar is then low, seeing his customers out of patience, laying all the disappointment on him, and saying, Why did he call us here to buy, and not offer his goods for sale. Truly, from the reasonings of man, it is provoking;—[but] the poor pedlar cannot help it, he is so little, so unlearned, and so ignorant, that it is not worth his while to attempt to make a temporary key, that he might open his pack when he is pleased. But I did not understand the pedlar was in any wise likely to murmur, or to be uneasy that he had undertaken so long a journey, for I heard him say, in a solid frame of mind, that his yoke was easy and his burden light; and in strict obedience to his Master's pointings, he never was happier in his life, nor more clearly and distinctly understanding his voice.

"My dear friends, it seems as if I have been and am in conversation with you, in a good deal of love and freedom, so that I hardly know how to close. The old pedlar has found out the reason that his little pack was so unaccountably heavy that he could hardly live under it, which is this: his Master told him last spring was a year, that he should make ready to go out a long journey, peddling; and there has never been one tittle of his views diminished, or added to. He wanted to know whether or not he might take the Jerseys last winter, which he found freedom to do; and in his return from that journey, he found he had made considerable profit to himself, from the sale of the goods he dealt away. When he came home he was easy, and so happy that he was once more at home with his little family, they were so near to him, that he did not know how to leave them again, and more so his wife, to whom he was so nearly united. When the Lord's hand was most heavy upon him, he wanted to be excused, and he soon fell into a train of reasoning; by and from

which, his Master was offended, and as it were, spoke to him in a stern language, Make ready thy pack, and go on. And so it was admirable to me;—my endeared wife, whom I did love more than all in this world, soon became withered in my view, so that I saw little more comeliness in her, than in another woman—and now the poor pedlar's trouble began. He thought he had offended his Master, so that he hid his face from him, and he could find him no where; yet he could see the way clear, which he had marked out for him to walk in, with a woe sounded in his ear. Frequently the poor pedlar was almost distracted; he had to bring his case before the judges for some encouragement, but there were so many *ifs* and *ands* that they would not express unity without some additions of human strength, according to custom. Here the poor, weak pedlar added greatly to the weight of his little pack, in offering to speak in his own defence, which he should not have done; he ought to have left it to his Master, without meddling. Although he did know, all the time, that it was his Master's will that he should go on this great visit, and that self was the cause of the poor pedlar's little pack being so very heavy.

"I don't know whether this writing can be read properly, there are so many misses in it. I could have added much more concerning the kind entertainment I had in thy family, nearly united to me in love, and my walking as under thy vine to meeting, amongst the crowd, many of whom I hardly conceive I shall see any more.

"I must conclude with a great deal of love; tell thy smart little boy, that the old friend is yet travelling about, and has not since been at home; that he remembers his love to him, and wishes him to be a good boy.

ABEL THOMAS."

Thus, with small intermissions, he was assiduously labouring to promote the cause of his Divine Master, in turning the minds of his fellow men from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God; which honourable service continued to be as his meat and drink, until a short time before his decease. A few months previous to which, having been, as was often his practice, looking over his past life, sensible of the infirmities which attended him, he said, "I am near eternity: my own nothingness is before me every day, on remembering my unworthiness;" yet he was steadfast in the faith, and enabled to express himself with clearness respecting the true and only path to Christian perfection.

At one time he said, "That wisdom and knowledge which I have gained, is from striving to follow Jesus Christ in the regeneration; this is foolishness unto the children of this world, who are pleasing themselves, or striving so to do, with the perishing enjoyments of this present world." Again—"I was always seen at our meetings for worship and discipline when at home, was silent in those for discipline, being of little account, except in secret prayer, that the Father of mercies might be our preserver in the meekness of wisdom. To be a pattern of sobriety and humility amongst men, was a lesson which my Master gave me to learn, and I found it hard and mortifying to experience a growth therein, notwithstanding my education and low degree in the world was favourable thereto."

On recurring again to the subject of meetings for discipline, under a weighty sense of the temptations and snares which the enemy of all righteousness presents to the active, busy spirit of the natural man, prompting him to attempt the performance of that which can only be truly done through the spirit of Christ, the blessed head of the church; in allusion to such subtle suggestions made at times to his own mind, he signifies that "it would seem I had not much more to do than to learn to be active in treating with others who had not arrived to such a growth in orderly walking as I had. Here is a rock, against which many of my fellow-members have been dashed, and been broken to shivers. This is a subtle delusion of the transformed angel of light, which in a considerable degree hath put a stop to their gradual growth in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, a measure of whose fulness, strictly enjoyed in the inner man, breathes peace, love, and good will to the fallen children of men."

Again. "Ever blessed Father of mercies, in and through thy Son Jesus Christ, whom my soul loveth, I intreat thee to keep me in that love wherewith thou hast loved me from my youth up. Satan had wounded and robbed me; I had lost sight of my Beloved; but remembering that thou art merciful, and would, for the cries of the poor, arise in thy tender compassion, I became acquainted with thee through thy dear Son, Jesus Christ; hence I love thee more than all these fading, perishing enjoyments. I cannot describe the thankfulness and humble adoration which I feel in giving thanks to thy great name, with thy dear Son Jesus Christ. Preserve me from offending thee, either in thought, word, or deed. No tongue can express to the full, nor the most ready writer's pen describe, what thou hast taught me in the great deeps: that thou, who art King of kings and Lord of lords, should take notice of thy afflicted children who call upon thee in the depths of distress, when none in all the earth can give relief."

Again. "I am now looking towards a vast eternity near at hand, where I hope to rest, although my pain is great at times, both day and night. On an inquiry concerning my past long life, tracing my steps, I do comfortably find, that I have fought a good fight, and have kept the faith. I feel comfortable in being favoured with ability from all the powers of love in me, to ascribe high praises to a merciful God, through his Son Jesus Christ. I am often dejected through fear of offending him whom my soul loveth, and when I can feel him near, I can be as cheerful as a child, in a watchful state."

Although his infirmities increased, with great pain, yet he was preserved in much patience and resignation, and towards the last, would often say, that in a little while he should land on that shore where he would have trouble no more. He departed this life at Monallen, the 21st of Third month, 1816, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE
3 1795 00154 6314